



C.V. Vaidya

History of Mediaeval Hindu India

Rise of Hindu Kingdoms

In presenting these three volumes, the author has made an attempt to give the history of India during what may be called the Mediaeval Hindu period or Mediaeval period of Indian history. The period of Indian history which is treated here begins with the fall of Buddhism after Harsha and the rise of new Hindu kingdoms. Hinduism was gathering strength to overthrow Buddhism by the aid of the revived Purva Mimansa philosophy which re-established the supremacy of the Vedas. A comprehensive aspect of Indian history, culture and civilization, such as social life and character of Indian people, religious conditions, political conditions, civil and military administration, caste system, languages, astronomy, arts and architecture, philosophy, trade and commerce is discussed.

The whole work is divided into different books or chapters such as Harsha and his times, the First Hindu kingdom, the Origin of the Rajputs, the second set of Hindu kingdom, Political geography of India and general survey.

The author has utilised original works in Sanskrit, both Vedic and classical, Pali, Prakrit and of Chinese sources. He has further taken full help from other sources like Epigraphy, Archaeology, Numismatics. The subject of Hindu history was never before treated with such realism, accuracy, impartiality and comprehensiveness. It is hoped that the scholars and students of Indian history will find these volumes full of original and authentic material and very illuminating.

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**HISTORY OF
MEDIAEVAL HINDU
INDIA**

HISTORY OF MEDIAEVAL HINDU INDIA

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C. V. VAIDYA



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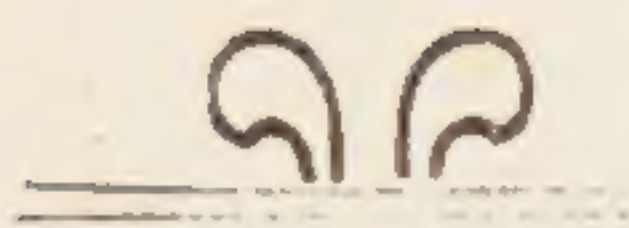
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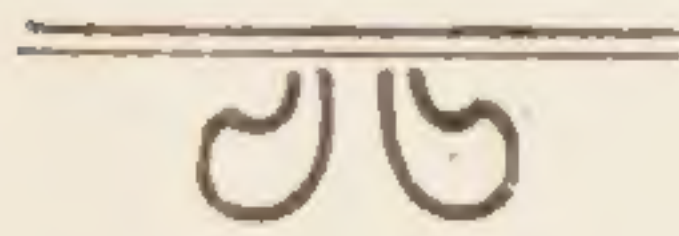
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to the beloved memory
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in token of
admiration for his learned researches
and affectionate interest in studies
relating to the ancient
greatness of India.





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CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

HARSHA AND HIS TIMES.

CHAPTER.	PAGES
I Accession of Harsha	1—9
II Harsha's Empire	10—15
III The Kingdoms in India in Harsha's Time...	16—32
NOTES—1 The Maukharis of Kanauj	33—34
2 Devagupta of Malwa	35—38
3 Sir V. Smith on Maukharis and Guptas	39—40
4 The Date of Harsha's Birth	41—42
5 Bāṇa on Harsha's Exploits	43—44
6 Śilāditya of Molapo	44—47
7 Indian Kingdoms described by Hiuen Tsang.	48—57
IV The People	58—75
NOTE—Jats, Gujars and Marathas	76—88
V Social Condition	89—99
VI Religious Condition	100—114
VII Political Condition	115—127
VIII Civil Administration	128—141
IX Army, Nobles and Court	142—155
NOTES—1 System of Valabhi Administration about	
A. D. 500—700	156—157
2 7½ Lakhs Rattapādi	158—160

BOOK II.

THE FIRST HINDU KINGDOMS.

CHAPTER.	PAGES.
I Revolution in Sind	161—167
II Conquest of Sind by the Arabs	168—186
III Sind down to the end of the 12th Century	187—189
IV The Shāhis of Kabul	190—198
NOTE—Was the 1st Shahi dynasty Turki?	199—201
V The Karkotakas of Kashmir	202—219
VI Later History of Kashmir	220—232
NOTES—1 Political Condition of Kashmir.	233—235
2 Genealogy of Kashmir kings	236—237
3 Some Notable facts about Kashmir	238—240
4 Exactions of Śaṅkarvarmaṇ	241—

VII	The Maitrakas of Valabhi	...	...	242-250
VIII	The Gurjaras of Broach	...	...	251-257
IX	The Chālukyas of Bādāmi	...	...	258-276
	NOTE—Flight of Vijayāditya	...	...	276-278
X	The Pallavas of Kāñchī	...	...	279-293
	NOTES—1 Kuram Pallava grant. 2 Some Nasik Cave Inscriptions	...	...	294-296
XI	The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi and Kalinga	...	...	297-311
	NOTES—1 The Chandravamśa pedigree in later Chālukya grants	...	...	312
	2 Āndhra	...	...	313
	3 Aryan Advance into South India	...	...	314-317
XII	The Kesari dynasty of Orissa	...	...	318-326
XIII	The Eastern Kingdoms			
	1 The Guptas of Gauda	..	...	327-330
	2 Vanga	...	...	331
	3 Kamarupa	...	...	332
XIV	The Varmās of Kanauj	...	...	333-342
	NOTE—Gaudavaho, Conquests of Yaśovarman and Pārasīkas	...	...	343
XV	The Haihayas of Kośala	...	...	344-347
	NOTE—Chhattisgarh or Ancient Kośala	...	...	348-349
XVI	The Kainkila Yavanas of Āndhra	...	...	350-354
XVII	The Western Kingdoms			
	1 The Gurjara Chāpas of Bhinmal	...	...	355-358
	2 The Vardhanas of Western Malwa	...	...	359
	3 Central Malwa	...	...	360
	4 Jejākabhukti and Maheśvarapura	...	...	361 362
XVIII	Himalayan States	...	...	363-364
	Nepal	...	...	365-376
	NOTES—1 Lichhavis ; 2 Minor Himalayan States	...	...	377-381
XIX	The Kingdoms of the Panjab	...	...	382-388
	NOTE—Why the Panjab remains Indo-Aryan	...	...	389-394
	APPENDIX—Some Inscriptions in the Original	...	...	395-400
	INDEX			

PREFACE.

IN these volumes it is proposed to give the history in detail of India during what may be called the Mediæval Hindu period. The history of India naturally falls into two main portions, the ancient and the modern. It is plain that the modern history of India commences from the establishment of the Slave Dynasty of Mahomedan emperors and is divisible into three periods viz. (1) the Mussalman period from about 1200 A. D. to roughly 1650 A.D. (2) the Maratha period from 1650 A.D. to 1818 A.D., the date of the fall of the Peshwas and (3) the British period from 1818 A. D. down to the present day. The ancient history of India also sub-divides itself into three main periods which may be called the Aryan period, the Aryo-Buddhistic period and the Hindu period. The Aryan period commencing from the most ancient times variously considered to go back to from 4000 to 2000 B. C. comes down to about 300 B. C. and closes with the invasion of India by Alexander. Ancient Aryan Kshatriya kingdoms then disappeared and the Śūdra Maurya dynasty of emperors was established in India, ushering in the supremacy of Buddhism under Aśoka. The second period is remarkable for the alternate triumphs of Buddhism and Aryanism politically as well as religiously, and this period may, therefore, be called not Buddhistic but Aryo-Buddhistic. It extends from 300 B. C. to 600 A. D. and closes with the final and greatest triumph of Buddhism under Harsha. The third period of ancient Indian history which it is proposed to treat of in these volumes begins with the fall of Buddhism after Harsha and the rise of new *Hindu* (not Aryan) kingdoms in India. Hinduism, as it is to-day, was then formed and gathering strength it finally overthrew Buddhism by the aid of the revived Pūrva Mīmāṃsā philosophy which re-established the supremacy of the Vedas and

the Vedic sacrifices. The long prevalence, however, of the religion of non-salughter had created sentiments among the people too strong to be suppressed; and although Buddhism was extinct in India excepting Magadha, that sentiment feared its head again in the rising popularity of Jainism and Vaishnavism and in the reviving ascendancy of the *Uttara Mimāṃsā* philosophy of the Vedānta. The first Hindu kingdoms established after the death of Harsha about 650 A. D. fell about 800 A. D. both by natural decadence which overtakes kingly dynasties after a period of about 150 to 200 years, and by other causes which will be presently discussed. About this time, however, fresh orthodox Hindu kingdoms of Rajputs arose to withstand the first onslaught of the Mahomedan religion on India under the Arabs and raised Hinduism to its climax. These kingdoms lasted from about 800 A. D. to about 1000 A. D. when they fell before the second onslaught of Mahomedanism under the Turks of Mahmud of Ghazni. He, however, retired from India excepting the Panjab and a third set of Hindu kingly dynasties ruled in India for about 200 years more and these finally fell before the third onslaught of Mahomedanism under Turks and Afgans who now settled in the country and established Mahomedan rule in India on a permanent footing. The principal Hindu period thus ranges from 600 to 1200 A. D. and it may also be called, by reference to time, the Mediæval period of Indian history. But although in Hindustan, or Northern India, the Hindu period thus closed about 1200 A. D. Hindu independent kingdoms continued to rule in the Deccan for a hundred years more and these fell before the conquering expeditions of Allauddin Khilji and his general Malik Kafur in about 1300 A. D. South India rallied again for the last time and reared a strong independent Hindu kingdom viz. that of Vijayanagar, and this kingdom, after a brilliant career of about 200 years, was finally defeated and completely destroyed by the Mahomedan powers of the Deccan at the battle of Talikot in 1561 A. D.

The reader will now see that the history of the Mediæval Hindu period which we propose to write in these volumes falls into three sub-periods viz. first from 647 A. D. the date of Harsha's death to about 800 A. D.

the date of the fall of the empire of the Varmās of Kanauj, second from 800 to 1000 A. D. that is the period of the supremacy of the Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj and third from 1000 A. D. to 1200 A. D. the date of the fall of the Gaharwar Rathod emperors of Kanauj. It must be mentioned here that during the whole of the Hindu period Kanauj was looked upon universally as the capital of India just as in the previous Aryo-Buddhistic period, Indian kingdoms looked up to Pātaliputra as the Urbs Prima of India. In the Deccan, these three sub-periods were distinguished by three Maratha kingly dynasties viz. the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed and the later Chālukyas of Kalyan, brought on in the rear by the Yādavās of Devagiri from 1200 to 1300 A. D. These three sub-divisions of the Hindu period we propose to treat of in three separate volumes to which a fourth volume may be added dealing with the history of the Deccan during the fourteenth century and the history of South India down to the final fall of the Hindus of Vijayanagar in 1561 A. D. In fact our history may well be described as the history of the decline and down-fall of the Aryan empire in India, like the immortal work of Gibbon on the decline and fall of the Roman empire ending with the fall of Constantinople in 1453 A. D. We have, however, called this work of ours by the more modest name of the history of Mediæval Hindu India containing as it does the history of the several Hindu independent kingdoms which ruled in India in mediæval times. This first volume contains the history of the first set of Hindu kingdoms which ruled in India from about 650 to 800 A. D. though in particular cases like that of Kashmir it has been found advisable to bring the history down to the end of the Hindu period i. e. to 1200 A. D. We have, however, followed the example of Gibbon in one important respect and have given in Book I a detailed account of the reign of Harsha which is in a manner the basis of this history, and we have also taken a survey of the political, social and religious condition of the country in the time of that emperor, a condition which furnishes the starting point for the subsequent evolution of the Hindu people. As the reign of the Antonines was the culminating point of the Roman empire so was the reign of Harsha the culminating point of India's evolution, and

curiously enough it will be found from these pages that Harsha resembled the two great Roman emperors in many and most marked points. And it is interesting to note that as reliable materials are available for giving an account of the reign of Harsha and the *condition of his times*, as were available to Gibbon in writing about the age of the Antonines. The records of the travels of Hiuen Tsang and the life of Harsha written by the court-poet Bāṇa, supply us with two most vivid and detailed pictures drawn by eye witnesses, which are invaluable to the historian of ancient India. It is no wonder, therefore, that we have in this volume based most of our remarks on the observations of these two writers who, it is refreshing to find, corroborate each other in the minutest details.

The momentous question will here be naturally asked—a question to which the writer of these pages is expected to give a reply—what were the causes which led to the decline and down-fall of the Aryans in India? They had withstood successive invasions by the Greeks, the Śakas, the Kushans and the Huns. They had not only stubbornly resisted these invasions but freed India within a hundred years each time. What is it that made them unable to beat back the Arabs who permanently enslaved Sind in 712 A. D. and the Turks and the Afghans who finally subjected India to Mahomedan rule in 1000 and 1200 A. D.? What was it in the history of India from 500 A. D., when approximately the last foreign rule of the Huns was overthrown, down to about 1000 A.D. that sapped the strength of the Indian people and made their warriors fall like card-board sepoy before the Turks of the Ghaznavide Mahmud? The historian of India who has studied this period of about 500 years of Indian history is bound to throw light on the solution of this momentous question and we proceed to indicate our views succinctly in this matter.

The first and the foremost cause of the fall of the Indo-Aryans was the complete ascendancy gained during this period by what may be called the doctrine of the divine right of kings. During the Aryan period Indian kingdoms were looked upon as belonging to the people. In Alexander's days there were even some states where there were

no kings and which are described by Greek writers as republics. States and even kings were then known by the names of the peoples and not by the names of kingly families. Gradually during the Aryo-Buddhistic period, owing to the recurrence of foreign invasion and foreign rule, the people were less consulted in governmental concerns, the kingly power gradually became absolute and kingship was eventually looked upon as derived not from the people but from divine favour. It came to be believed that those who had performed severe austerities in their previous births became kings in this. During the Hindu period, therefore, kingdoms came to be known by the names of kingly families or by the names of the capitals they ruled. Instead of the Kurus and the Pāṇchālas, the Madras and the Surasenas of the Aryan period we find in Hiuen Tsang, the same kingdoms called by the names of Thanesar and Kanauj, Jālandhara and Mathurā. The mass of the people ceased to care who ruled them and were in fact ready to transfer their allegiance to any new king or kingly family which was strong or fortunate enough to establish his or its power. As explained in Chapter VII Book I at length, under such view the sentiment of patriotism had no scope and in fact did never develop in India. The sentiment of loyalty alone could flourish and did develop in this country. But this system of political philosophy conduced to the development of treason also along with loyalty and treason has consequently always been more in evidence in the history of India than in the history of the West. Not only, therefore, did the Indian people as a whole never fight against the Mahomedans but traitors were always found ready to serve as instruments in the hands of foreign invaders. For Hindu superstition looked equally upon foreigners as enjoying divine favour, as is illustrated by the history of Sind recorded in this volume. Where the feeling of nationality is well-developed and strong, not only is there less inclination towards treason, but the whole people offer stubborn resistance at each point in time and space to foreign conquest and make it almost impossible. The case in India during the Hindu period was exactly the reverse of this.

The people of India were prevented by another and more important reason from offering resistance as a whole

to the Mahomedans. It is our view that one of the three or more main causes of the fall of the Indo-Aryans was the prevalence of Buddhism in this country. As Gibbon has shown that the spread of Christianity was one of the causes of the decline of the Roman Empire, an impartial historian of India cannot help declaring that the prevalence of Buddhism in India operated in a similar manner. Buddhism worked to bring about this downfall of Indian kingdoms in more than one important direction. The high esteem in which Buddhism held sanyāsa and the fact that it allowed people of all castes, men and women, old and young, to flock to the fold of recluses and pass a life of idleness and begging spread among the people a sense of carelessness about their political condition and worldly prosperity, which materially impaired their capacity to offer resistance to foreign invaders. The history of the conquest of Sind as described in these pages will afford the most lamentable illustration of this tendency of Buddhism. Mediæval Hinduism indeed tried to eradicate this morbid feeling of the people towards sanyāsa, but the sentiment was now too deep-rooted in the minds of the people and as we shall have to relate in our second volume, the greatest philosopher of India Śankara had to recognise it and inculcate it as a tenet of the new doctrine he preached, although he tried to restrict Sanyāsa to Brahmins and to males only. The Hinduism of modern days does not respect this restriction and thousands of Sadhus of all castes, young and old, male and female live in temples and Mathas which have practically replaced the Saṅghārāmas of the Buddhists so vividly described by Hiuen Tsang, and pass their time, not so much in devotional prayers as in an unceasing struggle to live by begging. Such a philosophy must act prejudicially on a people's capacity to resist and it is no wonder that the Indo-Aryans fell before the Mahomedans in a manner they had never done before.

The second direction in which the prevalence of Buddhism impaired the capacity of the people to resist was the remarkable change which the practice of the principle of Ahimsā effected during the Hindu period in the food of the people. Like sanyāsa, Ahimsā too belongs to the old Aryan religion, but Buddhism so com-

pletely identified itself with that tenet that Buddhist kings in India's early history often employed their political power to prohibit animal food along with animal sacrifice in their kingdoms. Meghavāhana of Kashmir and Śilāditya of Malwa were two most renowned kings in this respect. The latter, as Hiuen Tsang relates, gave strained water even to elephants and horses "lest insects might be killed." The efforts of Emperor Harsha in this direction were more extensive and more successful and Hiuen Tsang records that animal slaughter and animal food ceased throughout the Five Indies. Now there can be no question that a nation which adopts and practises abstention from animal food as a high principle deteriorates in its capacity to hold its own in the struggle of nations, unless special efforts are made to keep up the fighting capacities of the people. A non-flesh-eating people cannot possess the physical stamina, the mental grip and tenacity, the restlessness, and even the ferocity so necessary for success in *fighting* which, unhappily throughout history, characterizes the evolution of the human race. The history of Mediæval Hindu India establishes the same fact. The Hindu kingdoms again and again gave their adhesion to the old Aryan religion of animal sacrifice and again and again the sentiment of Ahimsā asserted itself till at last Hinduism accepted abstention from animal food as one of its foremost tenets, and Hindu India finally fell before Mahomedans as we shall have to relate in our third volume. Even now the fighting portions of the people of India, viz. the Rajputs and the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Jats, not to speak of the outside Gurkhas, are flesh-eating people and these in modern Indian history have certainly proved their capacity for resistance.*

Now we yield to none in our conviction that Ahimsā is one of the few highest principles which the Indian Aryans in their spiritual progress have evolved. As we have said in this volume, there is no example in the history of the world of a great people having given up animal food in the pursuit of a high spiritual ideal, involving the loss of so valuable a possession as political independence. The

*Of course flesh-eating cannot supply the want of martial instinct and several flesh-eating peoples are devoid of military qualities.

beneficial influence of Buddhism and Jainism cannot but be acknowledged in stopping animal sacrifices in this country. And if we cannot sacrifice animals to propitiate the deity, we cannot, religiously speaking, partake of animal food. The position which Jainism has taken in this respect is the only logical one and Max Muller has properly complimented Indian thinkers on their fearlessness in taking up the position at which they logically arrive. It would, therefore, be both illogical and unspiritual for us to recommend animal food much more animal sacrifices. The Vedas again do not prescribe animal sacrifices only and we can still retain our allegiance to the Vedas if we make inanimate offerings to the Vedic deities in the sacrificial fire. We need not, therefore, recede from the high spiritual position at which we in our evolution have arrived. Especially, the Hindus including the Sikhs will never countenance the slaughter of cows which have been sacred to them even from Vedic times and which have become still more sacred in consequence of their association with Śhri Krishna. But what we have to emphasize here is that the people of this country have as a matter of history lost their political independence, to a large extent, because of their having given up animal food in obedience to their higher spiritual aspirations. The political danger involved in this change of the food of the majority of the people was not foreseen and as we shall see in our third volume no conscious effort was made to counteract the evil resulting from the change. For, as we have said in the body of the book, we believe that even a non-flesheating people can hold their own in the struggle of nations, if they are inured to arms and lead an abstemious life. Such unfortunately ceased to be the case during the 12th and 13th centuries, and India fell an easy prey to the inroads of the more ferocious and sturdy flesh-eating peoples of the north.

We will lastly refer to the third most important cause which impaired the power of the people of India to resist foreign conquest as a whole. The ramification of the four main castes or varṇas which also took place during the Mediæval Hindu period contributed, in our view, very largely to weaken the power of the people for resistance. History shows that at the beginning of the Hindu period, there was not any extensive subdivision of the four main

castes and these again were not water-tight compartments distinguished by the interdiction of marriage and even of food. By the operation of several causes during the Hindu period main castes began to subdivide themselves into innumerable subcastes not in consequence of any Buddhistic influence, but in spite of it, till at last about the end of the Hindu period that stupendous structure of caste, with its jealousies and its prejudices, with its rigorous restrictions on food and marriage which we see today was completed. The natural result was that the people were divided and could not and did not offer that united opposition which is necessary to successfully resist foreign attempts at conquest.

What then is the message we have to give to our Hindu country-men through the pages of this history? It is this:—first and foremost conscious efforts must be made to develop the sentiment of nationality among the people of this country, overriding all the jealousies and *differences created by provincial or linguistic separation* and even by religion. Secondly, we must recognise more acutely our worldly duties and responsibilities and systematic efforts must be made, especially by those of us who do not eat flesh, to develop our physical and mental capacities for fighting. And thirdly all subcastes must be obliterated by free intercourse in food and gradually even in marriage, though of course it must be admitted that the division of the Hindu society into the four main castes or Varnas is in-effaceable and its obliteration should not be attempted. Every religious revolution in India attempted it and failed. Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Aryanism successively tried to destroy varnas and so did even Christianity. Each and all not only failed, but eventually succumbed to the influence of caste. Subcastes, however, have no sanction in the Hindu Śāstras and systematic efforts to obliterate them will be successful, especially because they are the growth of recent times only.

It remains for us to add a few words with regard to the contents and the printing of this volume. It consists, as stated before, of two books, the first treating of Harsha and his times, and giving the history of India from about 600 to 650 A. D. and the second giving the history of the first set of Hindu kingdoms which ruled in the whole of

India from about 650 to 800 A. D., though in particular cases as stated above, the history has been brought down to the end of the Hindu period. At the beginning of each chapter we have indicated the materials on which the account in that chapter is based. Following the example of Sir V. Smith's Early History of India we have thrown all controversial matter in notes in small type. Further, Sanskrit quotations and words have been avoided as far as possible, translations being usually given. In spelling Sanskrit words, the usual rules of transliteration have been followed (except in words like Brahmin which have become thoroughly anglicised) but mistakes have often crept in such transliteration which the indulgent reader will, it is hoped, overlook. Lastly, we have thought it expedient to give in an appendix certain inscriptions in the original, which will serve as examples and which may be read with interest by those who can read and understand Sanskrit. An index and a religious map of India of the time of Hiuen Tsang have been added and will be found useful and interesting.

POONA CITY,

C. V. VAIDYA.

BOOK I

HARSHA AND HIS TIMES

(*Circa 600-650 A. D.*)

CHAPTER I

ACCESSION OF HARSHA

[THE broad facts mentioned in these Chapters are of course taken from Sir V. Smith's now standard work on the early history of India. I have, however, studied the materials referred to by him in the original and by their help and the help of the HARSHA-CHARITA of Bāna have tried to throw additional light on many incidents in Harsha's life. On two points I have ventured, with some diffidence, to put forward views differing from those of Sir Vincent Smith. I have further added a few detailed notes embodying discussion on the most controversial points. And lastly I have attempted to determine, on data supplied by the Harsha-Charita, the exact date of the birth of Harsha.]

When the seventh century of the Christian era opened Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar was undoubtedly the premier king of Northern India. He had defeated and humbled the Huns who, notwithstanding their signal defeat in the previous century by the combined forces of India led by Yaśodharma of Malwa and Bālāditya of Magadha, were still a powerful people in the Panjab and had their kingdoms at Gāndhāra or Peshawar and at Śākala or Sialkot still in existence. He had defeated the ruling kings of Sind and Gurjara, the chief state in Rajputana, and had also conquered the kings ruling in Malwa and Gujarat at the close of the sixth century.¹ In the eastern portion of Northern India the Maukharis of Kanauj held sway very probably as far east as the Brahmaputra called Lauhitya in ancient days and southwards as far as the

1. See हूणहरि केमरी सिन्धुराजज्वरो गुर्जरप्रजापतः गान्धाराधिपहस्तिज्वरो लाटपाटव-
पाटचरो मालवलक्ष्मीलतापत्युः। H.C., p. 174.

Vindhya range which extends accross India into Magadha; and they were connected with him by marriage, his daughter Rājyashrī being married to Grahavarmā of Kanauj. Thus Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar was in 605 A. D. by far the most powerful king in Hindustan and he was well justified in assuming the title of Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhattachāraka, whereas his father¹ and grandfather were simply Mahārājas, as the seal of Harsha found at Sonpat shows.

But within a year there was a sudden change in the fortunes of Prabhākaravardhana though not of his people or country. The Huns suddenly invaded the northern boundaries of his dominions and he had time only to send his elder son Rājyavardhana to oppose and chastise them. The Maukharis of Kanauj also appear to have fought with the Huns often, probably in conjunction with the forces of Thanesar²; but there was no time to call in their aid. Rājyavardhana, the elder son of Prabhākara, was a youthful prince of about nineteen or twenty at this time and must probably have been anxious to save his father the trouble of proceeding against the Huns in person, which he had often done before. Rājyavardhana proceeded with all haste towards the Huns of the Panjab, and his younger brother Harsha followed him as a matter of exercise and hunted in the jungles at the foot of the Himalayās. Rājyavardhana decisively defeated the Huns and drove them away and came back in triumph to Thanesar only to find the capital immersed in grief by the sudden death of his father.

1. Gupta inscriptions (No. 52) Corp. Ins. Ind. Vol III., p. 231 :—

परमादित्यभक्तो महाराज-श्रीराज्यवर्धनस्तस्य पुत्रः परमादित्यभक्तो महाराज-श्री-आदित्यवर्धनस्तस्य पुत्रः श्रीमहासेनागुप्तादेव्यामुत्पन्नः सर्ववर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापनप्रवृत्तः श्रीपरमादित्यभक्तो परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीप्रभाकरवर्धनस्तस्यपुत्रः श्रीमत्यांयशोमत्यामुत्पन्नः परमसौगतः (परमभट्टारक) महाराजाधिराज-श्रीराज्यवर्धनस्तस्यानुजः महादेव्यां यशोमत्यामुत्पन्नः (परमभट्टारक) हाराजा (धि) राज श्रीहर्षवर्धनः

2. See Aphsad Inscription of Adityasena to be noted more particularly in a note. The words important here are यो मौखरेः मभितिषूद्धतहूणसैन्या वल्गद्धटा विवटयन्नरुवारणानाम्, translated as follows :—" Breaking up the proudly stepping array of elephants belonging to the Maukhari which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Huns " (page 206.) Thus the Maukharis of Kanauj seem to have had fights with the Huns, of course of the Panjab, and must be supposed to be allied in these conflicts with the troops of Thanesar whose country intervened between Kanauj and the country of the Huns.

Harsha had already returned from his hunting trip on hearing of his father's sudden illness and had been by his bedside at the time of his death. His mother Yaśomati with more than Rajput instinct had preceded her husband by burning herself on a pyre in spite of the implorations of Harsha. Thus, by a sudden turn of the wheel of fortune, Rājyavardhana found himself raised to the throne of Thanesar though rendered inconsolable by the sudden demise of both his parents. The Buddhist Rājya thought of retiring in favour of the astounded Harsha; but all such thoughts were laid aside when just at that moment, a messenger arrived with news of the strangest character. The Guptas of Malwa seem to have been the hereditary enemies of the Maukharis of Kanauj.¹ When news spread abroad, and in ancient India, in spite of the absence of railways and telegraphs, news always spread very quickly, that Prabhākara was dead and that his son Rājya had gone on an expedition against the Huns, Deva Gupta of Malwa thought it an opportune moment to attack the young king Grahavarmā of Kanauj. He suddenly marched on that city, killed Grahavarmā in a surprise attack and taking his queen Rājyashrī a prisoner, inhumanly confined her like an ordinary delinquent, loaded with iron fetters, in a prison. He thought himself now strong enough to invade the kingdom of Thanesar itself and commenced his march towards its capital, though his ally and friend Sasānka Gupta of Karnasuvarna or Bengal, who had already marched to his assistance, had not yet arrived. It is not difficult to understand that the Guptas of Bengal like the Guptas of Malwa were smarting under the supremacy of the Maukharis of Kanauj, who had supplanted the power of the Imperial Guptas and established their sway upto the Brahmaputra, and were only waiting for an opportunity to wreak their vengeance on them. It is also possible to conceive that the two Guptas were leagued against

1. See note on Maukharis. The enmity of the Guptas and the Maukharis seems to have been hereditary and it is probably this enmity which explains the sudden attack on Kanauj by Deva Gupta. The Maukharis seem to have generally had the upperhand, as appears from H. C. (Bom.) p. 252 तिनिरैस्त्रिरस्कारो रवेः यो मौखराणां मालवैः परिभवः Who Deva Gupta was, we will also try to explain in a special note.

Thanesar and Kanauj, because the kings of the latter two were now Buddhists. No doubt religious differences, in ancient India, at least in the seventh century, were not of much animosity but still such differences might accentuate political enmities already existing and the kings of Bengal and Malwa might have been united in harbouring a wish to run down Grahavarmā of Kanauj and Rājyavardhana of Thanesar who were also both young and inexperienced at this time.

Such was the grave news which reached Rājya, just raised to the throne of Thanesar and not yet rested from his fight with the Huns. He was, however, a valiant and an undaunted warrior. Setting his grief aside he started immediately, with a view to speedily reach his enemy, with a mobile force of 10,000 horse under the command of his trusted general, Bhandi, who was his compeer and cousin, being a son of his maternal uncle. In spite of entreaties he left Harsha his younger brother behind at Thanesar both as a matter of convenience and precaution. He surprised his enemy Deva Gupta by the suddenness of his movement and totally defeated him, the latter being probably killed in action. He marched on to the relief of Kanauj and met Saśānka of Bengal on the way. The wheel of destiny which was evidently working from the first in favour of Harsha now had a third turn and engulfed Rājya in its working. Saśānka was unequal to face Rājya and resolved to rid himself of his enemy by a bold stroke of treachery. He offered his submission to the youthful king of Thanesar and promised to give his daughter in marriage to him in atonement for his fault.¹ Such was the usual Kshatriya fashion to patch up differences between contending kings. Rājyavardhana, straight and confiding, without arms and with a few followers only, went to the camp of Saśānka and while at a feast was treacherously murdered by that unscrupulous king. He,

1. The commentator on Harsha-Charita makes this suggestion which is very likely
 तथाहि तेन शशाङ्केन विश्वासार्थं कन्यादानमुक्त्वा प्रलोभितो राज्यवर्धनः स्वगेहे सानुचरो
 भुञ्जान एव छद्मना व्यापादितः ॥ H. C., p. 241.

then, without attempting to try conclusions with Rājya's army commanded by Bhandi, as suddenly marched back from Kanauj to his kingdom as he had marched to it; while a Gupta chief who was in charge of the city of Kanauj quietly released Rājyashri from confinement¹ and sent her away, in order probably to divert the attention of Bhandi.

Such were the strange, yet not improbable, circumstances which, within a few months of the year 606 A. D. (about May), placed Harsha on the throne of Thanesar at the early age of 16². They have been very eloquently related by Bāna, the most famous prose writer of Sanskrit literature, who was Harsha's contemporary and protegee, and they are supported to a considerable extent by the account of Hiuen Tsang, the most famous and trustworthy traveller of China who was honoured for his Buddhist learning and piety by Harsha. Young as he was, Harsha was a man of extraordinary courage, ability and good fortune like his remote successor Akbar who fought his first battle at 14, ascended the throne of Dehli a few months later and assumed absolute power at 18. Harsha resolved at once on punishing the dastardly Gupta of Bengal and on rescuing the unfortunate queen of Kanauj. He harnessed his army of elephants, horses and men with a view not only to conquer Bengal but the whole of India, for he well surmised that the whole country would be arrayed against him, unfriended and inexperienced as he apparently was. To quote the poetic expression of Bāna he therefore asked his foreign secretary

1. कान्यकुब्जाद्वीडसंभ्रमं गुप्तितो गुप्तनाम्नः कुलपुत्रेण निष्कासनं निर्गताया राज्यवर्धन-मरण-श्रवणं . . . सर्वमश्रुणोत्परिजनतः ॥ H. C., p. 332.

2. From the Harsha-Charita some idea may be formed of the probable and exact age of Harsha. We have added a note trying to fix his exact age. But it may be noted here that Rājya appears from Harsha-Charita to have been three years older than Harsha and Harsha about two years older than Rājyashri. When Kumāra and Mādhava were given to them as companions Kumāra is said to be 18 years of age. अष्टादशवर्षवयसम् (H. C., p. 196). Rājyashri was married about a year after this and Prabhākara's death might have happened a year later. If we take Rājya to be about the same age as Kumāra Rājya seems at this time to be about 19 years of age and Harsha about 16 when he came to the throne of Thanesar.

to write to all the kings of India to *proffer either battle or submission*. He started immediately on this *Digvijaya* or expedition for the conquest of the four quarters. His first camp was pitched on the banks of the Sarasvati, only a few miles east of Thanesar and the Patel or headman of the village came forward to receive his king at this first halting place and offered the customary *nuzzar* of a gold coin marked with a bull and specially struck anew for the occasion, on the palm of his hand. Harsha, while picking up the coin, accidentally let it go and it fell on the muddy bank of the Sarasvati imprinting the soft soil with its impression. Persons present stood aghast at this ill omen happening at the very outset of his march for *Digvijaya*, but Harsha, with undaunted courage and wit, remarked that it was a good augur as it plainly indicated that the earth would soon be stamped with the sign of his sovereignty. To a man of such strength and presence of mind no advice was needed, yet his minister implored him to guard himself against possible treachery giving him a score of examples how in past times kings had been murdered by various devices by wily persons, both male and female. Thankfully accepting his minister's advice and entrusting his kingdom to the proper persons, Harsha set forth on his conquering expedition and now marched towards Kanauj. He met Bhandi on the way and with tears in his eyes heard from him again the story of Rājya's murder. He saw the army of elephants captured from the defeated king of Malwa as also the vast treasure secured and the family and courtiers of the king all put in chains in return for his savage treatment of Rājyashrī. He learned, however, from Bhandi that Rājyashrī had been let off from confinement, that she had taken refuge in the jungles of the Vindhya and that in spite of efforts made, her whereabouts were not still ascertained. In the impetuosity of his affection for Rājyashrī, Harsha bade his army halt on the banks of the Ganges and with a select retinue started off himself in search of his sister. He came by chance to the hermitage of one Divākarmitra,

a Buddhist recluse, who turned out to be a close friend of his brother-in-law, Grahavarmā. From one of his disciples he heard that a lady in affliction was going to burn herself on a pyre just in the neighbourhood and with this man's aid Harsha reached in time to save the queen of Kanauj, who, unable to bear her calamities, was going thus to put an end to her life. But the calamities of both the brother and the sister were now at an end, and they joyfully went to take leave of Divākaramitra. Rājyashrī was so impressed with the sanctity and quiet of the Āshrama of the Buddhist hermit, her husband's friend, that she implored her brother to permit her to turn a Buddhist nun. But Harsha and Divākaramitra both dissuaded her, Harsha prophetically saying that he and she would both together take the holy order when their life's business was done. Harsha then returned with his sister Rājyashrī to his camp on the bank of the Ganges.

Here ends the romantic, but not unauthentic story of Harsha and Rājyashrī given in the Harsha-Charita of Bāna, who, to the great regret of the historian and the general reader, unaccountably leaves off the story in the middle. But it is of great help to us in understanding the account recorded by Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang's account has been to my mind misunderstood. It plainly seems that that account relates to what happened subsequently at Kanauj and does not relate to what had already happened at Thanesar. Harsha probably was the sole remnant in the family of the kings of Thanesar, and his brother Rājya, young as he was, had left no issue. Rājya was probably not even married.¹ Harsha, therefore, became king of Thanesar at once and without any doubt. The doubts entertained by Harsha as to whether he should be king or not as related by Hiuen Tsang must be referred to his doubts as to whether he should be king of Kanauj. The whole story becomes intelligible, if we connect these doubts with the kingdom of Kanauj. When Harsha and Rājyashrī reached Kanauj, there must have been some

1. See H. C., p. 253. कलत्रं रक्षात्विति श्रीस्ते निस्त्रिंशेऽधिवसति ।

anxious deliberation there as to the disposal of that kingdom. From the Harsha-Charita Grahavarmā appears to have been the eldest son of his father Avantivarmā¹. Should Rājyashrī be set aside and consigned to obscurity and some younger heir of Avantivarmā be raised to the throne? Harsha who had just brought the afflicted Rājyashrī back from a pyre and a hermitage was unwilling to do so. He was also unwilling to sieze the kingdom for himself. Grahavarmā was a Buddhist and presumably Rājyashrī also. Harsha, too, owing to his great and sudden afflictions in early age had Buddhistic inclinations though he was a declared devotee of Shiva.²

It was thus naturally and perhaps astutely decided, that the difficulty should be solved by a reference to the Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara whose temple was outside the city of Kanauj, and the Bodhisatva solved the difficulty in a congenial manner. Rājyashrī, it was ordained, should rule and Harsha should be her lieutenant. He should not ascend the throne nor take the title of the king of Kanauj but should style himself only Rājaputra Śīladitya. According to the Chinese work, Fang Chih, Harsha henceforward "administered the kingdom in conjunction with his widowed sister" (page 338, V. Smith's E. History, 3rd edition). To my mind this explanation of the apparent hesitation of Harsha is simple and plain and it also explains why after Harsha's death there was anarchy and disorder again in the kingdom of Kanauj as will be related hereafter. At this stage it is difficult to understand how historians came to confound Thanesar and Kanauj³ and how it is for a moment entertained that

1. See H. C., p. 200. अवान्तिवर्मण सूत्रयजो ग्रहवर्मा.

2. The Bankshera inscription of the 9th year of his reign declares Harsha to be Parama Mahesvara still. Bāna also relates that when Harsha started on his Digvijaya from Thanesar, he first worshipped the god Mahesvara, see विरचय्य परमभक्त्या भगवतो नीललोहितस्यार्चाम् ॥ H. C. page 273.

3. Probably the Records mixed up the two kingdoms and hence the misunderstanding. The words in the Records are : "The statesmen of KANAUI, on the advice of their leading man Bani invited Harshavardhana, the younger brother of the murdered king, to become their sovereign. He seemed unwilling and made excuses. He then determined to take the advice of Avalokitevara," &c, I think Bāna's account and this must be put together and Harsha's unwillingness to take up the kingdom of Kanauj

the nobles of Thanesar hesitated to offer their allegiance to Harsha. The nobles of Thanesar, as related by Bāna, had at once acclaimed him king of Thanesar and it was only at Kanauj where he arrived in his conquering expedition with his widowed beloved sister Rājyashrī that doubts arose with regard to the succession to the throne of that kingdom—doubts which were finally removed as aforesaid. Harsha very naturally hereafter gave up residence at Thanesar and made Kanauj his capital which he ruled in conjunction with his sister. Between the two the fondest attachment subsisted throughout their reign. Their Buddhistic tendencies united them in religious sentiment also and it appears that during their long reign nothing happened to mar their amicable relations.

should be explained as above. It is also probable that Vineent Smith's unwillingness to accept Kanauj as the capital of the Maukhari Grahavarma has increased the difficulty. But the fact that the Maukharis ruled at Kanauj cannot, as shown in a note, be denied. The Imperial Gazetteer, too, under Kanauj unreservedly accepts the theory that the Maukharis ruled at Kanauj before Harsha.

CHAPTER II

HARSHA'S EMPIRE

With the combined forces of Kanauj and Thanesar, it is not strange that Harsha succeeded in his announced resolve to subjugate Hindustan. The augury was already good. Kumārarāja of Kāmarupa (Assam) who probably was an enemy of Śaśānka sent a messenger to offer his friendship and to present him with a priceless white umbrella the sign of universal sovereignty according to Indian ideas. Harsha was gratified at this voluntary tribute and proffered friendship from Kumāra and accepted them most heartily. He then moved with his army of elephants, cavalry and infantry east and west in a continuous march of conquest, which is said to have lasted for about six years and established his empire over the kings of Northern India. It may be pointed out here that the empire of Harsha was somewhat different from Moslem empires. The idea still remained fixed to the Indian mind that a Chakravarti need not dispossess the subjugated kings of their dominions. In this respect modern empires, at least in Hindustan, differ from ancient and mediæval empires. Then it was thought enough if the conquered king offered his submission, promised to pay a nominal yearly tribute and on occasions of ceremony attended upon the imperial sovereign. Indeed it was never thought allowable to dispossess the native kings of their particular kingdoms where they had long ruled and annex them to the empire. Harsha's empire, it must therefore be remembered, was different from the empire of Mahommed Tughlak or of Aurangzeb or, for that matter, of the British which naturally resembles the Mahomedan empires immediately preceding it. In his *digvijaya* Harsha only exacted submission from the various kings of India and allowed them to rule their own territories, annexation being resorted to only in exceptionable cases.

It is to be regretted that no details of this conquest or subjugation of Northern India are available. It is not even discoverable how Harsha punished Śaśānka of Karna-suvarna or Bengal called Gauda by Bāna in his *Harsha-Charita* for treacherously murdering his brother Rājya. Probably he saved himself by another stroke of policy in much the same way as he had saved himself from Rājya. He was alive and ruling in 619 A. D. in which year a vassal king of his gave a village in gift to a Brahmin in Ganjam (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 144). This inscription plainly shows that he enjoyed the whole of his kingdom including those of his vassals intact. This was of course in consonance with the ideas of empire above described. Perhaps Harsha, in his Buddhistic tendencies, extended forgiveness to Śaśānka and did not exact from him the threatened reparation for murder.

The extent of the empire of Harsha can with tolerable certainty be determined. It included probably the whole of Northern India exclusive of Sind, the Panjab and Kashmir, though even over these kingdoms also he established nominal suzerainty, for he appears to have humbled all these three and exacted tribute from them.

We shall notice the rulers of different kingdoms who were contemporaneous with Harsha in the next chapter in which we intend to detail the various kingdoms visited by the indefatigable Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. Here it will suffice to observe that Harsha subjugated almost the whole of Northern India and established a strong and well-ordered empire which lasted till his death. He founded as a memento of his being a Chakravarti, a special era of his own commencing from 606 A. D. in imitation of previous emperors who had founded the Vikrama, the Śaka and the Gupta eras. Indeed the founding of an era was now looked upon as an emblem of empire and Harsha in response to this tradition founded his own era in 612 A. D. after he had completed his *Digvijaya* dating from his accession in 606 A. D.

Harsha hereafter attempted to extend his empire to the south of the Nerbudda like Samudra Gupta who had

led a conquering expedition through Southern India. But Southern India remained unconquered owing to the vigilance and valour of Harsha's great rival Chālukya Pulakeśi II of Mahārāshtra. His capital appears from inscriptions to have been Vātāpi or modern Badami but from Hiuen Tsang's description it may have been Nasik also. This king, namely, Pulakeśi II was very powerful and appears to have subjugated the whole of Southern India. He came to the throne at about the same time as Harsha *i.e.*, about 608 A. D. and soon extended his sway down to the southern coast. The description which the famous Chinese traveller gives of him, his army and his people deserves to be quoted here in extenso. "The inhabitants of Mahārāshtra) were proud, spirited and warlike; grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards supplicants in distress and sanguinary to death with those who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes went to the conflict intoxicated and their war elephants were also made drunk before engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt. The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śilāditya (Harsha) was invading at this time east and west and the countries far and near were giving him allegiance but Mahārāshtra refused to become subject to him. (Records Vol. II, Watters, page 239.) The Life says, "The king always supports several thousand men of valour and several hundred savage elephants. These in a drunken condition rush against the enemy and without fail put the foe to flight. Śilāditya Rāja in spite of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, marching himself at the head of his troops could not subjugate him." (Life of H. T., p. 147.) By a strange concomittance thus, India was divided at this time into two empires ruled by two powerful kings who were a match to each other and who came to the throne at about the same time. The dividing line of these southern and northern empires was naturally the Nerbudda which divides India into two portions

differing from each other in many characteristics both of country and people.

Except in a passage which we will notice in a note, it is unfortunate that we have not an account from Bāna with regard to the actual establishment of Harsha's empire or its extent and we have to rely on the single* testimony of Hiuen Tsang. It is from him that we learn that Harsha conquered India during the course of six years "during which time neither the men nor the elephants were unharnessed," and that for 35 years more he ruled in peace and without any conflict. Of course the war with Pulakesi II which is placed by Vincent Smith about 620 A. D. and the war with Ganjam which was waged towards the end of his reign have to be excepted. This latter war was waged against the people of Ganjam or Kangoda about 643 A. D. as has been inferred from the Life of Hiuen Tsang, page 159, where it is mentioned that "Harsha was just then returning from the subjugation of Ganjam."

It would be interesting to quote Hiuen Tsang as to how Harsha maintained this vast empire. "Having extended his territory he increased his army, bringing the elephant corps up to 60,000 and cavalry to 1,00,000, and then reigned in peace for 30 (thirty) years. He was just in his administration and punctilious in the discharge of his duties. He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works. He prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the five Indies. He established travellers' rests throughout his dominions. The neighbouring princes and statesmen who were zealous in good works, he called "good friends." He would not converse with those who were of a different character. The king made visits of inspection throughout his domi-

* We have however confirmatory epigraphic evidence that Harsha ruled over the whole of Northern India. See Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, VIII, p. 82⁸, where Pulakeshi II is described as समसंस्तुतः सकलोत्तरापथेश्वर-श्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजयोपलब्ध-परमेश्वरापरनामधेयः सत्याश्रयः, श्रीगुणविक्रमो महाराजाधिराजः

nion, not residing long at any place but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn* ; but he did not go abroad through the three months of the rainy season. The king's day was divided into three periods, of which one was given up to affairs of government, and two were devoted to religious works. He was indefatigable and the day was too short for him" (Records, Watters, Vol. I, p. 344). With such diligent habits of work and such conscientious efforts for the cultivation of high morals it is no wonder that Harsha's empire remained intact throughout his long reign and prospered to the utmost. He had his own agents or officers appointed in different regions to look to the maintenance of justice† and his orders, autocratic as they were, were for the good of his subjects and were promptly obeyed by prince and peasant. Harsha's empire thus may well be classed, like the reign of Marcus Aurelius to whom he may fitly be likened,§ among the most enlightened and happy empires, which have now and then, though rarely enough, embellished the history of the world, and stands out in brilliant relief from the surrounding chequered background.

The death of Harsha is placed by historians in 647 A. D. on the evidence of reliable Chinese records (see V. Smith's E. H. page 352 3rd edition), Harsha having thus ruled for about 41 years. Most probably he left no issue. We have strangely enough no mention anywhere as to who his wife was and what children he had. He had a daughter no doubt and she was married to the king of Valabhi. Had he a son, there would assuredly have been

* This is corroborated by Bāna also who describes the sojourn of Harsha at the first halting place from Thanaser as follows नातिदूरेनगरादुपसरस्वति निर्मिते महति वृणमये मन्दिरे प्रस्थानमकरोत् ।

† See note following giving an extract from H.C. containing "अत्र लोकनाथेन दिशां मुखेषु परिकल्पिता लोकपाला : ।"

§ Like Marcus Aurelius, Harsha appears to have been an emperor of the highest moral nature. From Harsha-Charita, pages 111-113, it appears that he had vowed Brahmacharya or constancy to his wedded queen, upheld truth and justice and forsworn wine and flesh. A patron of learned men he himself was a man of great learning and an author.

no disturbance after his death, and his son would have left some record, wherein as usual his mother's name would have been recited. We are therefore justified in surmising that he left no son. This fact indeed may have accentuated that intense religious consciousness which this unique emperor displayed of the emptiness of this world's riches and greatness, and under the influence of which he held those magnificent festivals of almsgiving every fifth year which have been described to us by Hiuen Tsang with such graphic detail, and in which, as perhaps no emperor in the history of the world did, Harsha gave away all his valuable treasures to Buddhist, Brahmin and Jain men of piety and learning, begging afterwards even his clothes from his sister Rāj-yashri. Such was this great Emperor Harsha at once munificent, philosophic and brave.

CHAPTER III

THE KINGS AND KINGDOMS OF INDIA IN THE TIME OF HARSHA

The detailed information given in the records of the indefatigable Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang who came to India in the beginning of 631 A. D. and who left it about the end of 643 A. D. supplies us with a very full account of the state of this country during the latter half of the reign of Harsha; an account which is strongly corroborated by epigraphic and other evidence available. Hiuen Tsang often gives us the names of particular kings and also invariably the characteristics of the people touching their disposition, religion and history, information which is very useful to the student of early Indian history. The records and his life composed originally in Chinese have been translated by European scholars and are available to us in an English garb. These accounts have also been subjected to scrutiny by noted researchers like Sir A. Cunningham who has succeeded in identifying most of the places and kingdoms mentioned by the Chinese traveller and subsequent scholars have added to the information thus noted by Sir A. Cunningham in his well-known book 'Ancient Geography of India.' All these scholars have thus laid students of India a history under a deep debt of obligation which cannot but be acknowledged at this stage when we proceed to summarise this information in a table specially prepared for the perusal of the general reader. This table gives the name of each kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsang in order, the name of the king if any and in a third column such valuable information about the people and the country as is thought interesting and useful. (See Note.) From this evidence and from the epigraphic evidence available we shall try in this chapter to describe the important kingdoms in India at this time, and the kings who ruled them.

To commence from the extreme north-west we have first to notice the country of Kapisa (Kabul) the king of which was a Kshatriya and a Buddhist. Who this king was we are unable to ascertain, but he held under subjection the adjoining kingdoms of Lampāk, Nagara and Gāndhāra, all beyond the Indus. The ruling family in Gāndhāra is said by Hiuen Tsang to have been destroyed and the country and the capital were in ruins. Probably the Huns who ruled in this country in the days of Harsha's father were, after their defeat by him, conquered by Kapisa. The next important kingdom mentioned beyond the Indus and along the Suvastu (Swat) was Udyāna or modern Swat, a stronghold of Buddhism even in the days of Hiuen Tsang. Crossing the Indus, the third important kingdom then was that of Kashmir which held under its sway the three minor kingdoms of Taxila, Sinhapura and Ūrasa. The king of Kashmir, at this time, was Durlabhavardhana who according to the Rājataranginī inaugurated the Karkota dynasty in Kashmir. Hiuen Tsang also notices that the kings of Kashmir were protected by a dragon. According to Kalhana, this king was a son-in-law of the last king of the Gonardīya dynasty, named Bālāditya. He is said by Kalhana to have come to the throne in 3677 of the Laukika era or 601 A. D. and to have ruled for 36 years, which makes him a contemporary of Harsha almost from beginning to end. The dynasty founded by him was called the Karkota dynasty, Karkota being the name of a dragon by whose favour he was supposed to have risen to importance. He established his sway over the northern portion of the Panjab as well as certain hill states adjoining Kashmir and was thus a powerful king. Probably it was he who, in the difficult Himalayas, was made to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of Harsha and compelled to pay tribute as mentioned by Bāṇa. The people of Kashmir as described by Hiuen Tsang were then exactly what they are at present, handsome and fond of learning, but strangely enough Hiuen Tsang describes them as deceitful.

The next country of importance is the one which Hiuen Tsang calls Tekka, the former capital of which was

Śākala and a former noted king of which was Mihirakula. Both Śākala and Mihirakula are names of note in the ancient history of India but this capital Śākala was now in ruins. The new capital and the name of Tekka have not been identified. It is possible to identify Tekka, however, with the Tāk of the Chachnāma and the Tāk royal family enumerated among the 36 royal families of India. The Tāk according to Todd disappeared from Indian history owing to conversion to Mahomedanism in the 13th century A. D. The Tekka kingdom appears to have held extensive sway, as Mulasthānapura (Multan) and Parvata are said by Hiuen Tsang to have been subject to Tekka in his days. All these countries were not pre-eminently Buddhist and it may be conjectured that they were the places where old Hindu worship then flourished. Mihirakula was a persecutor of Buddhists, and at Multan there was the famous temple of the Sun worshipped by devotees throughout India. Who the Tekka king was, it would be most interesting to discover. He was the most important king of the Panjab so to speak, though as his country lay between Kashmir and Thanesar, his subordination to Harsha may be inferred.

Giving up the order of Hiuen Tsang and going a little south-west we find that the next most important kingdom was Sind. The capital was beyond the Indus and it held under subjection two or three kingdoms to the west and south as far as the sea. In fine the kingdom was as extensive as the British province of Sind. Its king though powerful had been defeated by both Prabhākara and Harsha. Who this king was it is somewhat difficult to determine. He was a Śūdra by caste and a Buddhist according to Hiuen Tsang. According to the Chachanāma—a history of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in the next or eighth century,—there ruled in Sind before Chacha, the Brahmin king, a race of kings whose ancestor was Dewaij and whose last king was Sāhasi Rai. After Sāhasi's death Chacha the Brahmin who was his chamberlain seized the throne and married his

widow. When this usurpation took place we can ascertain from the Chachanāma which states that in the 11th year of the Hejira, *i. e.*, in 632 A. D. the first invasion of Sind by Mahomedans took place. "Chacha was then on the throne and 35 years of his reign had passed." The usurpation of Chacha from this statement falls in 597 A.D. He ruled forty years, *i. e.*, till 637 A. D. when his brother Chandra succeeded him and ruled for 7 years, *i. e.*, till 644 A. D. Thus in 641 A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited the kingdom of Sind, Chandra must have been on the throne and he is said in the Chachanāma to have been a Buddhist. But he was a Brahmin and hence Hiuen Tsang's description that he was a Śūdra does not apply. It is not possible to suppose that Hiuen Tsang made a mistake. It should rather be said that the Chachanāma is mistaken, for much of it is fanciful and it is more a hearsay history for events before the conquest of Sind by the Arabs than the evidence of an eye-witness. Moreover if Chandra died in 644 A. D. his nephew Dahir must be taken to have come to throne in 644 A. D. He was the king when Sind was conquered by Mahamad Kāsim in 712 A. D., a date which is certain and reliable. Dahir therefore must thus have been on the throne for 68 years, a somewhat long period. What may be surmised is that Sāhasi was still on the throne of Sind when Hiuen Tsang visited the country in 641 A.D. He appears to have been of the Maurya dynasty as the Chachanāma represents that the ruler of Chitor was his brother or distant relative. Chitor was not yet in the hands of the Sisodias but was ruled by a Maurya family of kings from whom, as the traditions of the Sisodias declare, the kingdom was seized by Bappā Rāval. The Mauryas were of course looked upon as Śūdras. It is not improbable that branches of the Maurya family sprung from Chandra Gupta and Aśoka still ruled in several places in India. We would therefore give greater weight to Hiuen Tsang's statement and hold that the king of Sind at this time was Sāhasi II and he may have been a Buddhist. It is also more consistent to suppose that it was Sāhasi II who was defeated by Harsha and not Chacha who was

a peculiarly fortunate king and who extended his sway north, west and south. Chacha is said to have conquered Multan and Parvata and made his boundary conterminous with that of Kashmir. As Hiuen Tsang states that Multan was subject to Tekka and not to Sind when he visited it in 641 A.D. we may take it as a further argument to hold that he visited Sind in the time of Sāhasi II. Some place the usurpation of Chacha in 631 A.D. (see Sind Gazetteer and Gazetteer of Bahawalpur) on the authority of another Mahomedan historian, but we must place it sometime after Harsha's death, *i. e.*, about 648 A.D. Chacha ruled for 40 years or till 688 and his brother Chandra till 695 and his son Dahir must have been on the throne for about 17 years when he was conquered by Kasim in 712 A. D.

The divergence between the testimony of Hiuen Tsang and Chachanāma with regard to the caste of the ruling king in Sind leaves us in a doubt as to whether Sāhasi II was then ruling there or Chandra, brother of Chacha. But there is no doubt as to who was then ruling in Valabhi or Eastern Kathiawar, the next most important kingdom in Northern India. Hiuen Tsang describes the ruler of this kingdom very vividly. "He was a Kshatriya by caste and a son-in-law of Harsha. His name was Dhruvabhata. He was hasty of temper and young but a devout Buddhist." He is subsequently described as often accompanying Harsha on his march and he was present at the great alms-giving assemblage held at Prayāga where Hiuen Tsang was the presiding priest in 643 A. D. Epigraphical evidence is amply corroborative in this connection. The ruling family of Valabhi was founded by Senāpati Bhatārka, who came from Ayodhyā, during the troubles of the Huns about the beginning of the sixth century (some place this in 485 A. D.). Their grants testify to their history and power and they were generally worshippers of Śiva though Dhruvabhata the son-in-law of Harsha was a Buddhist. It was undoubtedly a premier Kshatriya family, for the premier Kshatriya family of later Indian history, namely, the Sisodiyas of Udaipur derive their descent from this

family of Valabhi. It is therefore not improbable that Harsha gave his daughter in marriage to this king because he was a Kshatriya king, as his father had given Rājya-shrī in marriage to Grahavarmā, another well-known Kshatriya king of his days. In fact, then as now, kings tried to give their daughters to kings of unquestioned Kshatriya lineage for as Bāna says (H. C., p. 200) सत्स्वप्यन्येषु वरगुणेषु अभिजनमेवानुसृज्यन्ते धीमन्तः “Among other good qualities of a bridegroom wise men look to good lineage alone.”

The next important kingdom was that of Gurjara in Rajputana. Its capital was Bhinmāl. It was the principal country of the Gurjaras in those days, though now the country is not Gujarat but Rajputana. “The king was a Kshatriya by caste,” according to Hiuen Tsang, and “a young man celebrated for his wisdom and courage and a firm believer in Buddhism.” This king must have been a son of king Vyāghramukha in whose time the noted astronomer Brahmagupta in 628 A.D. composed his treatise on astronomy. As Hiuen Tsang visited the country about 641 A. D., Vyāghramukha's successor must have been a young man. Gurjara was defeated by Prabhākara, the father of Harsha as stated in the Harsha-Charita, p. 174 (गुर्जरप्रजागरः प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः). Though its conquest by Harsha in his *digvijaya* is not mentioned, it may be easily presumed. But Hiuen Tsang's description of the king suggests that like Sind and Kashmir, Gurjara was nominally subject to the overlordship of Harsha.

There was a Gurjara kingdom to the south of Valabhi also. It was very probably founded by an offshoot from the Gurjara kingdom in the north. This was the first incursion of the Gurjaras into this part of the country which in later times has always borne their name. The kingdom is called Bharukaccha by Hiuen Tsang and its capital was Bharukaccha or modern Broach on the north bank of the Nerbudda at the head of the estuary of that river. It derived its wealth from sea-borne trade. The king who ruled Bharukacchā at this time was Dadda II

whose grants found disclose the genealogy of the family and mention it clearly as a Gurjara family*. These kings were worshippers of the Sun, a fact which also connects them with the original Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmāl where there was a well-known temple of the Sun. The tree of the family is as follows:—(1) Dadda I who came into this part about 528 A. D. and founded the kingdom, (2) Jayabhata I, (3) Dadda II, contemporary of Harsha and Hiuen Tsang. He was practically an independent king though his titles are those of a Mahāsāmanta. For this king Dadda is said to have given refuge to a Valabhi king when he was attacked by Harsha. Probably it was Dhruvabhata himself who subsequently became the son-in-law of Harsha, but perhaps his father if this invasion happened during the early years of Harsha's reign.

We next go on to describe the kingdom of Molapo or Malwa as described by Hiuen Tsang. "Its capital" says he "was on the south-east side of the Mahi river. The people were intelligent, of a refined speech and of liberal education. Malwa in the south-west and Magadha in the north-east were the two countries where learning was prized. In this country virtue was esteemed and humanity respected." This flattering description applies to ancient Malwa as a whole, for Malwa throughout Sanskrit literature bears a high reputation for learning. But Molapo must be identified with Western Malwa (as at present constituted politically) as the capital is said to be near the Mahi river, which is even now a river of Western Malwa as well as Gujarat. It may perhaps have been Dhārānagari noted in the next few centuries as the seat of the Paramāras, the liberal patrons of learning and learned men. Dhārā is mentioned in the Jaunpur inscription of Īśvaravarmā (Gupta Ins. Vol. III, plate No. 51, p. 230), and thus must have been in existence even at that time. Whatever the capital may have been, this Malwa of Hiuen Tsang owing to the mention of the Mahi is undoubtedly

* विपुल-गुर्जर-नृपान्वय-प्रदीपितो &c. (Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII., No. 63).

Western Malwa; Eastern Malwa, separated from it by the Chambal river, being mentioned by him as Ujjain of which we shall speak presently. Who the king of this Western Malwa was it does not clearly appear. Hiuen Tsang mentions that from the records of this kingdom, about sixty years before his arrival, there ruled here a Śilāditya who was famous for his rare kindness and compassion. He was a Buddhist and had a temple of Buddha built near his palace. "This fine work had been continued for successive generations without interruption." (See Records, Watters, Vol. II, p. 242.) The life adds, "He would not injure even a fly. He caused the water given to the horses and elephants to be strained, unless he should destroy the life of a water-insect. He impressed on the people of the country to avoid taking life. Thus for fifty years he continued on the throne," p. 148. If this king ruled Western Malwa for fifty years, sixty years before Hiuen Tsang's visit in 640 A. D., he must be taken to have come to the throne in 530 A. D. or somewhere about it and died in 580. At this time, therefore, his grandson or perhaps great-grandson must, have been ruling in Western Malwa. Who this Śilāditya was we shall discuss in a note.

Next we come to the kingdom called Ujjain from its capital. This kingdom was pre-eminently Malwa and should have been so called. But Hiuen Tsang coming to Western Malwa first and finding it completely Buddhist, gave it the name of Malwa and gave to the next kingdom which was ruled by a Brahmin and which was not wholly Buddhist the name of Ujjain. Ujjain, however, was Malwa pre-eminently. It was the same Ujjain as is famous in the old Buddhist and Hindu literatures. There is no doubt about its identity for Hiuen Tsang reports that Asoka in his youth had built outside the city a hell (jail) for the punishment of evil-doers. The ruler of the country when Hiuen Tsang visited it was a Brahmin. He was perhaps appointed by Harsha or had seized the vacant kingdom and had been tolerated by him. Of the

Gupta family which appears to have ruled here in the beginning of Harsha's reign we shall speak in a note. It may be stated that the Gupta emperors of Pāṭali-putra and Ayodhyā conquered Malwa and Ujjain about 400 A. D., under Chandra Gupta II. His successors ruled Malwa as well as Kathiawar and Gujarat as their coins testify. With Skanda Gupta the regular Gupta line ceased. It was overthrown as is well-known by the Huns. A Budha Gupta, however, ruled between the Jumna and the Nerbudda about 480-500 A.D. as appears from the Eran inscription and also from his coins. Other branches of the Guptas founded by Gupta chiefs must have established themselves in the several provinces of their empire and we may take it that the family mentioned in the Aphsad plate ruled in Malwa at Ujjain until Deva Gupta the contemporary of Rājya was killed in the battle with him and the kingdom was seized by Harsha in 606 A. D. After that date and between 640 A. D. a Brahmin king may have set himself up or been appointed in Malwa.

After the fall of the Gupta power and of Budha Gupta, who ruled between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, other kingdoms might have been formed in this part of the country besides Malwa or Ujjain and Hiuen Tsang mentions two, namely, Chichito or Zajoti in what is now Bundelkhand the capital being probably at Eran and Maheśvarapura which has been identified by many with Gwalior (or perhaps Narwar). All these three kingdoms go by the name of their capitals and were ruled by Brahmin kings who may well be originally only Gupta governors subsequently assuming kingly status.*

We have thus far noticed the important kingdoms in the west and south of the empire of Harsha and mentioned the names and other particulars of the kings who ruled them. They were, to repeat, the kingdoms of Kabul,

1. The king in Chichito might have been a descendant of the Brahmin king San-kshobha of the Parivrājaka family whose inscription is given at 25 in the Corp. Ins., Vol. III, p. 115, or he may have been a descendant of Dhyānavishu whose inscription has been found at Eran.

Kashmir, Tekka (Panjab), Sind, Valabhi, Gurjara, Broach, Malwa, Ujjain, Bundelkhand and Gwalior. Durlabhavaradhana ruled in Kashmir and Sāhasi II in Sind. At Valabhi the premier Kshatriya king Dhruvabhata ruled and he was the son-in-law of Harsha. In Gurjara north or Rajputana and in Gurjara south or Broach ruled two Kshatriya kings, *viz.*, a son of Vyāghramukha and Dadda II, respectively. In what is Central India as constituted at present three kingdoms, named Ujjain, Zajoti, and Maheśvarapura, besides Molapo or Western Malwa, were ruled by three Brahmin-kings. All these were probably actually included in Harsha's empire and Valabhi and Broach were practically so, while Gurjara, Sind, Kashmir and Tekka were nominally under Harsha's suzerainty. In Molapo, which was also practically under the rule of Harsha, a grandson of a Śilāditya ruled with certainty.

Before going on to describe the kingdoms of Mid-India we must notice a small kingdom not visited by Hiuen Tsang, the ruler of which in the beginning of the next or 8th century laid the foundation of the Mewad kingdom so noted in modern history for its great heroism and its constancy to Rajput traditions. This was the small kingdom of Eder in the south-west of Mewad, founded by a son of Gūhāditya of the Valabhi family of Kshatriyas, in the middle of the sixth century. At this time, *i. e.*, in the first half of the seventh century, the ruler in this family was named Nāgāditya Śilāditya who is mentioned in an inscription dated 646 A. D. (see Rajputana Gazetteer, Mewad Agency, Vol. II) In this family is said to have been born Bappā Rāwal who in the beginning of the 8th century seized Chitod and inaugurated the Mewad family of Rajputs as we shall have to relate hereafter. The origin of the Mewad family thus traced to the Valabhi kings is doubted by many historians, for reasons which we shall have to discuss in our second volume.

We now come to Mid-India or what is practically the present United Provinces. The valley of the Ganges and the Jumna has been the seat of Indo-Aryan civili-

zation from ancient times. Indo-Aryan mental and physical power was developed here and from here the Aryans dominated so to speak Northern India or Hindustan as it is usually called. This part in ancient times was called the Madhya Deśa from which Śrī Kṛishna says in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā parva) "the Yādavas were so sorry to be ousted and whither they pined so vehemently to return." The same name continued down to the time of Hiuen Tsang who also calls it Mid-India and Varāhamihira also makes this part the central division of India. The climate of this part of the country is or rather was remarkably dry and healthy in those days, when it was not cut up by numerous canals taken out from the Jumna and the Ganges, which while they have added to the fertility of the land and insured it against famine, have created a malarial climate and detracted much from its salubrity. The country then was and still is very fertile and hence numerous peoples or kingdoms flourished in this very compact territory and rose to pre-eminence in ancient times. The principal kingdoms here at this time were Thanesar and Kanauj both ruled by one and the same king Harsha. These two kingdoms were in fact the ancient Kuru and Pāñchāla kingdoms united again as they once were under Janamejaya and the combination was naturally so powerful that Harsha like Janamejaya easily became the emperor of Hindustan. As Harsha usually lived at Kanauj that city now rose to the importance, and assumed the status, of the capital of India. This status it retained throughout the mediæval period of Indian history of which we are treating. It had already risen into some importance during the days of the Maukhari kings Īśāna, Sarva and Avantivarmā who ruled there during the latter half of the sixth century and who established overlordship over the eastern portion of the Gangetic valley, while the Vardhanas of Thanesar established overlordship over the western. The union of Thanesar and Kanauj at once raised Kanauj* to the position of the capital of India now lost

* Kanauj is now a mere Tahsil or Taluka town in the Farukhabad District, U. P. and nothing but debris remains to attest its former greatness.

completely by Pātaliputra. The latter city when Hiuen Tsang visited it was in ruins and almost deserted. It had finished its rôle. Chandragupta Maurya had raised it to the position of the capital of India and Aśoka had confirmed it. Subsequent dynasties of emperors down to the Guptas respected that position, but when the Guptas moved out of it for the first time to Ayodhyā for a sort of change, its decline began, and when Harsha established the court of his empire at Kanauj, that position was finally lost by it after having thus retained it for about 800 years, *i. e.* from 300 B.C. to 500 A.D. Kanauj remained the acknowledged capital of India during the rest of the period of the early history of India. Delhi was almost a village at this time. It had shone once only during the brief reign of the Pāndavas in the beginning of Indian history and had then retired into shade. It came into view again in the 10th century A.D. with Anangapāla who claimed to be a descendant of the Pāndavas but remained inferior to Kanauj till the 12th century when it threw Kanauj into shade with the victory of Prithvirāja over Jayachand. The Mahomedans who finally conquered Prithvirāja made Delhi the chief seat of their rule and Delhi has since remained the capital of the Indian empire down to this day.

This short account of the shifting of the centre of political gravity westward along the Gangetic valley from Pātaliputra to Kanauj and from Kanauj to Delhi will be found interesting. In the interval between 600 and 1200 A. D., Kanauj was the accepted capital of India as Arab historians of this time also testify; for when they speak of the capital of Hind they always refer to Kanauj. The halo of the empire of Harsha hovered long over the city and induced each successive aspirant to imperial power to establish his dynasty there during this period as had happened at Pātaliputra during the centuries preceding and as happened at Delhi during the centuries following. The city of Kanauj consequently acquired grandeur and accumulated riches commensurate with its dignity. It was at the height of its splendour in the time of Mahmud of

Ghazni, who himself observed that it could justly boast to have no equal and that it was full of palaces and temples built of marble. Even when Hiuen Tsang visited it, it was already a great city. It was, says he, five miles long and one mile broad, was very strongly defended and had lofty structures everywhere. "There were beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water and in it were collected rarities from strange lands." Kanauj was so grand in the 8th century that the Chachanāma uses (Trans. p. 52) "You want Kanauj" as a proverb meaning you want the impossible.

In this city reigned Harsha the patron of Bāna and Hiuen Tsang. Thanesar or Śrikantha as the country is called by Bāna, and Kanauj were kingdoms directly under Harsha. Hiuen Tsang mentions many kingdoms in the Gangetic valley besides these two and most of them also must have been directly under Harsha's rule. Pāriyātra or modern Alwar was however under a king of the Vaiśya caste as also Śrughna (about Hardwar) and Matipura where a Śudra king ruled, and Brahmapura or modern Garhwal. But Ahicchatra and Pilosana, Sānkāśya and Ayodhyā, Allahabad and Kausāmbi where no kings are mentioned by Hiuen Tsang were probably under the direct sway of Harsha. Along the foot of the Himalayas were small kingdoms like Srāvasti and Kapilvastu, Rāmagrāma and Kusinagara where petty chiefs ruled. These places were places of Buddhist worship and hence kept up some population; otherwise strangely enough the country was desolate. Many cultivable and fertile parts of India were indeed in ancient times under jungles which have been cleared only under the British rule. Civilization and prosperity followed in ancient days the course of the Ganges and the Jumna, and away from them were jungles infested by elephants. The incessant internecine fights between opposing kings prevented the growth of overflowing population and the means of communication being limited, the export of grain from India must then have been almost nil. Hence the need for extension of cultiva-

tion was not felt and it is no wonder that even the empire of Harsha was bordered, so to speak, on both sides by wide fringes of jungles along the Himalayas on the north and the Vindhya on the south. These jungles provided the immense number of elephants required for the armies of contending kings. Considering this state of the country, therefore, we need not be surprised that there were 60 000 elephants in the army of the emperor Harsha alone, while there must have been thousands more in those of other kings.

We will now proceed to describe the kingdoms to the east of Mid-India, or in what are now the provinces of Behar and Bengal. The first kingdom to notice was that of Magadha. Hiuen Tsang relates that before his time a king named Pūrnavarmā who was supposed to be a descendant of Aśoka ruled in Magadha where he had rebuilt the wall round the Bodhi tree which had been thrown down by Śasānka king of Karnaśuvarna. Magadha was the chief place of Buddhist worship. It contained the Bodhi tree and Buddha's footprint stone. Besides, the Nālandā monastery, the chief seat of Buddhist learning was in Magadha. Beyond Magadha were Hīranyaparvata or Monghyr and Champā or Bhagalpur, Kajugal or Rāj-mahāl and Paundravardhana or Rangpur ruled by kings, of whom we have no information. Beyond was Kāmarupa or Assam which was ruled at this time by Bhāskaravarmā whose other name was Kumāra. He was a friend and ally of Harsha from the first as we have already described. Strangely enough the accounts of this king given by Hiuen Tsang and Bāṇa, two contemporary witnesses agree almost to the last detail. At page 186 of the Records, Vol. II, (Watters) we read, "The reigning king who was a Brahmin by caste and a descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva was named Bhāskaravarmā, his other name was Kumāra. The sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for 1,000 generations. His Majesty was a lover of learning. Men of ability came from afar to study here. The king though not a Buddhist respected accomplished

Sramanas," Bāna at page 294, H. C., says.—महावराहसप्त-
संभृतगर्भाया भगवत्या भुवो नरको नाम सूनुः । तस्यान्वये भगदत्त-पुष्पदत्त-वज्रदत्त
प्रभृतिषु यवतीतेषु बहुषु महीपालेषु प्रपौत्रो भूतिवर्मणः पौत्रो चंद्रमुखवर्मणः पुत्रो
स्थितवर्मणः सुस्थितवर्म नाम महाराजाधिराजो जज्ञे । तस्यच भास्करवर्मा नाम तनयः
कुमारः समभवत् । Although the name Bhāskaravarmā sounds as
that of a Kshatriya his being a Brahmin as mentioned
by Hiuen Tsang may be accepted to be correct. Brahmins
who followed the Kshatriya profession often took a
Kshatriya name and those who followed Vaiśya professions
took a Vaiśya name. The fame of Assam for learning
continued for some centuries more down to the days of
Śankara. The legendary origin of the family is, of course,
unhistorical, but that it was a long-continued family
may be believed as Assam, being out of the way, must
have remained undisturbed by the ambitions of con-
quering heroes. We shall have to speak of this Kumāra
again as we have spoken of him before.

We now come to the three kingdoms into which
Bengal proper was then divided, namely, Karnasuvarna
(Murshidabad), Samatata (Eastern Bengal) and Tāmralipti
(Midnapur). These were prosperous countries even in
Hiuen Tsang's time. The king in Karnasuvarna before
Hiuen Tsang visited it was Śasānka or Narendragupta
already mentioned as the man who treacherously murdered
Rājyavardhana and was a persecutor of Buddhism. Pro-
bably he was pardoned by Harsha, as he is shown by
a Ganjam inscription to be alive and reigning in 619
A. D. But after his death his kingdom seems to have
been given to the Kumārarāja of Assam. For an undated
inscription of Bhāskaravarmā, published in the Dacca
Review 1913 (noted by V. Smith), was issued from Karna-
suvarna. Hiuen Tsang does not mention the king ruling
in Karnasuvarna when he visited it;—but the above
surmise is supportable also from the statement of Bāna,
that Harsha anointed Kumārarāja a king (अत्र देवेन अभिषिक्तः
कुमारः H. C., p. 139). In Samatata or Eastern Bengal
a Brahmin family ruled to which belonged a great Bud-
dhist saint visited by Hiuen Tsang. No particulars of the

king at Tāmralipti are mentioned. All these kingdoms were, of course, subordinate to Harsha. It is to be noticed that Hiuen Tsang does not assign the name of Gauda to any of these kingdoms, though the king of Karnasuvarṇa, Śasāṅka, is described by Bāṇa as the king of Gauda. Gauda is a noted name in Sanskrit literature for the learned men of Gauda have always maintained a peculiar style and school of thought of their own. Probably the name Gauda applied to all these three kingdoms, as also the name Vanga which is still more ancient and which is not noted by Hiuen Tsang.

Lastly in Northern India and in subordination to Harsha we have to mention the kingdom of Odra or Orissa and the kingdom of Kongadu or Ganjam along the coast of the Bay of Bengal. These were Indo-Aryan kingdoms on the border of the Dravidian Kalinga kingdom to the south. With Kongadu Hiuen Tsang notices the change in language. (Curiously enough their written language was the same as that of India.) With Kalinga the change in the language was complete. "In talk and manners they differed from Mid-India" (Watters, Vol. II, p. 198). The kings in these two countries are not mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, nor can we find them out with certainty. According to the palm leaf chronicles of the temple of Jagannath in Cuttuck, Orissa was under the Kesari dynasty from the 7th to the 12th Century A. D., but it is probable that that dynasty established itself there after the time of Harsha. (See Cuttuck Gazetteer.)

This completes the list of important kingdoms* in Northern India which constituted the empire of Harsha. As we have already remarked, contemporaneous with this northern empire of Harsha, there was at this time the southern empire of Satyāśraya Pulakeśin II of Mahārāshtra, which included all the kingdoms in the Deccan and South India. These kingdoms were, most of them, visited by Hiuen Tsang and have been described by

* Nepal is omitted as at this time, it was subordinate to Tibet and it does not clearly appear that it was subordinate to Harsha.

him. They were Kalinga or Rājamahendri, Kosala or Raipur, Āndhra or Warangal, Dhanakakata or Vengi, Chola or Nellore, Dravida or Kānchi, Malayakuta or Madura, Konkanapura or part of Mysore and northern part of the western coast (the capital being probably Banavāsi above the Ghats) and lastly Mahārāshtra with its capital at Bādāmi, whose king Pulakeśin appears to have subdued all the other kingdoms noted above. (see Aihole and other inscriptions.) The Pallavas ruled in Kānchi or Chola and Dravida, their king at this time being Narsinha Varman. In Malayakūta or Pāndya country (Madura and Tinnevely) ruled the line of kings, called the Pāndyas who like the kings of Assam, ruled therefrom of old. In Vengi was Vishṇu Vardhana, brother of Satyāśraya Pulakesin. Who the king of Banavāsi was we cannot discover. Probably a prince of the Kadamba family ruled there. These kingdoms of the south were all tributaries of and subordinate to the empire of Pulakeśin II who conquered them between about 610 and 620 A. D. By a strange coincidence this southern empire of Pulakeśin which came into being at about the same time as that of Harsha in the north, also came to an end like its northern rival about the middle of the 7th century, Narsinha Varman of Kānchi conquering and devastating Bādāmi.

NOTES.

1—THE MAUKHARIS OF KANAUJ.

Corp. Ins. Vol. III, Aśirgad Seal, No. 47 (page 219), gives us a seal inscription of Śarvavarmā and this contains, in my view, the genealogy, of the kings of Kanauj. Unfortunately in these records the recorders never trouble themselves to mention the kingdom where the particular kings ruled. Perhaps they omit the name of the kingdom because they think it so well known, but this omission causes us at this distance of time a great deal of doubt and difficulty. It is from the Harsha-Charita that we know that the Maukharis ruled in Kanauj; for Grahavarmā came from there and was killed there and Rājyashri was also imprisoned there. This seal gives the following genealogy:—1. Mahārāja Harivarmā; 2. Mahārāja Ādityavarmā; 3 Mahārāja Īśvaravarmā, born of Harsha Guptā; 4. *Mahārājādhirāja* Īśānavarmā, born of Upaguptā; 5. *Parama Mūheśvara Mahārājādhirāja* Sarvavarmā Maukhari. This line of the seal may be continued by the help of the Apsad inscription of the later Guptas (p. 203, Corp. Ins., Vol. III); 6. Susthitavarmā, and by the aid of the Deo Barnak inscription (p. 217 ditto); 7. Avantivarmā. This Deo Barnak inscription is of one Jīvita Gupta and mentions the confirmation of the grant of the village of Vārunika (now Deo Barnak), a village about 25 miles south-west of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad district of Bengal to a sun-worshipper, first made by Bālāditya and subsequently confirmed by Śarvavarmā and again by Avantivarmā both styled Parameśvara. These two are evidently the kings of the Maukhari line of Kanauj. We may by the help of these inscriptions, give the Maukhari line of kings with the Gupta line as follows:—

The Maukharis.	The Guptas.
1. Harivarmā	1. Krishna Gupta.
2. Ādityavarmā, married Harsha Guptā.	2. Harshā Gupta.
3. Īśvaravarmā, married Upaguptā.	3. Jīvita Gupta.
4. Īśānavarmā	4. Kumāra Gupta, fought with Īśānavarmā.
5. Śarvavarmā Maukhari.	5. Dāmodara Gupta, killed in fight with Maukhari.
6. Susthitavarmā.	6. Mahāsenā Gupta, fought with Susthita.
7. Avantivarmā	
8. Grahavarmā.	7. Mādhava Gupta.

Three generations of the Guptas Kumāra, Dāmodara and Mahāsenā are explicitly said in the Apsad inscription to have fought with three

generations of the Maukharis, Īśāna, Śarva and Susthita; the first two names of which we find in the Ashirgad seal¹ inscription of Śarva also. Ādityavarmā is said, in the seal, to have married Harsha Guptā, and she appears to have been a sister of the contemporaneous Harsha Gupta. Mahāsenā Gupta must be taken to have lived long or Susthita to have a short reign, hence his generation covers two of the Varmās which is not improbable. Grahavarmā and Mādhava Gupta, son of Mahāsenā being contemporaneous with and almost of the same age as Harsha.

It is possible to deduce a few salient facts about the history of this line of Maukhari kings from these three records, namely the Aphsad inscription, the Ashirgad seal and the Deo Barnak inscription (Corp. Ins., Vol. III, Nos. 42, 47 and 46). In the first place this line of kings became powerful in the days of Īśānavarmā who for the first time is called Mahārājādhirāja, the three before him being called Mahārājas only in the Ashirgad seal. The seal assigns the title Maukhari for the first time to his son Śarvavarmā. In the Aphsad inscription also while his father Īśānavarmā is mentioned by name, his son is called by the simple name of the Maukhari. Thus Śarvavarmā appears to have been a greater king than his father and he and probably his father also fought with the Huns. His dominions or rather overlordship extended south upto Ashirad where his seal was discovered and also east as far as Bengal where as stated in the Deo Barnak inscription he confirmed a grant given by Bālāditya of Magadha to a sun-temple which indicates that the dominion of Bālāditya's successors had been substituted by that of Śarvavarmā of Kanauj. The same grant was confirmed by the grandson of Śarvavarmā named Avantivarmā, the father of Grahavarmā brother-in-law of Harsha.

We have now to consider the inscriptions of the Maukhari king named Anantavarmā given in Corp. Ins. Vol. III. In these the pedigree given extends only over three names and these are Yajñavarmā, Śārdūlavarmā and Anantavarmā. These seem to be a branch of the same family, for they call themselves Maukharis. But they are distinct from the Kanauj family and are of much less importance. For the greatest of the three Śārdūla is no more than a Mahāsāmanta (see Corp. Ins., Vol. III, No. 48: श्री-शार्दूल इति प्रतिष्ठित-यशः सामन्तचूडामणिः) while Śarvavarmā and Īśānavarmā are styled in the seal Mahārājādhirāja (see No. 47 *ibid*). These Maukharis appear to be a later branch established in the Gayā district, where their inscriptions have been found and probably belong to a date later than that of Harsha.

2.—DEVAGUPTA OF MALWA.

We have next to determine who Deva Gupta or rather the Mālava king was who attacked Grahavarmā of Kanauj and who was killed in the battle with Rājya. The difficulties in this connection are numerous and

troublesome. In the first place Bāṇa in the Harsha Charita distinctly says that it was a king of Mālava who attacked Kanauj: देवो ग्रहवर्मो दुरात्मना मालवराजेन ज्वल्लोकं त्याजितः (H. C., p. 251); also कालायसनिगडनिश्चलीकृत-चरणयुगलं सकलमालवराजलोकम् (H. C., p. 303). Clearly therefore a king of Mālava attacked Grahavarmā, and Bhandi showed Harsha the *people* of that Mālava king enchained (the king himself being probably killed after his defeat by Rājya.) Now in the Madhubana inscription of Harsha Rājya is said to have punished kings like Deva Gupta. Rājya in his short life fought only two battles, one with the Huns and the other with the Mālava king who had murdered Grahavarmā. Putting the two together the name of this Mālava king, therefore, was clearly Deva Gupta. Now in the Aphsad inscription above mentioned, we have the names of members of a Gupta family who were the hereditary enemies of the Varmās of Kanauj and it contains also the name of Mādhava, the companion of Harsha. This family may, therefore, be taken to be the family of the Guptas of Mālava though in this inscription the country of the Guptas is not mentioned, nor unfortunately the name of Deva Gupta. And we may accept the ingenious guess made by Dr. Hoernle (J. R. A. S. 1904) that Deva Gupta was Mādhava's brother, with some changes to be noted further on.

The fact is there is no other explanation possible. The Harsha-Charita plainly states that the two princes, Kumāra and Mādhava, called Guptas who were given by Prabhākaravardhana to his sons, Rājya and Harsha, to be their companions were मालवराजपुत्रौ or sons of the king of Mālava. This Mādhava Gupta who was the companion of Harsha is very probably the Mādhava Gupta of the Aphsad inscription for he is expressly described there to be desirous of the company* of Harsha. (श्रीहर्षदेवनिजसंगमवांछया च.) Moreover from the description of Mādhava as a tall imposing fair young man, given by Bāṇa in the Harsha-Charita in detail differing from that of Kumāra one is inclined to infer that Bāṇa had in his mind the fact that this Mādhava subsequently became a well-known king. But a difficulty presents itself here namely, how could the king of Mālava attack Grahavarmā, while the king's own brothers were the attendants of Rājya and Harsha, the brother-in-law of Grahavarmā? The guess of Dr. Hoernle seems to be acceptable that they were on inimical terms and it may be supplemented by the suggestion that Kumāra and Mādhava were not merely the younger brothers of Deva Gupta, but were his half-brothers or sons by another wife of Mahāsena Gupta. There is always ill-filling even in ordinary families between half-brothers, and in royal families in India such brothers are usually at deadly enmity. By this suggestion is also removed the difficulty of explaining why the sons of a king were given as companions of the sons of another king. Kumāra and Mādhava had no right to the throne being younger sons and their presence in Mālava

* If we take this, to mean "fight" with Harsha, he is still Harsha's contemporary.

was not very palatable to the eldest son and heir-apparent Dēva Gupta who was most likely an impetuous man. In fine the story of the Mālavaraja in connection with Harsha may be told thus. A Gupta family starting from Kṛishṇa Gupta reigned at Ujjain or some other place in Mālava and were the hereditary enemies of the Maukharis of Kanauj. They were connected by marriage with the Vardhana family of Thanesar, Prabhākara-vardhana's mother Mahāsena Guptā (mentioned in the Sonpat seal of Harsha) being a sister of Mahāsena Gupta of Malwa. The last had a long reign and had his eldest son Deva Gupta by one wife and two younger sons Kumāra and Mādhava by another wife. These he sent to his sister's son Prabhākara to seek their fortune. Mahāsena Gupta died a little before Prabhākara and Deva Gupta became king of Malwa. When Prabhākara died suddenly and Rājya and Harsha and Grahavarmā were left young and inexperienced, Deva Gupta, as usual with his family, suddenly attacked Grahavarmā and killed him. Rājya with Bhandi and Kumāra, half-brother of Deva Gupta, attacked Deva Gupta and defeated him and seized all his treasure and put his men and family in chains for his dastardly treatment of Rājyashrī. Rājya and Kumāra both being subsequently killed treacherously by Śaśānka. Harsha became king of Thanesar and came and took from Bhandi the charge of the booty and prisoners and the army of elephants of the Mālava king. It seems probable that for the great crime of Deva Gupta the kingdom of Mālava was seized by Harsha for a time at least and not given to Mādhava to whom it properly belonged. It appears so clearly from the Harsha-Charita where Bāṇa says : अथालोच्य तत्सर्वमवनिपतिः स्वीकर्तुं यथाधिकारमादिदेशाव्यक्षान् which means that the booty including the throne or सिंहासन was taken possession of by Harsha and handed over to his officers and not to Mādhava who must have been retained by Harsha as his companion during all the time he conquered Northern India and founded his empire. Subsequently, as Emperor, Harsha must have put Mādhava in possession of some eastern kingdom on the bank of the Ganges for the Aḥsād inscription of Ādityasena and other inscriptions seems to indicate that Ādityasena's country lay in Bengal. Since this family in Bengal had nothing to do with Deva Gupta his name does not appear in the genealogy of Ādityasena. For, as Mādhava did not succeed to Deva Gupta, his half-brother, at all, Deva Gupta's name has properly been omitted. In the kingdom of Ujjain when Hiuen Tsang visited it there was a Brahmin king ruling. This Brahmin king may either have seated himself on the vacant throne being tolerated by Harsha or he may even have been appointed by Harsha the Emperor as Mātṛigupta was appointed to Kashmir by Yaśodharma Vikramāditya of the Mandsaur inscription. Thus the difficulty created by the mention of a Brahmin king in Ujjain by Hiuen Tsang is also removed and reconciled with the story of the Harsha-Charita. Or we may take Deva Gupta's capital to be some other town like Vidiśā which is also a portion of Malwa. Both Bāṇa and

Hiuen Tsang are contemporary and reliable narrators and their statements can only be reconciled in this way.

The line of Mālava kings so to say became extinct with Deva Gupta and the line of the Guptas of Magadha, as the Cor. Ins., Vol. III styles it, continued in the person of Mādhava. We may give the two lines as follows from the Aphsad and other inscriptions given in this volume and even assign some dates with corroboration, as one inscription contains a date 66, presumably of the Harsha Era. We give the Thanesar and Kanauj lines also for comparison.

Thanesar. (Sonpat seal No. 52)	Malwa. (Aphsad inscription and Deo Barnak inscription)	Kanauj. (Aphsad inscription and Ashirgad seal)
	1 Kṛishṇa Gupta	
	2 Harsha Gupta	
	3 Jīvita Gupta fights with	1 Īsvaravarmā
1 Rājyavardhana	4 Kumāra Gupta „	2 Īśānavarmā
2 Ādityavardhana	5 Dāmodara Gupta „	3 Sarvavarmā
m. Mahāsena Guptā	|	
3 Prabhākaravardhana	6 Mahāsena Gupta „	4 Susthitavarmā
		5 Avantivarmā
Rājyavar- dhana killed 606 A.D.	Harsha- vardhana king 606 A.D.	6 Grahavarmā killed 606 A.D.
	Deva Gupta killed 606 A.D. (Malwa king- dom line closed)	
	Mādhava Gupta of Magadha	
	Ādityasena A.D. 672	
	Deva Gupta	
	Vishṇu Gupta	
	Jīvita Gupta	

Corp. Ins. Vol. III, plate No. 42, mentions the erection of an image at Nālandā in the regin of Ādityasena in the year 66 (of Harsha Era presumably) i. e. 672 A. D., which is not inconsistent with the story we have sketched above. Mādhava may either be supposed to have come to power and established himself in Magadha after Harsha's death or during his lifetime as stated before.

The theory of Dr. Hoernle about Deva Gupta is objected to by Pandurang Shastri Parakhi in his Marathi Life of Harsha. He thinks that Mahāsena Guptā could not have been the sister of Mahāsena Gupta as in that case the sons of the latter Kumāra and Mādhava become the brothers of Prabhākaravardhana being his maternal uncle's sons and therefore uncles of Rājya and Harsha and could not therefore have bowed to them when introduced, as stated by Bāṇa. But this is

not correct. Although seniors, even a king's sons, when they come in a subordinate position, have to bow to the master king. The master king and his sons are above all relations in point of etiquette. I have seen even a grand-father bow to his daughter's son, the latter being the king. Secondly, Parakhi does not believe that Deva Gupta was Mahāsena Gupta's son, but there can be no other person (if we bear in mind the Madhuban inscription of Harsha), intended by Bāṇa when he says that it was a Mālava Rāja who attacked Grahavarmā. Thirdly, Vincent Smith also does not accept Dr. Hoernle's theory as a whole and especially that part of it which brings in Śilāditya of Malwa mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. This last portion of Dr. Hoernle's theory, no doubt, has to be abandoned as I shall show later on. In fact, Śilāditya cannot come in to attack Grahavarmā, for his Malwa would be different from the Malwa of Deva Gupta. Bāṇa must be taken to use the word Mālava in one sense only though the Mālava of Hiuen Tsang and the Mālava of Bāṇa may be taken to be different. What I mean is this Bāṇa says that Kumāra and Mādhava were the sons of a Mālava king (मालवराजपुत्रौ) and that Grahavarmā was killed by मालवराज or king of Mālava who was himself subsequently defeated by Rājya in battle. In these two statements of Bāṇa Mālava must mean the same kingdom and not different kingdoms as Dr. Hoernle takes by introducing Śilāditya along with Deva Gupta. Bāṇa's statements clearly require that Kumāra and Mādhava were brothers of Deva Gupta and that they belonged to the same kingdom, which may be taken to be Ujjain or some other town in eastern Malwa. Thus, we have to give up that part of Dr. Hoernle's theory which brings in Śilāditya. We have also to give up the further portion of his theory which makes Yaśomatī (Queen of Prabhākaravardhana), a sister of Śilāditya and daughter of Yaśodharma. In the first place we find names of a sister and brother have some portion in common but not of a father and daughter. And, secondly and more particularly when Yaśomatī's brother is described by Bāṇa as bringing Bhandi to Prabhākara he simply says यशोमत्या भ्राता. Had he been a king and a king of so great a fame at Śilāditya, Bāṇa the contemporary of Harsha would certainly have mentioned the name of the king or at least affixed some epithet indicating his high position. It appears from this plain reference that Yaśomatī was not the daughter of a great king but some Sāmanta king and hence her brother is mentioned without any distinction.* Moreover from Yaśomatī's lamentation at the time of burning herself (in 606 A. D.) her father and mother appear to have been then still alive; see H. C., page 230. Under this view, therefore, Bhandi is not the son of a great king, but a mere Sāmanta and expects not to rise to a higher position than that of a Commander-in-Chief. And

Even if the epithet महाभूभक्तुलोत्पन्ना applied to यशोमती by Bāṇa (H. C., p. 176) be interpreted literally, this brother who brought Bhandi must be taken to be a younger brother not entitled to royal epithets. His plain mention requires this as also his handing over his son to seek his for one

further we are not reduced to the necessity of believing that he fought against his own father Śilāditya and had the hardihood or inhumanity to present to Harsha the family and dependents enchained, and the treasures and even the throne of his own father without any feeling. I think this part of Dr. Hoernle's theory must be abandoned for we avoid a great many difficulties by making Yaśomatī not the sister of Śilāditya of Malwa but of some Sāmanta ruler. His theory, however, that Deva Gupta was a brother of Kumāra and Mādhava seems to me to be acceptable and explains Bāṇa's references properly as shown above.

3.—SIR VINCENT SMITH ON THE MAUKHARIS AND THE GUPTAS.

At page 312 (3rd edn.) of his Early History of India Sir Vincent Smith observes : "These 'later Guptas of Magadha,' as they are called by Archæologists shared the rule of that province with another dynasty of rajas who had names ending in 'Varman' and belonged to a clan called Maukhari. The territorial division between the two dynasties cannot be defined precisely. Their relations with one another were sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, but the few details known are of little importance." Now it is clear from the above that Sir V. Smith refers to the Maukharis and the Guptas discussed in the above two notes. It seems, however, clear to me that the Maukharis originally belonged to Kanauj. That their kingdom was Kanauj is certain from the statements of Bāṇa. Grahavarmā was attacked and killed there. His father was Avantivarmā from Bāṇa's statement. This Avantivarmā was a grandson of Śarvavarmā as seems very probable from the Deo Barnak inscription. The seal of Śarvavarmā found at Ashirgad gives the genealogy of this line of kings which has been given above. These Maukhari kings thus ruled at Kanauj and held extensive sway. The description of Bāṇa धरणीधराणां भृन्मूत्रांस्थितोपि सकलभुवननमस्कृतो मौख्यो वंशः ! as also तिमिरौस्तिरस्कारो रवेर्यो मौखराणां मानवैः परिभवः (H. C. pp. 200 and 252) seems to indicate that the Maukharis of Kanauj were a powerful family and the seal found at Ashirgad and the inscriptions found at Jaunpur and Deo Barnak show that they held sway over a large extent of territory southwards upto the Vindhya, northwards upto Jaunpur, and eastwards upto the Brahmaputra. In fact I would give the political history of India in the latter half of the sixth century as follows:—When the Imperial Gupta line ended in 538 A. D. with Kumāra Gupta II (V. Smith page 152 3rd edition), many of their provinces came under the sway of the Maukharis of Kanauj. With the overthrow of the Huns by a confederacy led by Yaśodharma and Bālāditya several new kingdoms came into importance in different parts of the Gupta empire and among them the Vardhanas of Thanesar and the Maukharis of Kanauj who had also their share of the fights with the Huns were the two prominent. The latter extended their sway north, south and east and for a time the eastern provinces were under their direct sway. We can only thus explain the confirmation of the grant at Deo Barnak made ori-

ginally by Bālāditya, by Śārvavarmā and again by Avantivarmā. It was after Harsha's death that this sway of the Maukharis of Kanauj in Bengal was substituted by that of the later Guptas of Magadha as they are called by Archæologists. This part of my theory about the Maukharis seems to me to be well founded and strong. As to my surmise that the later Gupta line originally came from Malwa, I cannot speak with the same certainty. If Mādhava of the Aphsad inscription is a brother of Devagupta, then he came undoubtedly from Malwa. But if not we may treat his line as ruling from before in some portion of Magadha. All the same Devagupta who killed Grahavarmā and who was killed by Rājya certainly belongs to Malwa. We may well imagine that a Gupta line set itself up in Malwa after the disruption of the Gupta empire and always fought with the Maukharis of Kanauj for supremacy. Devagupta may also be, with fitness, assigned to the line of Gupta princes of whom Bhavagupta of 580 A. D. was one. Mādhava and Kumāra the companions of Harsha and Rājya must in that case be taken to belong to this line of Malwa kings, that is the Mādhava of Harsha-Charita must be taken to be different from the Mādhava of the Aphsad inscription. These Guptas of the Aphsad inscription even if assigned to Magadha may also have had fights with the Maukharis of Kanauj who were as we have said above the overlords of the eastern portion of the Gupta empire.

We must lastly take into consideration the fact noted in the account given by Mr. Burn of "some coins of the Maukharis" in J. R. A. S. 1906 at page 843 referred to by Sir V. A. Smith in a foot-note here. These coins were found in a village named Bhitaura in the Zilla of Fyzabad in Oudh. They are coins of Isānavarmā, Śārvavarmā and Avantivarmā and of Harsha, Pratāpaśila and Śilāditya as deciphered from the legends. They also contain dates which with dates on coins previously found are for Isānavarmā 54, 55 for Śārva 58 (formerly found) 234, 23 (now found) and 57 which may be read as 67 and 71 (formerly found) and 250 (now found) for Avantivarmā. On the coins of Harsha, Pratāpaśila and Śilāditya the figures in the opinion of Mr. Burn "stand for regnal years." The three digit figures on the Varmā coins now found are clearly Gupta years. The previous figures are not well explained and Mr. Burn seeks to explain them by reference to a supposed era started by Brahmagupta in 499 A. D. when exactly 3600 years had expired from the beginning of the Kali age. Whatever that era may be, the dates extending over three digits, now found, are clearly Gupta era figures and in the opinion of Mr. Burn this use of the Gupta era may indicate a temporary subjection to, or alliance with Guptas. But it seems to me that no such inference is necessary. Indeed independent kings use the era of an empire which has just passed away, simply because the people are accustomed to use that era. The Valabhis used the Gupta era not because they were subject to the Guptas, but because they established their kingdom in a part of the country whence the Gupta empire had just passed away

and where the people were accustomed to use the Gupta era. As they were not powerful enough to found an era of their own, they used the Gupta era in use among the people. We may cite an instance quite near our own times. The Marathas used the Fasli era and even the Fasli and Mahomedan months, though they were independent and even after the Mogul power at Delhi was reduced to a phantom, because the people were accustomed to that era and those months. Even the British used that era for some time. These remarks apply also to the form of the coins. A succeeding rule generally copies the form, the weight and even the legends or appearance of the coins of a preceding rule because the people are accustomed to the sight of such coins. The rupee of the British is formed after the fashion of the Mogul coin rather than of their own coins in Britain. I offer these remarks, of course, with diffidence but I may contend that the use of the Gupta era does not necessarily indicate subjection to the Guptas. In fact, in the time of the Maukharis, the Gupta empire and rule had passed away. To my mind, these coins support the theory already propounded, namely, that the Maukharis succeeded to the rule of the Guptas in the Gangetic provinces. The finding of the coin in the Fyzabad District, like the Jaunpur inscription of Īśānavarmā shows the extent of their sway. The genealogy disclosed in the seal of Śarvavarmā found at Ashirgad is also well supported by the coins, and Īśānavarmā, Śarvavarmā and Avantivarmā seem to be the three powerful kings of this family. And the dates of the coins now found are not inconsistent with our theory, as the coin of Avantivarmā can well make him a contemporary of Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar, and his son Grahavarmā a son-in-law of the latter. For if we take 250, certainly a Gupta era figure, we have $250 + 319 = 569$ for Avantivarmā. Supposing it to be a date of Avantivarmā's rule we have Grahavarmā seated on the throne of Kanauj in 606 A. D., i. e. about 37 years after this, which is not at all improbable. 234 G. E. for Śarvavarmā again means $234 + 319 = 553$ A. D., a date consistent with the Varma family tree and also with the general history of India as sketched above. Whatever era the two digit dates may be in, we think, considering the other dates, that these coins support practically the theory propounded here about the Varmas and there is nothing inconsistent with their having ruled in Kanauj, as Bāṇa makes them do.

4.—THE DATE OF HARSHA'S BIRTH.

The date of the birth of Harsha can be definitely determined from data given by Bāṇa in his Harsha-Charita. Being given by a person, who was himself at the court of Harsha, these data may be looked upon as reliable. At page 183 H. C., we find ततश्च प्रागे ज्येष्ठामूर्तीये मासि बहुलाम् बहुलपक्ष-द्वादश्यां व्यतीतिं प्रदोषसमये समारुरुक्षति क्षपायौवने महसैवान्तःपुरे समुद्रपादि कोलाहलः स्त्रिजिनस्य. This shows that Harsha was born in the month of Jyestha, on the 12th of the dark fortnight, when the moon was in the Krīttikās, and

at the hour when night was entering on her youth (*i. e.*, about 10 p. m.) Astronomical calculations made on the basis of these data, by my friend Professor Apte of the Victoria College, Lashkar, show that the moon was at 10 p. m., in the Kṛittikas on the 12th of Jyestha Vadya Śaka 511 (589 A. D.) as also on the 12th of Jyestha Vadya Śaka 512 (590 A. D.) The latter year seems the more probable of the two, as in the former the Dvâdashî set in after sunrise. If we accept the latter year Harsha was 16 years complete in October 606 A. D. when he ascended the throne of Thanesar and from which date his era is believed to have commenced. The month Jyestha mentioned by Bāṇa must here be taken to be an Amānta month, *i. e.*, month ending with the new moon; which seems somewhat strange as Bāṇa coming from Northern India should have used the northern reckoning with the Pūrnimānta months ending with the full moon. But the Pūrnimānta month Jyestha Vadya would be Amānta Vaishākha Vadya 12, on which day neither in 589 nor in 590 A. D. as Professor Apte has found the moon was in the Kṛittikās. There is another point also rather suspicious as neither in 589 nor in 590 A. D. on Jyestha Vadya 12 were all the planets in their Uccha or Ascendant as Bāṇa says they were (See मान्वाता किलैवंविधे व्यतीपातादिसर्वदोषाभिषंगरहिते सर्वेषूच्च स्थानस्थितेष्वेवं ग्रहेष्वीदृशलभ्ये भेजे जन्म page 184, H. C.). Perhaps this was the exaggeration of the court astrologer or else when Harsha was born his future greatness was not known and only when his subsequent greatness entitled him to a good horoscope was one manufactured for him by the court astrologer. The position of the planets as calculated for Jyestha Vadya 12, 589 and 590 A. D. are as follows, according to Professor Apte's calculations :—

Jyestha Vadya 12, 589 A. D.
(40 ghati) 10 P. M., Tuesday.

र.	२—२०—२४
चं.	१— ५—४९
मं.	१—४ —४१
बु.	२—१५—५३
गु.	१—२१—२७
शु.	४— ०—४६
श.	२—१०— ७
रा.	१—१२—४८
के.	९—२६—५७

Jyestha Vadya 12, 590 A. D.
(40 ghati) 10 P. M. Sunday.

२—१०—५६
१— १—५४
४—१८—३६
२—१३— ६
२—१६—१५
२—१६—५४
२—१९—३७
०—२३—२९
९—१६—२०

Although from the above, Bāṇa's testimony regarding the position of the planets is found to be unreliable, his date of birth cannot be so as Harsha's birthday celebrations must have taken place every year as emperor's birthdays usually are and there could have been no mistake about it.

To find the exact English date and for the purpose of corroboration I myself made calculations from Sewell and Dexit's tables for the years A. D. 588, 589, 590 and 591. I also found that Vaishākha Vadya would not suit as Kṛittikas and Dvādashī do not fall together in any of these years but they come together on Jyestha Vadya in the years 589 and 590. Particularly in 590 A. D. there is Dvādashī from sunrise and the Tithi lasts for 22 hours and more, Kṛittikānakshatra beginning at about 4 hours after sunrise. This year, therefore, suits the requirements most correctly and the corresponding English date and day are Sunday 4th June 590 A. D.

5.—BĀNA ON HARSHA'S EXPLOITS.

Although Bāna has not described the *Digvijaya* of Harsha, there is a passage in the Harsha-Charita of great importance from which our statements about it derive considerable support. Bāna's brothers in asking him to relate to them the life of Harsha, extol the great exploits of the emperor in this manner.

“अत्र बलजिता निश्चलीकृताश्चलन्तः कृत्तपक्षाः क्षितिभृतः।
 अत्र प्रजापतिनाशेषभोगिमण्डलस्योपरि क्षमा कृता।
 अत्र पुद्गलोत्तमेन सिंधुराजं प्रमथ्य लक्ष्मीरात्मीया कृता।
 अत्र बलिना मोचितभूभृद्रेष्टनो मुक्तो महानागः।
 अत्र देवेनाभिषिक्तः कुमारः।
 अत्र परमेश्वरेण तुषारशैलभुवो दुर्गाया गृहीतः करः।
 अत्र लोकनाथेन दिशां मुखेषु परिकल्पिता लोकपालाः।” (H. C. p. 139)

All these sentences are double meaning and poetical in a way which is only possible in Sanskrit; but the sense as applicable to Harsha is very important in this inquiry and may be given as follows:—“He the conqueror by force, made the several kings, their allies or supporters being cut off, immovable (in their kingdoms). He the lord of all peoples pardoned (and allowed to rule) all kings and chieftains. He the greatest of all men having conquered the king of Sind, made his wealth his own. He of great physical strength let off the great elephant after having released from its trunk the king (Kumāra). He the great emperor anointed Kumāra a king. He the supreme lord exacted tribute from the inaccessible land of the Himālaya mountains. He the protector of all peoples appointed protectors and governors of peoples in the several directions.” From this passage we glean not only the information that Harsha conquered all the kingdoms of Hindustan but that he allowed the conquered kings to rule them under his suzerainty. Some particular countries are also mentioned as humbled, namely, Sind and Kashmir or perhaps Nepal which must be the country in the inaccessible Himalayas which paid tribute to him. The king anointed by him must be the Kumārārāja of Assam, whom perhaps being his first ally and willing

riend he raised to a higher dignity by crowning him himself, or gave him the kingdom of Sasānka as mentioned further on. The letting off of the elephant is explained by the commentator by mentioning a legend that the Kumārarāja was once seized by the riding elephant of Harsha with his trunk, and that Harsha who was a man of great personal prowess and courage rescued him by cutting off the elephant's trunk with his sword, the trunkless elephant being thereafter let off in the jungles. Lastly Harsha maintained his vast empire under his subjection and without disturbance not only by his constant movements to and fro with a strong army of elephant and horse but he had his own governors to collect tribute and to maintain law and order appointed in all directions much like the present Political Agents maintained by the British Government in Native States. This passage thus gives very important information which coming from an eye witness is of special value.

6.—ŚILADITYA OF MOLAPO.

According to the description of this king given by Hiuen Tsang he began to rule in 530 A. D. and died in 580 A. D., and thus lived about 60 years before his visit in 640 A. D. In the Rājataranginī we have the mention of a Śilāditya of Malwa, son of Vikramāditya, who was driven out of his capital by his enemies but who was restored to his throne by Pravarasena II of Kashmir. (Rāj. Book III, 330.) Was he the same king as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang? It is conceded by Stein that while the history of Kashmir given by Kalhana is reliable from the Karkota dynasty onwards, previous to it the dates and history given by Kalhana are not so. This view is borne out also by the contemporary evidence of Hiuen Tsang. For when he was in Kashmir a Karkota king was evidently ruling there. The Records state: "Being protected by a dragon the kings crowed over their neighbours." From the date of Durlabha Vardhana given by Kalhana this king appears to be on the throne of Kashmir when Hiuen Tsang visited it. His date as given by Kalhana is 3677 of the Laukika era or 602 A. D. Now before this king, Kalhana mentions five rulers upto Pravarasena II as follows proceeding backwards:—

Name.	Laukika Year.	Length of reign
1. Bālāditya	3641	36
2. Vikramāditya	3597	42
3. Ranāditya	3299	300
4. Lakhana	3288	13
5. Yudhishtira II	3246	39
6. Pravarasena II	3186	60

Thus Pravarasena II according to Kalhana came to the throne in 3186 L. E. or III A. D. He took the kingdom from Mâtṛigupta who was

sent to rule Kashmir during an interregnum by Vikramāditya of Malwa, on Vikrama's death. Kalhana takes this Vikrama to be the first Vikrama who founded the era of 57 B. C. This makes Vikrama die at least after $1111 + 57 = 1168$ years of rule which is an obvious absurdity. There is also the absurdity of Ranāditya ruling for 300 years in this dynasty of kings. All this hopeless confusion has been caused by Kalhana's mistake in giving up the original tradition fortunately preserved by Kalhana himself that Vikramāditya Śākāri or the first Vikrama was a different person from the one who sent Māṭrigupta to rule over Kashmir. The first Vikrama according to the tradition rejected by Kalhana was a relative and a contemporary of a previous king of Kashmir by name Pratāpāditya. If we take the Vikramāditya who sent Māṭrigupta to Kashmir to be Yaśodharma Viśṇu-Vardhana of Malwa who defeated the Huns in 528 A. D., and established an empire over the whole of Northern India as stated in his Mandsaur pillar inscription we get at some reliable history and dates and we are supported also by the evidence of Hiuen Tsang. For Hiuen Tsang relates that when he visited Kashmir the capital of that country was newly built and the traveller speaks of the new capital as distinct from the old. Now it is certain that Pravarasena II founded the present capital Srinagar called also from him Pravarapura. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir in 631 A. D., we may take it that this new capital was not yet a hundred years old. Thus Pravarasena's coming to the throne must be placed some time after 531 A. D.—a time which is not inconsistent with the date of Vikramāditya Yaśodharma of the Mandsaur pillar inscription of 533 A. D. We must give up the genealogy and history of the later Gonardiya kings given by Kalhana altogether and take two or three salient facts only as certain, namely, that Pravarasena II founded the new capital of Kashmir about 540 A. D., that Vikramāditya Yaśodharma had sent a man named Māṭrigupta to rule Kashmir before this Pravarasena and that Pravarasena assisted Vikramāditya's son Pratāpaśīla, also called Śīlāditya, to regain his kingdom lost owing to his expulsion by enemies. This Pratāpaśīla named also Śīlāditya may thus have been the Śīlāditya of Malwa who is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as ruling in Molapo.

But there is one difficulty. Hiuen Tsang states that the king of Valabhi, son-in-law of Harsha, was a nephew of the Śīlāditya of Malwa. If Śīlāditya of Malwa after a rule of about 50 years, died 60 years before 640 A. D., i.e., about 580 A. D., and was a son of Vikramāditya who must be supposed to have died about 530 A. D., how can his nephew be in 630 A. D. a young man? If we suppose that nephew stands here for a sister's son, even then this relationship cannot be accepted if we bear in mind the disparity of age between a supposed sister of Śīlāditya whose father died say about 530 A. D., and Dhruvabhata of Valabhi who was a young man of twenty-five or thirty in 630 A. D. Of course, if we take Hiuen Tsang's Śīlāditya of Malwa to be a different person from the son of

Vikramāditya it is possible to conceive that he had a sister from whom Dhruvabhata was born in the Valabhi family. The conclusion is that the identity of Śilāditya of Malwa with the Pratāpasīla Śilāditya, son of Vikramāditya mentioned by Kalhana in the Rājataranginī, is a matter of considerable doubt.

If the identity is, however, accepted† the history of the western portion of Malwa becomes very easy and straight and we may believe that the line of the great Emperor who defeated the Huns did not become obscure for a hundred years at least, but ruled in Western Malwa to which country we may properly assign Mandsaur where his Jayastambha was found. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, the grandson of this Śilāditya must have been ruling, for Hiuen Tsang relates that Śilāditya who was a most devout Buddhist had built a temple of Buddha near his palace. "The fine work had been continued for successive generations without interruption" (Records Watters, Vol. II, page 242). The temple must have been added to in this way, for at least three generations, when Hiuen Tsang visited Malwa. The dynasty may be, thus, supposed to have ruled Western Malwa from before 528 to 640 A. D., for certain. Of course, the mention of successive generations of Śilāditya by Hiuen Tsang makes it impossible to believe with Dr. Hoernle that this Śilāditya could have been alive in 606 A. D., to attack Grahavarmā. As we have already said the attacker of Grahavarmā was Devagupta alone.

Dr. Hoernle's idea that Śilāditya of Molapo was a Pro-Hunic king seems also to be difficult of acceptance. I believe the only basis for this supposition is that he invoked the assistance of Pravarasena II of Kashmir. But Pravarasena II was not a Hunic king. Even if we believe that his father was Toramāna he was not according to Kalhana a son of Mihirakula. I do not think Dr. Hoernle's reference here to the Rājataranginī bears this out. Toramāna was the younger brother of Hiraṇya, who imprisoned him for striking coins in his own name. His pregnant wife escaped and gave birth to Pravarasena. After Hiraṇya's death therefore, there was an interregnum for a time during which Māṭrigupta was appointed ruler by Vikramāditya. Pravarasena coming of age, recovered his kingdom on Vikramāditya's death from Māṭrigupta. If we believe Kalhanaj's story, then, Pravarasena was not a Hunic king. And Pravarasena assisted Śilāditya to regain his kingdom, with the probable object of recovering the throne of Kashmir kings which Vikrama had removed to Malwa as mentioned in Rāj. III, 331.

If we keep Kalhana aside we may say that there was in Kashmir an interval of foreign rule, probably under the Huns, which Vikrama broke and Māṭrigupta was appointed by him to rule it, there being no claimant available. Pravarasena hearing of Vikrama's death and claiming the

† And this may be done by taking the word nephew to mean that Dhruvabhata's father and Śilāditya of Malwa were brothers in the sense that they were the sons of two full sisters.

kingdom as a scion of the old reigning family took it back from Mátri-gupta. In short, in either case Śilāditya could not have been a Pro-Hun. He was a devout Buddhist and could not have been a bad man also. Of course, his capital was not Ujjain. Kalhana, as we have already said, confounds Vikrama S'akāri,* the legendary hero of Ujjain with Yaśodharma, the conqueror of the Huns, who from his pillar erected at Mandsore may well be taken to have really ruled in Western Malwa, and his son Śilāditya naturally ruled there.

On one point, however, I think it is not impossible to accept Dr. Hoernle's idea. His suggestion that the coins of Harśa Pratāpaśīla and Śilāditya found with those of Īśānavarmā and Grahavarmā at Bhitaura, Fyzabad District, noticed by Mr. Burn in J. R. A. S. 1909 mentioned before, should be attributed to Yaśodharma and his son Śilāditya, deserves to receive more favourable consideration than it has hitherto done. By a strange coincidence the names Harsha, Pratāpaśīla and Śilāditya apply to both Harsha and Pratāpaśīla of Thanesar and to Yaśodharma and his son Śilāditya. Rājtaranginī (III. 125) gives Harsha as another name of Vikramāditya and his son Śilāditya had also another name of Pratāpaśīla (Do. III. 330.)† The years on these coins are as Mr. Burn says regnal. Harsha of Thanesar established an era of his own and his years may be regnal, but his father Pratāpaśīla like Īśāna would rather use the Gupta era or some other era. He was not an emperor nor did he claim to be one. His titles and those of Īśāna are the same and hence it is not probable that he would use his regnal years on his coins. He does not appear to have reigned long and his years, even if regnal, could not have been so many as 33 or 31. Thirdly, it appears from the Harsha-Charita that the coin of Harsha was marked with a bull. At least this was so in the first year of his rule (वृषाङ्कगमाभिनववदितं हाटकमयीं मुद्रां समुपाविन्ये H. C., p. 274) and the same would be the case with the coins of his father if they did not copy the Gupta coins. These arguments should induce us to attribute these coins to Harsha Yaśodharma Vikramāditya who was an emperor of India and his son Pratāpaśīla alias Śilāditya who would use his own or his father's regnal years. The name Śilāditya

*अथ प्रतापादित्याख्यस्तैरौनीय दिगन्तरात् ।

विक्रमादित्यभूभर्तुर्ज्ञातिरत्राभिषिच्यत ॥

शकारि विक्रमादित्य इति संभ्रममाश्रितैः ॥

अन्यैरत्रान्यथालोखे विसंवादि कश्चित्तम् ॥राज०॥

† The following ślokas from Rājata. III are relevant

वैरिनिर्यासितं राज्ये विक्रमादित्यजं न्यधात् ।

पित्र्ये प्रतापशालिं स शीलादित्यापराभिधम् ॥ and

तत्रानेहस्युज्जयिन्यां श्रीमान् हर्षापराभिधः ।

एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्ती विक्रमादित्यइत्यभूत् ॥१२५॥

म्लेच्छोच्छेदाय वसुधां हरेरवतरिष्यतः ।

शकान् विनाश्यं येनादौ कार्यभारो लघूकृतः ॥१२८॥

was a favourite one with Buddhists who valued virtue (शील) more than valour (वीर्य) and who thus gave this title to many kings of Buddhist fame. Śīlāditya of Molapo was a staunch Buddhist and may have struck coins in that name also besides those issued in the name of Pratāpāsīla.

7.—INDIA IN 630 A. D. AS DESCRIBED BY HIUEN TSANG.

Name of Country.	King.	People.
1. Kapiśa (Kabul or Kafiristan) ... (a) Lampāka or Lampá (Laghman) going east and crossing Black range. (b) Nagar (Jellalabad) south-east crossing a mountain and a river. (c) Gāndhāra (Peshawar) south-east, upto the Indus.	Kshatriya Buddhist ... Dependency of Kapiśa ... Province of Kapiśa ... Subject to Kapiśa ...	Generally Buddhist. Non-Buddhists very numerous, the Brethren very few; people ill-mannered and ugly. The people revered Buddha and had little faith in other systems. Majority adhered to other systems of religion. Town and villages desolate. Sālatura, birth-place of Paninī, mentioned in this country. People held Buddhism in high esteem and were believers in Mahāyāna. People who were plucky, were adherents of Buddhism. Religion not mentioned.
2. Ūdyāna (Swat); going north crossing rivers . (a) Taxilā. (Rawalpindi) returning south and crossing the Indus. (b) Sinhapura (Ketas near Salt Range). South-east across hills, Indus west for frontier. (Shahapur). (c) Uraśa (Haripur) Jhelum ... Kashmir South-east. ...	King not mentioned ... Subject formerly to Kapiśa, but now to Kashmir ... Subject to Kashmir ... " " " " ... King protected by Dragoon. ... Subject to Kashmir ... " " " " ... King not mentioned ...	The people were not Buddhists. People were both orthodox and heterodox; they were handsome and fond of learning but deceitful. Non-Buddhists were very numerous. Few believed in Buddhism and most served the Devas. From here there were rest-houses on the roads.
(a) Punach (Punach) South-west ... (b) Rajapura (Rajaori) South-east ... Tekka (old capital ākala or Sailkot) going south-east, Indus on the west, Bias on the east,	Subject to Kashmir ... " " " " ... King not mentioned ...	

HARSHA AND HIS TIMES

5. Chinabhukti (Patti) going eastward	...	Former king Mihirakula.	Orthodoxy and heterodoxy had their adherents. There were no monasteries. There were 9 Deva temples.
6. Jālandhara (Jullunder), north-east	..	King not mentioned. A former king was in sole control of matters relating to Buddhism.	50 Monasteries and 3 Deva temples with professed non-Buddhists of the Pāsúpata sect.
7. Kuluta (Kulu), among mountains going north-east.	...	King not named	20 Monasteries and 15 Deva temples.
8. Śatadru going south the Sutlej on west	...	" " " "	People devout Buddhists.
9. Pāriyātra (Bairat) going south-west	...	King of the Vaiśya caste name not mentioned.	8 Monasteries in ruin; 10 Deva temples with 1000 non-Buddhists.
10. Mathura eastward	...	King not mentioned	People were moral and very intellectual; 20 monasteries with 2000 Brethren and 5 Deva temples.
11. Sthāneśvara (Thanesar) going north-east		" " "	Non-Buddhists were very numerous. 3 monasteries and about 100 Deva temples. There is here an indirect mention of the Bhagavadgīta.
12. Srughna north-east, the Jumna flowing through the middle. Snowy mountains on the north, the Ganges on the east.		" " "	There were 100 Deva temples and the non-Buddhists were numerous.
13. Matipura (Western Rohilkhand) crossing to the eastern bank of the Ganges.		Of Śūdra caste, did not believe in Buddhism and worshipped the Devas.	The people were equally divided between Buddhism and other religions.
14. Brahmapura (Garhwal and Kumaon) going north.		Not mentioned	5 monasteries with very few brethren, 10 Deva temples.
15. Govishāṇa (Kashipur, Rampur) South-east of Matipura.		" " "	People honest and sincere and applied themselves to learning. Most of them non-Buddhists; sought the joys of this life.
16. Ahichhatra (Eastern Rohilkhand & Pilibhit) going south east.		" " "	10 Monasteries; 9 Deva temples; 300 worshippers of the Pāsúpata sect.
17. Pilósana (after crossing the Ganges south) capital near Atranji		" " "	The people were mainly non-Buddhists.

Name of Country.	King.	People.
18. Sārkāshya or Kapitha, South-east	...	4 Monasteries, 10 Deva temples, non-Buddhists were Saivites.
19. Kanauj South-east. Capital to the east of the Ganges.	Harsha of the Vaisya caste.	The people were equally divided between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were temples to the sun god and Mahésvara in the city. The people had a refined appearance and dressed in silk attire. They were given to learning and the arts.
20. Ayute (Ayodhya) going south-east and crossing the Ganges (another river), to the south.	King not named	... 100 monasteries with 3000 brethren and 10 temples. There were few non-Buddhists. Vasubandhu and Asanga preached in this city.
21. Ayomukha (?) East and crossing the Ganges (?) to the north.	Not mentioned	... People equally divided and there were 5 monasteries and 10 Deva temples.
22. Prayāga (Allahabad) going south-east and crossing the Ganges on the south and north of the Jumna,	" "	... Majority of the inhabitants non-Buddhists. In front of a Deva temple a big Banyan tree from which people threw themselves down to die. At the confluence also people bathed and then starved themselves to death. Non-Buddhists were very numerous.
23. Kosambi going south-west through a forest	Not mentioned, Udayana ancient king made a sandal-wood image of Buddha which was in the palace temple. Not mentioned	... Non-Buddhists were very numerous.
24. Visoka (?) going north	...	Non-Buddhists were very numerous.
25. Śravasti (Kosala) going north-east	Not mentioned. In Buddha's times seat of king Prasenajit.	Non-Buddhists were very numerous. The people were honest and fond of learning.

26. Kapilavastu (deserted kingdom) going south-east.	No king, each city had its own king.	There were two Deva temples and remains of 1000 monasteries. (These three were probably no kingdoms, but places connected with Buddha's life. Kapilavastu was his birth-place and Kuśinagara his death place.)
27. Rāmagrāma (the country devastated) going east through a forest and inhabitants few.	No king	
28. Kuśinagara (all in ruin. few inhabitants) north-east.	" "	
29. Benares (Ganges on the West) South-west of Kuśinagara.	Not mentioned	Majority believed in other systems; only a few believed in Buddhism. The people were gentle and courteous, majority being devotees of Śiva. There was a metal image of the Deva (Śiva) nearly 100 feet high which was life-like in its awe-inspiring majesty.
30. Chanchu (Yaudheya) going eastward along the Ganges, capital Ghazipur.	King not mentioned	10 monasteries 20 Deva temples. On the south of the Ganges was a Mahāsālā where all the inhabitants were Brahmins and there were no Buddhists. On the north of the Ganges was a Nārāyaṇa temple with a most beautiful image.
31. Vaisali, crossing the Ganges going north-east.	Not mentioned	The people both orthodox and heterodox. The Digambaras flourished.
32. Vrijji, going north-east	" "	Very few Buddhists, non-Buddhist were numerous.
33. Nepal (in the snowy mountains. direction not mentioned).	Kings were Kshatriya Licchavis. They were eminent scholars and believed in Buddha. Anśuvarmā a recent king had written a treatise on Etymology.	The people were rude and deceitful and ugly in appearance but skilled mechanics. They believed both the false and the true religions. Monasteries and Deva temples touching each other.

Name of Country.	King.	People
34. Magadha, from Vaishali south, after crossing the Ganges. Old Capital Rājagṛiha, new Pāṭaliputra. The country produced fragrant rice called "rice for grandees".	Not mentioned; but in the Life we are told that Purna Varma king of Magadha who was just dead patronised Jayasena a renowned Buddhist scholar of Kshatriya caste.	The people were honest, esteemed learning and revered Buddhism. The adherents of various sects were numerous. Gaya was to the south and had few inhabitants. But there were 1000 Brahmin families descendants of the original Rishi Gaya and these were not subject to the king and were treated by all with reverence. Ancient Buddhist University. Bālāditya and others built them and endowed them with 100 villages.
Nālandā monasteries (modern village Buragaon) to the east of Rājagṛiha.	No king, a neighbouring king having recently deposed the ruler.	10 Monasteries and 20 Deva temples. Near the Ganges and besides the capital was a mountain on which lived an endless succession of Rishis whose teachings were still preserved in the Deva temples.
35. Hiranyaparvata. (Monghyr) going east. Capital close to the Ganges on its north side.	Not mentioned	Monasteries in ruin. On the south side of the Ganges in an islet, there was a Deva temple beautiful and enchanting.
36. Champā (Bhagalpur) East, Capital situated on the south of the Ganges. Many herds of elephants in the jungle to the south.	No king; subject to another state.	6 Monasteries, 10 Deva temples.
37. Kajugal (Rajamahar) East; south of the Ganges.	Not mentioned	20 Monasteries, 100 Deva temples. There were Digambara Nigranthas also.
38. Pundra Vardhana (Rangapur) East after crossing the Ganges.	A Brahmin, descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva	The people were small in stature; spoke a different language; did not believe in Buddhism. There were hundreds of Deva temples. Some Buddhists prayed in secrecy.
39. Kāmarūpa (Assam) East after crossing a large river.	called Bhāskara Varma the other name being Kumāra	

40. Samatata. Capital Jessore	...	Not mentioned	...	30 Buddhistic Monasteries and 100 Deva temples. Digambar Nigranthas were very numerous.
41. Tāmralipti (Midnapur) West ; Capital on an inlet of the sea, land and water communication met, being on a bay.	...	Not mentioned	...	10 Buddhistic monasteries, 50 Deva temples.
42. Karpasuvārṇa (Murshidabad) North-west	...	Sāsānka (see Gupta inscriptions p. 283.) Not mentioned	...	People fond of learning. 10 monasteries 50 temples. Numerous followers of various religions People reverence the law. In speech and manners different from Mid. India, Fruit larger than elsewhere. 100 Monasteries. 50 temples Myriads of Buddhists.
43. Udra or Odra (Orissa) going S.W. On the east the ocean, in the S. E. a sea-port for going to Ceylon.	...	Not mentioned	...	People tall, black and valorous. Written language the same, ways of speaking different. They were not Buddhists; 100 temples. Of Tirthikas there were 10,000.
44. Kouguto going south-west, over hills and the sea.	...	Not mentioned	...	People headstrong but fair and clear of speech; they differed somewhat from Mid-India in talk and manners. Few Buddhists. Majority of other religions. 100 Deva temples, majority being Nigranthas.
45. Kalinga. South-west	...	Not mentioned	...	People tall and black; of both religions; about 100 monasteries.
46. Kosala, land of Nāgārjuna, North-west ; country surrounded by mountains.	...	Kshatriya Buddhist	...	People violent. Their speech differs from Mid-India; 100 monasteries. Followers of different religions.
47. Āndhra. South from Kosala	...	Not mentioned	...	People black; monasteries deserted, 100 temples, followers of various sects numerous.
48. Dhanakakata (Amaravati on the Krishna) South.	...	"	...	People of a fierce and profligate character. They were the followers of the Tirthikas. The monasteries were in ruins. Several tens of Deva temples and the Digambaras were numerous.
49. Chola. South-west	...	"	...	

Name of Country.	King.	People.
50. Dravida. South; a port led to Sinhala	Not mentioned	The people courageous and honest, esteemed great learning, they differed little from Mid-India in written and spoken language. 100 monasteries, and more than 80 Deva temples. Majority Digambara
51. Malayakūta. South from Kānchī; depot of pearls; sea-port to Ceylon.	"	People indifferent to religion; black, only good at pride, monasteries few, hundreds of Deva temples; Digambaras very numerous. On the south on the sea was the Malaya mountain which produced sandal, camphor and other trees. On the east was Potalaka mountain with Pataldhe lake on the top.
52. Konkan, going north from Dravid	"	100 monasteries. Close to the city was a forest of Tāla trees, its leaves were used for writing
53. Mahārāshtra. North-west. Capital to the east of a great river.	Pulikeshin	People warlike and fond of learning; both orthodox and heterodox; to the east of this country was a mountain in which caves were dug out.
54. Bharukachha going west and crossing the Narmadā.	Not mentioned	People deceitful and ignorant; believed in both orthodoxy and heterodoxy. They support themselves on the sea and salt manufacture.
55. Mālava, going north-west. Capital on the Mahi.	60 years before, a great king, called Silāditya who had built by his palace a Buddhist Temple ruled.	People learned. Mālava in the South-west and Magadha in North-east were the two countries where learning was prized. There was miscellaneous belief in orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

56. Atali (Unidentified) Going north-west.	King not mentioned ...	People traders and rich. The soil was sandy. There were little flowers or fruit. In speech etc., the people were like those of Mālava, but they did not esteem religious merit, and worshipped Devas. (Hiven T'siang probably did not visit this country.)
57. Kita (Cutch) going north-west from Mālava ...	Subject to Mālava ...	People like those of Mālava. There were however numerous worshippers of Deva temples.
58. Valabhi; going north ...	Kshatriya by caste and nephew of the former king of Mālava-Sīladitya and a son-in-law of the reigning king of Kanauj-Sīladitya. He was hasty of temper and young but a devout Buddhist. His name was Dhruvabhata. Not mentioned. Subject to Mālava.	The country was like Mālava, the people rich and prosperous. There were hundreds of Deva temples, above 100 Buddhist monasteries.
59. Ānandapura. North-west of Valabhi ...		Fertile and like Mālava in products, climate written language and institutions. More than 10 Monasteries.
60. Surashtra; going west. Mahi on its west side.	Subject to Mālava ..	People rich and flourishing. They were rude and believed in both religious. 10 Monasteries and about 100 Deva temples. Near the capital was the Uśanta hill (undoubtedly Girnar near Junagadh) on which congregated supernatural Rishis. Soil blackish. Disturbed by storms. The country on the high way to the sea. The people utilized the sea and were traders by profession.

Name of Country.	King.	People.
61. Gurjara-North from Valabhi, capital Bhi- mal	Kshatriya a young man celebrated for wisdom and valour and profound believer in Buddhism.	It had a flourishing population mostly non- Buddhist. 1 Monastery 10 Deva temples. The country was like Surashtra.
62. Ujjayini. South-west from Gurjara, properly identified with Ujjain, because Asoka had made here a jail.	Brahmin, well versed in heterodox doctrine.	People rich and prosperous; very few Buddhists Monasteries mostly in ruins. Some 10 Deva temples.
63. Chichito. North-east.	Brahmin, a firm believer in Buddhism.	Majority of people not Buddhist. Wheat and pulse were its products.
64. Mahesvarapura going north. Returns from Mahesvarapura to Gosjala (Gurjara) crosses a wild country and going north and crossing the Shintu river comes to	Brahmin, not a believer in Buddhism.	People not Buddhist. Majority belonged to the Pasupatas.
65. Sind. Capital Pisharpulo (?)	Of Sūdra caste and be- liever in Buddha.	People quarrelsome. Thorough believers in Buddhism; several hundreds of Monasteries and 10000 brethren. Above 30 Deva temples. Wheat, dromedaries and mules were the chief products. In the marshes of Shintu lived myriads of families of ferocious dispo- sition, who made taking of life their occupa- tion though they shaved off hair and wore Bhikshu garbs.

66. Mulasthānapura, going east and crossing the Indus.	Subject to Tekka	...	The people were upright, led moral life but few were Buddhists. There was a temple to the sun, the image of burning gold, ornamented with precious stones. There was a constant succession of female singers in this temple.
67. Pofato North-east upland.	Subject to Tekka	...	About 10 Buddhist monasteries.
68. Pochilo. South-west from Sind. Capital in the west on the sea. Udumbara	Subject to Sind	...	Above 80 monasteries. In the capital was a large Mahésvara temple the image in which had supernatural powers. Capital Khajisvara or Kacchhesvara.
69. Langhala (Makran) going west	Subject to Persia	...	Writing like that of India and speech different. (Orthodoxy and heterodoxy both were believed in. Above 100 monasteries and hundreds of Deva temples and very many Pāsúputas.
70. Philitosihlo (Pitasila)	Subject to Sind	...	In the capital was a temple of Mahésvara.
71. Afantu (Avanda). North-east	" "	...	People violent but true Buddhists Language differed from that of India. 20 monasteries 15 Deva temples.
72. Falana (Varanar or Bannu). North-east	Subject to Kapisá	...	People bold, fierce and believed in both orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Tens of Buddhist monasteries and 5 Deva temples mostly Pāsúpata

(Taken from Watters' Yuan Chwang Vol. II.)

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLE

Before proceeding further it is necessary, as it would be convenient, to describe the condition of India which obtained at this time in all its details. The reign of Harsha was, so to speak, a brilliant ending to a period which was passing away. Like the flame that bursts into brilliance before it expires, the condition of the country in the days of Harsha was flattering in every respect. But the hey day of Aryan civilization had been reached and the mediæval period of Ancient Indian history was to commence, in which Indo-Aryan civilization had its decline and its fall. It would, therefore, be interesting as well as proper at this place to take a stock of the condition of the country at this time, in order that we may see whence and wherefore India or rather Indo-Aryans declined and fell.

Fortunately, the materials for taking such a survey of the condition of the country are ample and reliable. In the first place we have the Records of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang who was a minute observer and a detailed recorder. Secondly, we have the Harsha Charita of Bāṇa, another contemporary writer of eminence and credibility. The value of the Harsha Charita has been much underestimated by European scholars who cannot go to the original. His praise of Harsha is characterised by Sir Vincent Smith, in contrast with that by Hiuen Tsang, as fulsome and his performance is described as irritating, although his power as a writer is admitted and his descriptions are conceded as vivid. But if one dives beneath the gingle of his words and the hyperbole of his concepts one finds in the Harsha Charita an immense amount of detailed information about the condition of the country which can only come from a minute and accurate observer of things. I cannot but remark here that I have drawn much of my inspiration and information from Bāṇa's Harsha Charita and in depicting particularly the state of

the country and the people I shall have constantly to refer to him. These two great authorities for this period are supplemented and supported by epigraphic and other materials for constructing a detailed description of the country at this time. We proceed first to describe the people of India, or rather their race and their castes, their appearance and their occupations.

We will begin, of course, with the description recorded by Hiuen Tsang. After stating that India was called Shintu or Hintu (a name which corresponds with the Sind and Hind of the Arabs) Hiuen Tsang says 'Among the various clans and castes of the country, the Brahmins were purest and most esteemed; so from their excellent reputation the name Brahmins' country had come to be a popular one for India.' (Watters Vol. I p. 141). It is indeed a matter of pride as well as regret to Brahmins that they still maintained their pre-eminence by their good conduct and intelligence and their reputation outside their country in the seventh century was exactly the reverse of what it is to-day. The land bore *their* name outside the country and the name was even a *popular* one. Next to the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas also maintained their character for high morals and simplicity of life as also for valour. At page 157 we find the further remark; "The Kshatriyas and Brahmins are clean-handed and unostentatious, pure and simple in their life and very frugal." Thus the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, the two leading castes of India were in those days deserving of the foremost rank which has always been assigned to them in Indian society. At page 168 the four castes of India are thus described by Hiuen Tsang.

"There are four orders of hereditary caste distinctions. The first is that of the Brahmins, they keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity. The second order is that of the Kshatriyas, the race of kings. This order has held sovereignty for many generations and its aims are benevolence and mercy. The third order is that of the Vaiśyas or the class of traders, who

barter commodities and pursue gains far and near. The fourth order is that of the Śūdras or agriculturists. These toil at cultivating the soil and are industrious at sowing and reaping. These four castes form classes of various degrees of ceremonial purity. The members of a caste marry within the caste. Relations by the father's or mother's side do not inter-marry and a woman never contracts a second marriage." Here is a vivid description of Indian caste in the first half of the seventh century, A. D., recorded by an intelligent foreign observer who lived among the people and studied and understood their language. Indian caste as we have observed elsewhere is based on both *race* and *occupation*. Both the factors are important and we shall discuss them here in detail.

That the Indian people in their higher and many lower strata also, are Aryan by race, nobody can now deny although mixture to a certain extent with the Dravidians, the original inhabitants of the land, has taken place. The prevailing type, however, was then and is still Aryan. Measurements of the head and the nose taken at the census of 1901 have indubitably proved that the people of the Panjab and Rajputana are unmistakably Aryan and those of the United Provinces and the Bombay Presidency are mixed Aryans and Dravidians. The prominence and length of the nose of the people of India is remarked even by Hiuen Tsang. "They have long noses and large eyes". (page 151). Bāṇa too refers to the same peculiarity when he makes the poetical remark on Skanda Gupta's nose that it was as long as the pedigree of his master's family.* The people of India were then thus unmistakably Aryan and it is therefore strange to observe that European scholars are still labouring under the old bias of tracing the origin of the Kshatriyas of India to Seythic and Hunic peoples. This purity of race was greatly preserved in India in the higher castes as well as the lower owing to restrictions im-

* In contrast with the high nose of the Aryans Bāṇa marks also the low nose of the aboriginal people, see his description of the Śabara youth brought to Harsha in the Vindhya jungles "अवनाट-नासिकं चिपिटाधरम्" page 310 H.C.

posed on marriage by inveterate custom and legal precept. Hiuen Tsang himself remarks that Indians marry within the caste, and there are several classes within the four castes according to their degree of purity. Although outside races like the Śakas and the Hūnas came to India these were always treated as separate classes of Kshatriyas and they rarely married with the old Kshatriyas. This fact coupled with the paucity of the foreigners accounts for the still distinctly preserved Aryan type in the peoples of the Panjab and Rajputana though these parts had especially been the scenes of the inroads of foreign peoples.

It is interesting to observe that in the matter of marriage, there is a distinct difference in the remark of Megasthenes and that of Hiuen Tsang, the former belonging to the time of Chandragupta of 300 B. C. and the latter to the time of Harsha of 600 A. D. Megasthenes remarks that the Brahmins were allowed to marry wives from the lower castes.* In fact this tallies with the provision of Manu which allows the higher castes to marry into the lower, the progeny when the lower order was immediately next being of the same caste as that of the father. This rule of Manu has, as we know, been abandoned in the later Smritis and in order that the progeny may be of the same caste both the husband and wife must be, it is now declared, of the same caste. This view of the later Smritis is reflected in the remark of Hiuen Tsang. But it must be noticed here that the old order of things of Manu's days had not yet passed away entirely in the time of Harsha. Caste was still somewhat loose and higher orders were allowed to marry in the lower next without the lowering of the caste of the progeny. Hiuen Tsang reports that Harsha's daughter was married to Dhruvabhata and that while the former was a Vaiśya the latter was a Kshatriya. So also Bāṇa records that Harsha's sister was married to Graha-varmā Mankhari of Kanauj and we shall see that while

*See McCRindle's *Ancient India* Megasthenes and his age 86 "No one is allowed to marry out of his caste or to exchange his profession for another. An exception is made in favour of the philosopher who for his virtue is allowed this privilege."

Harsha's family name ended in Vardhana or Bhūti indicating their caste to be Vaiśya, the name of the Maukaris ended in Varman showing that their caste was Kshatriya. Thus the times of Harsha were an intervening step in the process of the rigidification of caste ending in the next few centuries in the total prohibition of marriage outside the caste.

Anuloma marriages were not thus uncommon in the times we are describing. Such marriages took place usually in castes only one degree apart and rarely though that may be, they took place even in castes two or more grades apart. For Bāṇa records that he had two Pāraśava brothers i. e., sons of a Brahmin by a Śūdra wife. Here the word Pāraśava is used which shows that the progeny is not treated as illegitimate. The caste of the sons was not that of the father, but in case of Brahmins marrying Kshatriya wives or Kshatriyas marrying Vaiśya wives the caste of the progeny was treated the same as that of the father. For it does not appear that Dhruvabhata's son by the daughter of Harsha was treated as less than a Kshatriya. Ample epigraphic evidence is available to show that Brahmins actually married Kshatriya wives, or even Vaiśya wives without loss of caste,* by the progeny.

We have described caste in its racial aspect and shown that though Anuloma marriages were allowed, even in the times of Harsha, they were being gradually disallowed and that such marriages taking place among the three higher castes which were Aryan, there was not much

*The Mandsaur stone inscription given in Corp. Ins. III pages 152-4 shows that Ravikīrti a Brahmin married Bhānuguptā a Vaiśya and had three sons one of whom Abhayadatta was a viceroy in the Nerbudda province of Emperor Yaśodharman. Dr. Fleet adds "we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Ghatotkacha cave inscription of Hastibhoja, a minister of the Vākātaka Mahārāja Devasena. It tells us that Hastibhoja's ancestor, a Brahmin married *according to the precept of revelation and tradition* a Kshatriya wife through whom Hastibhoja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brahmin caste whose sons and descendants applied themselves to the study of the Vedas." See Arch. Sur. Re. Western India vol. IV page 140.

deterioration of race. We shall now advert to caste in its occupational aspect, and the first prominent remark to make is, that while the occupation of the first two castes remained much the same as in the ancient days of Manu, the occupation of the Vaiśyas had undergone a restriction. They were husbandmen and cattle-breeders pre-eminently as well as traders in the days preceding the Christian era, but now they remained only traders. “ कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्यं वैश्य-कर्म स्वभावजम् ” says the Bhagavadgītā but the *krishi* and *gorakshya* or agriculture and cattle-rearing had ceased to be the occupation of the Vaiśyas and had now become the occupation of the Sūdras. Hiuen Tsang distinctly says that trading was the only occupation of the Vaiśyas and agriculture was the occupation of the Sūdras. The result was, that notwithstanding that the race of many of the agricultural classes in India was distinctly Aryan, they came to be classed as Sūdras or fourth grade of the people. The fact that the lowest population of the Panjab and Rajputana is still distinctly Aryan in type also proves that many of the peoples, now and even then looked upon as Sūdras were in reality Aryan by race. The peoples who have most suffered in this way are the Jat populations of the Panjab, Sind and the United Provinces and the Gurjaras who were cattle breeding Vaiśyas have suffered most in the same manner and it may be added that the Marathas have suffered still more in this manner on our side. That the Jats are distinctly Aryan no body even now doubts. “ If appearance is any index, the Jats are clearly of Aryan origin ”, says the Muzzuffernagar Gazetteer. They are fair, tall and with long heads and noses. Their Aryan race is admitted by Sir H. Risley also in the Census report for 1901. It seems, therefore, strange that historians still assign to them a Scythian origin. The Gurjaras also are in appearance Aryan though they are darker in complexion. The Marathas too are in appearance Aryan though their noses are less distinctly Aryan there being in their case some mixture with the Dravidian races. Unfortunately these three peoples have suffered at the hands of both *Indian* and *European* savants. Indian

Shastris of later days with their bias against agriculture and cattle-rearing and the custom of widow marriage which obtains among the three have treated them as Sūdras.* And European scholars have treated them as Scythic in origin, being influenced by the strange bias that the manlines which these races displayed in later history could not have belonged to the long settled people of India but could only have characterised fresh hordes of invaders like the Kushanas and the Huns who were known to be of the Scythian race. It is, however, undoubted that the Jats most distinctly and the Gujars and Marathas in lesser degree are undoubted Aryan in race and their being treated as Sūdras by Indian Shastris and as Scythians by European scholars is, historically and ethnically, incorrect.

Though these names, it must be admitted, came into use or prominence at this time, this cannot be an argument to hold that they were new races come into India at or a little before this time. New names arise from various causes as we shall find in later history; and it need not surprise us that the names Jat, Gujar and Maratha came into use in the sixth or sometime before the seventh century. The word Jat is found, first in Chandra's grammar, where he uses the word in the sentence अजय-जटो हूणान् given to illustrate the use of the Imperfect. Gurjara and Mahārāshtra are words used by Hiuen Tsang to denote two kingdoms. Bāṇa also uses the word Gurjara as the name of a people or king in the word गुर्जरप्रजागर. As already shown the word Gurjara appears in a grant of Dadda also. Mahārāshtra is a name which we do not find used earlier, though the language Mahārāshtri is mentioned even by Vararuchi of the first century A. D. As applied to the present Maratha country Mahārāshtra is used by Hiuen Tsang only, previous Indian writers such as

*Hiuen Tsang's remark that women never contract a second marriage must be understood as relating to the three higher grades only, as there can be no doubt that Sūdras allowed widow marriage even in his days. It is possible to suppose that the Jats, Gujars and Marathas though Aryans have borrowed this custom from the Sūdras with whom as agriculturists or cattle grazers they must have come into a close and constant contact.

Varāha Mihira using other names to denote it.* The word Mahārāshtra is a Sanskrit word which can well be interpreted as denoting a people or a country but what do the words Jat and Gujar or their Sanskrit originals Jarta and Gurjara mean? They are probably the names of peoples and not countries according to any view. There were different castes among the Jats except Brahmins. So also among the Gujars some were Brahmins, some Kshatriyas, some Vaiśyas and so on, much in the same way as there are Maratha Brahmins, Maratha Kshatriyas and Maratha Vaiśyas. This subject is of a controversial character and we leave it to be discussed in a note, but we may mention here that there is a caste of Brahmins in Ujjain which styles itself Gújar Gaud. They do not call themselves Gujaratis as Gujarati Brahmins do but Gujars, and it is well known that among the many sub-sections of Rajputs, there is at present a section by the name of Gújars. The mention by Hiuen Tsang of a Kshatriya king in Gurjara need not therefore surprise us.

To return to our subject, in the days of Hiuen Tsang, agriculture had ceased to be the occupation of Vaiśyas and had become the occupation of the Sūdras, a fact that need not therefore compel us to look upon many of the so-called Sūdras of the present day as Dravidian in race nor treat them as Scythic in race as European scholars are disposed to do. This change in the occupational aspect of caste differentiates the time of Harsha from the time of Manu. Another important change in occupation can be gathered from another statement of Hiuen Tsang. At page 170 Watters Vol. 1 we find, "sovereignty for many successive generations has been exercised by Kshatriyas alone. Rebellion and regicide have occasionally arisen other castes assuming the distinction." In the old caste organisation of Manu's days Kshatriyas alone could be kings. And native tradition asserts that this barrier was first overthrown by Chndragupta who destroyed, with Chanakya's help, the line of the last truly Kshatriya kings, the Nandas. Since then

* In a grant of Pulakesin of this time, it first appears.

Sūdras, Brahmins and Vaiśyas have often become kings in the history of India. But even if they become kings their status in society or their caste does not rise. They still remained what they originally were and retained their caste by their own opinion and the opinion of the people. It is hence we see that Hiuen Tsang mentions the different castes of the ruling kings and his remark always should be looked upon as neither haphazard nor erroneous. When he says a particular king was a Kshatriya we must accept the word in its true signification. For he does not make even the great Harsha, his own benefactor and patron, a Kshatriya, but states clearly that he was a Vaiśya, a fact which is also indicated by the suffix Vardhana assumed by many kings of the family and also the suffix Bhūti* in the name of Pushya-Bhuti, its founder mentioned by Bāṇa. We will presently enumerate the suffixes usually taken up in their names by the different castes, but here this instance of Harsha itself will suffice to show the correctness of the information of Hiuen Tsang, as also the fact that notwithstanding his kingly position, the caste of the ruler remained what it was. We will now proceed to describe each caste separately and detail its characteristics during this period, as can be gathered from the evidence available.

We shall of course begin with the Brahmins who were by long recognition at the top of the people and who appear to have still deserved this position by their intelligence and high morals. They were in fact the leaders of thought both among the orthodox or Hindu people and among the unorthodox or the Buddhists and the Jains. The latter, though they in theory rejected caste appear to be still caste-ridden and intelligent Brahmins and even Kshatriyas without probably losing their caste joined their ranks as teachers and thinkers for the sake of the high position they attained to as heads of monasteries or congregations†. The following remarks, however, should be taken to

* शर्मा देवश्च विप्रस्य वर्मा त्राताच भूभुजः । भूतिर्दत्तश्च वैश्यस्य दासः सूद्रस्य कारयेत् ॥ यम
quoted by Kullūka (also Vishnu P III, 10 v, Manu II 30).

† For example a brother of the Brahmin king of Samatata was the head of the Nālandā monastery and a Buddhist teacher as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

apply to those Brahmins who professed the orthodox faith.

And the first thing we have to remark is that Brahmins yet formed one caste without subdivision throughout India; the modern distinctions based on territorial divisions had not yet come into existence. The distinctions now known as Pancha Drāvidas and Pāncha Gaudas had not arisen; not to speak of the many still minor sub-castes, into which Brahmins are at present further subdivided. The only distinction then known, appears to be that of Śākhā or Charana *i. e.* school of Vedic ritual or recitation. The gotra was also always mentioned, and the pravara sometimes. In fact in this matter modern Brahmins are diametrically different from the Brahmins of the days of Bāna. The modern Brahmins scarcely know what their gotra is and to what Vedic Sūtra they belong though they can tell at once whether they are Kanojia or Sanādhyā, Maratha or Dravida. But the Brahmin of the seventh century A.D. always distinguished himself by his gotra and Sutra. In the Harsha Charita Bāna does not tell us whether he was a Kanojia or Magadha Brahmin but simply says that he was of the Vātsyāyana gotra. In all inscriptions and copperplate grants of that period we find nowhere Brahmins distinguished as Gauda or Dravida, but as belonging to a particular gotra and studying a particular Sūtra. It is unnecessary to quote any instances here for the fact is so patent. Any grant or inscription referred to at random will show this. We must, however, refer to one grant because its words have been misunderstood. The Bulandshahar Gazetteer mentions the copper-plate grant found at Indore near Anupshahar as important in that "in it there is reference to the Gauda division of Brahmins." As the grant is dated in 164 G. E. or 465 A. D. it would follow that this division of Brahmins goes back to the 5th century A. D. or 150 years before the time of Bāna. But it seems the word गौरान्वय-संभूत in this grant has been misunderstood by the Gazetteer. For it must be remembered that the divisions Gauda, Dravida etc., are not based on family distinctions but on territorial or provincial distinctions and hence the word गौरान्वय-संभूत can have

no reference to the distinctions now known as Gauda, Dravida and so on. Then again the word is Gorā and not Gauda. Of course the family name of Brahmins or what is now called the surname is rarely given in ancient epigraphic records, and this mention of the family is somewhat strange. But that there is no reference here to the provincial divisions of Brahmins is beyond question and we may believe that upto the end of the seventh century A. D. such distinctions had not arisen. Brahmins formed one caste throughout India and knew no distinctions except that of gotra and Charana or Śākhā. It is difficult to know if marriages took place then between Brahmins of different countries. But there is no reason why they should not have. Smritis do not prohibit such marriages. Even the present restriction of marriage within the same Śākhā is more a matter of custom than of Śāstric provision. For as a matter of fact marriages between Rigvedis and Yajurvedis do take place even at present among Maratha Brahmins, Kanojiyas and other subcastes. The mention of the Śākhā, therefore, in early epigraphic records does not import any divisions for prohibition of marriage. The Veda and Śākhā were perhaps important as indicating fitness for performing particular worship or religious service. The Atharvavedi Brahmins were, for instance, considered fit to perform the worship of the sun. It may be noted *en passant* that the words then used to indicate the Veda or Śākhā of a Brahmin were in some respects different from those now used. Bahvriha was usually used then instead of Rigvedi and Chandoga instead of Sāmavedi; Yajurvedi being indicated by Vājasaneyi &c. And it may further be noted that Bhāradvāja-gotra was the usual expression then instead of Bharadvaja-gotra now used.

The second thing to remark about Brahmins is that their names generally ended in particular suffixes only. It appears that in those days particular suffixes or epithets were added to the names of individuals to indicate their caste. These suffixes are mentioned even in Smritis. Śarmā was the principal suffix indicating the Brahmin caste. Besides Śarmā the other suffixes or affixes were

Bhatta, Deva and Svāmi.* In the Chammak copperplate grant of Pravarasena II of the Vākātakas of Berars (Corp. Ins. Vol. III p. 235 No. 88) we have many names of Brahmin grantees mentioned and the following are some of them viz. Śātyāyana Ganārya, Vātsya Devārya, Bhāradvāja Kumāraśarmārya, Pārāsarya Gāhasarma, Kāsyapa Devārya, Maheśvarārya Bhāradvāja Bappārya, Gautama-sagotra Mātriśarmārya etc. The word Ārya is added as a double honorific or it may indicate that the person came from the southern country where Ārya (modern Ayyā) was added invariably to Brahmin names by the Dravidian people.

As mentioned before Brahmins sometimes took up the suffixes Varmā and Gupta also to indicate that they followed the profession of warriors or traders. For the Brahmins in those days as now followed a diversity of professions besides their principal professions, namely, यजन and याजन, अध्ययन and अध्यापन i. e., sacrificing and officiating at sacrifices, learning and teaching. Bāṇa describes his uncles as learned men studying themselves and teaching others, performing great sacrifices, keeping Agnihotra and living a religious life appropriate to Gṛihastha Brahmins. And yet for himself Bāṇa describes his associates in his young days, as dancers and music teachers, actors and painters, poets and dramatists, servant girls and old women, goldsmiths and chemists, Hindu Sanyāsis and Buddhist recluses and other non-descript people. It is not impossible to suppose from the Mṛichhakatika where a Brahmin thief is introduced, that Brahmins were good and bad in those days as they are now and followed good and bad professions

* See the Śloka already quoted from Yama as also Manu II 30 and V. P. III. At the present day in Northern India the word Pandit is often *prefixed* to indicate that the person is a Brahmin from the Deccan or Kashmir, while Miśra would indicate a Behari or Bengali Brahmin. In the seventh century it does not appear that any differences of country were indicated by these suffixes. Grants from the Panjab and U. P. show that Bhatta was as favourite a suffix in these provinces as in Gujarat or Deccan. And Bāṇa is often called Bāṇa Bhatta though he came from Magadha. At present, however, this suffix is added or taken up only by Maharāshtra Brahmins, while Ārya or Ayyā is affected by Telugu Brahmins, Āchārya by Karnatak Brahmins, Pandit by Kashmiri Brahmins and Misra by Behar Brahmins.

but the generality of them may be taken to have followed, then as now, either a religious life or the profession of Government servants, a profession in which they often rose to the position of governors of provinces. The Mandsaur-well-inscription No. 35 Corp. Ins. Ind. Vol. III gives an example of this kind. Abhayadatta, the son of Ravikīrti was a ' Rājasthāniya and protected the region containing many countries (presided over by his own upright councillors), which lies between the Vindhya mountains from the summit of which there flow the waters of the Revā and the mountain Pāriyātra up to the ocean" p. 157. Similar instances might be quoted from other epigraphic records proving the frequency of such appointments in those days. And such governors eventually often became kings themselves.

We will now pass on to the Kshatriyas and the first thing to remark is that they too formed then one caste only throughout India. As the ten subdivisions of Brahmins into five Gaudas, and five Dravidas had not yet arisen, the Kshatriyas too had not yet divided themselves into Rajputs and Khatri. In fact in modern times the word Khatri has come to denote a lower grade than the word Rajput. These Kshatriyas again had not yet been divided into 36 families only, considered to be of pure descent and restricting marriage to themselves alone. None of the names even of these 36 families had yet come into existence. The Chauhans and the Solankhis, the Śisodiyas and the Rathods had yet to be born and the Kshatriyas of India then formed one undivided caste without probably any restriction of marriage to particular families. Caste was, in fact, somewhat loose then as the Kshatriyas freely married Vaiśya wives from great families which had raised themselves to the kingly status. The instance of the Maukhari Grahavarmā marrying Harsha's sister given by Bāṇa and that of the Valabhi king Dhruvabhata marrying Harsha's daughter, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang will suffice to prove this practice. But such marriages were not common and the intermixture of castes or rather races was strictly prevented by pious Hindu

kings as may be gathered from the epithet "Varnavya-vasthāpanapara" usually applied in epigraphic records to great kings showing the earnest solicitude of the people to preserve the purity of Varna or race. Instances of pratiloma marriages, or marriages above the grade do not occur and hence the old law of the Manusmṛiti was apparently still in force. When therefore Hiuen Tsang says that a particular king was a Kshatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra, he mentions a distinction which was strictly maintained in spite of the tendency of Buddhism to overthrow caste.

The next remark to make about the Kshatriyas is that they had not come to assign much importance to the three great Vanśas to which they now invariably trace their descent. For none of the epigraphic records of this time mention the Vanśa of the Kshatriya family. The Surya Vamśa, the Chandra Vamśa and the Agni Vamśa are yet not met with in grants and inscriptions. The Valabhi grants even do not mention that the Senāpati family to which the Sisodiyas, the premier Surya-Vamśi Rajputs of the present day trace their origin was of the Solar race. No doubt the Solar and Lunar races distinction rather the Aila and Aikshvāka race is mentioned in the Mahābhārata in the Sabhā Parva, where Kṛishna says that there were 101 families then in India belonging to the Solar and Lunar races. The idea thus of these two races must be taken to be at least as old as the 3rd century B. C. the undoubted date of the last edition of the Mahābhārata. But it seems probable that when in the interval between 300 B. C. and 600 A. D. various families of kings belonging to the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes and of foreign races ruled in India, the mention of the solar or lunar Vamśa must have become of less importance and hence the neglect to mention the Vamśa in inscriptions and grants. The grants of Valabhi kings of undoubted Kshatriya caste do not thus mention the race. But it does not follow that the Solar and Lunar lineage was forgotten. Some families did take pride even then in their Solar and Lunar race (H. C. p. 98 कथयतं यदि सोमवंशसंभवो सूर्यवंशसंभवो वा युवां भूपतिरभूदेवांविधः). But they were

apparently in the back-ground. The Pushyabhūti family of Thanesar belonged neither to the Solar nor Lunar race and the Vaisya kings apparently did not deem the Vamśa important or could not trace the origin of their families to kings famous in the Purānas.* In grants of the Badāmi Chālukyas the gotra of the family is mentioned as Mānavya and the kings are also called Hāritī-putras. This Mānavya gotra is described in some grants as born of the first Svāyambhuva Manu and thus does not belong to the present solar race. How the two ancient lineages, namely, Solar and Lunar, grew later into importance and how the subsequent addition of the third Agni Kula was made hereafter, we shall have to discuss in our next volume.

Thirdly, the Kshatriyas had their peculiar descriptive epithets or name-endings like the Brahmins. Varmā and Trātā mentioned in the Smṛitis were the chief ones. Other epithets may also be gathered from the records, such as Sena and Bhata. The Valabhi kings usually took up the suffixes Sena and Bhata. Sinha which was a most favourite epithet with post-Mahomedan Rajputs is not usually met with in records of the seventh century though we have the name Drona Sinha among the Valbhi kings.

We will now speak of the Vaiśyas whose caste was then and is still the third in rank. They are always treated as Aryan in race for the word Ārya occurring in the Vedas is always interpreted by the commentator Sāyana as meaning Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaiśya. Vaiśyas, however, generally speaking had perhaps not preserved the purity of caste as much as the other two higher castes, and some of them had sunk into the position of Śūdras. But the Vaiśyas of the days of Hiuen Tsang, from his description were traders and merchants, bankers and money lenders and these might be taken to have formed themselves into

* In a Broach Gurjara grant the lineage is mentioned as that of Mahārāja Karṇa and antiquarians have interpreted Karṇa to mean Karṇa of the Mahābhārata. But I doubt it and as no grant contemporary or preceeding mentions the Vamśa this Karṇa was probably some early famous king only of the Gurjara family.

a restricted group. The names of modern Vaiśya subcastes again had not yet come into being and Maheśriṣ and Agarvals were then unknown. The modern Vaiśyas of Northern India divide themselves into $12\frac{1}{2}$ castes and are also separated by an unbridgable barrier from the Vaiśyas of the south. But in the seventh century probably like the Brahmin and the Kshatriyas they also still formed one caste only throughout India. Their distinctive appellations or suffixes were Gupta and Bhūti according to the Smritis already quoted and other words were also used such as Vardhana. And lastly as regards profession some of the Vaiśya families had raised themselves still higher than traders and merchants and become kings by following the profession of arms. Of these remarkable families, the Guptas of Magadha must be taken to be the premier family. The greatest king in India in its post Buddhist history next to Aśoka who was a Sūdra was Samudra Gupta and he must be taken from the name ending to be a Vaiśya and similarly the greatest king next to Samudra Gupta after him was Harsha and he was undoubtedly a Vaiśya. The suffix Vardhana taken by his family indicated the Vaiśya caste and the testimony of Hiuen Tsang that Harsha was a Vaiśya is conclusive. Some Vaiśya families in those days therefore gave birth to heroes and statesmen and they were even distinguished by letters also as both Samudra Gupta and Harsha were certainly learned men. In mediæval and later history too, many Vaiśya families distinguished themselves on the battle-field and it seems that the modern Bais Rajputs of Oudh may be looked upon as the descendants of some of the heroic Vaiśya families of mediæval India though they derive their descent from the mythical Śalivahana king of Paithan in the south. The Guptas were spread over the whole of Northern India and names of warriors and statesmen in those days usually ended in Gupta, showing their high qualification for military posts.

Lastly we have to speak of the Sūdras whose occupation, according to Hiuen Tsang was agriculture. In days preceding the Christian era, agriculture was the occupation of

the Vaiśyas while menial service alone was left to the Śūdra caste. The spread of Buddhist sentiment with its aversion to the taking of life must be held responsible for this change of occupation. The ploughing of land in which action worms and insects are inevitably killed was gradually looked upon as sinful and was eventually prohibited to the Dvijas: a prohibition which is even mentioned in Manu. These classes hence withdrew gradually from agriculture and left it in the hands of the Śūdras. In the Panjab and elsewhere, however, several communities did not mind this prohibition, and hence their sinking in public estimation to the rank of the Śūdras. As already described the Jats, the Gujars and the Marathas who are agriculturists, are thus, though Aryan in race, looked down upon as Śūdras. The original Dravidian population of the land became now the agriculturists of the country and of course formed the great Śūdra class. The lower population in Northern India and the west is thus, speaking generally, chiefly Dravidian with a large mixture of the Aryan race. In the south or the Madras Presidency the influx of the Aryan population in remote times was not considerable and there the agricultural population is wholly Dravidian.

Besides the agriculturists there were many classes whose profession was labour of varied kinds and these classes were probably of mixed origin. These are noticed by Hiuen Tsang as innumerable. Those who called themselves neither Brahmins nor Kshatriyas, neither Vaiśyas nor Śūdras were probably included by him in these mixed classes. "There are", he observes, "numerous classes formed by groups of people according to their kinds and these cannot be described." (Watters p. 168). Their number indeed, then as now, must have been counted by hundreds and hence Hiuen Tsang's despairing remark that they cannot be described. Mixed castes with special occupations have been described in several Smritis also and each division mentioned therein again divided itself probably into subdivisions according to minor diversity of occupation, and their number gradually increased. They were of course a mixture of the Dravidian and Aryan races, but the mixture must

have taken place long before the time of which we write for marriages were now generally restricted to each class or caste as noticed above.

We cannot close this chapter without noticing the existence, even then, of the "untouchables," or what are now called in the south the Panchamas or the fifth class. They are described by Hiuen Tsang as follows:—"Butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers have their habitations marked by a distinguishing sign. They are forced to live outside the city and they sneak along on the left when going about in the hamlets." (Watters Vol 1 p. 147). The practice of compelling these untouchables to live outside the towns and villages must of course be traced back to even the Vedic times for the Brāhmaṇas speak of the Chāndālas living beyond the skirts of towns and villages and of their habitations as not fit to be visited by the Aryans. The professions too of the Chāndālas were from Vedic times much the same as above described with the exception of butchers and fishermen who perhaps were now added to the list of the untouchables in consequence of their profession of taking life, in response to the prevailing Buddhist sentiment. These depressed classes were probably composed of the lowest dregs of the Dravidian races having filthy habits and living on carrion. But in the Panjab and Rajputana a mixture of the Aryan race even among these was prominently discovered at the Census of 1901 when anthropometric measurements were taken by Sir H. Risley. The Chamars and the Chaurahas of the Panjab are found to be distinctly Aryan in type and possibly these have been degraded solely in consequence of their profession in Buddhist times before the period of which we are treating. Or, as the Smritis declare, the progeny of pratiloma marriages especially of Brahmin women with Śūdra husbands though they must have been rare must have joined the ranks of the Chāndālas and thus infused Aryan blood even in their veins

NOTE.

JATS, GUJARS AND MARATHAS.

The question whether Jats, Gujars and Marathas are Aryan or Seythian is strangely enough still being controverted. It admits, however, according to our view of one solution only *viz.*, that they cannot but be Aryans. This view is based chiefly on anthropometrical considerations and it is also supported by history. It is indeed strange that even after the publication of Sir H. Risley's views based on anthropometric measurements taken at the Census of India in 1901 their origin should still be a matter of controversy. Those measurements clearly show that the noses of Jats and Gujars are distinctly fine and that their heads are long. It is sometimes argued by Sir H. Risley's opponents that noses might be made fine and heads may be lengthened by manipulation. But this argument cuts off the very ground from under the feet of the science of Anthropometry. If noses could be made fine very few people in India would have had flat noses, for fine noses are prized all over the country and even by the Dravidians. It is because noses and heads cannot be manipulated and have an ineradicable tendency to persist in different races, that anthropometry has any value as a science. We will, therefore, detail the anthropometrical argument first and then see whether history supports or contradicts the inferences derivable from it.

The following remarks of Sir H. Risley in his Census Report for 1901 (p. 498) are pertinent in this connection. "The broad nose of the Negro or the Dravidian is his most striking feature. This broad type of the nose is most common in Madras, the Central Provinces and Chota Nagpore. Fine noses are confined to the Panjab and Rajputana, while the population of the rest of India tends to fall in the medium class. The pastoral Gujars of the Panjab have an index of 66·9, the Sikhs of 68·9 and the Bengal Brahmins and Kayasthas 70, while the average nasal proportions of the Māl Pahāria type are expressed by the figure 94·5. In other words the typical Dravidian as represented by the Māl Pahāria has a nose as broad in proportion to its length as the Negro ; while this feature in the Indo-Aryan group can fairly bear comparison with the noses of 68 Parisians measured by Topinard which gave an average of 69·4."

From this passage we clearly see that while the people of the Panjab and Rajputana are unquestionably Aryan by race, those of the Bombay Presidency including the Marathas, and of Bengal and the U.P. are distinctly so. And the Gujars of the Panjab stand first with regard to the fineness of the nose their index (66·9) being lower than that of even the Parisians. And yet the Gujars are looked upon by some as

Scythians. The similarity of sound has often misled antiquarians into strange theories, and the attempt to identify the Gujars with the Khizar is not less strange than the now generally abandoned identification of the Jats with the Gætœ. It is here that anthropometry and also history should step in to correct such wrong identification. That they do serve to dispel such misconception in the case of Jats and Gujars we have not the smallest doubt. The Jats are distinctly included by Sir H. Risley among the Indo-Aryans as their "type approaches most closely to that ascribed to the traditional Aryan colonists of India viz. heads long and noses narrow and prominent but not specially long." (Census R. 1901 p. 500.) Their stature is also tall, and their complexion is fair and as Nesfield has observed if appearance goes for anything, the Jats could not but be Aryans." The case of the Gujars also falls in the same category. They are men with finest noses in India and with long heads and tall statures. They are no doubt dark in complexion but complexion does not count much in the determination of race. "The most important points to be observed in the Indo-Aryan series of measurements are the great uniformity of type, and the very slight differences between the higher and lower groups." And this type is so persistent that the Jats and the Gujars wherever they are found present the same characteristics of head, nose and stature and even complexion. Under these circumstances ethnologically speaking the Jats and the Gujars are decidedly Aryan in race and similarity of sound in names ought not to mislead us into believing them to be descendants of the Gætœ or Khizars who were undoubtedly Mongolian in race.

The Marathas present less distinctive characteristics, yet they must be classed among the Aryo-Dravidians and not as Scytho-Dravidian as Sir H. Risley strangely enough has done. Their heads are broad; but the head is not the determining factor in the assignment of race. The Mongolians have indeed broad heads but some of the Aryan races too have broad heads such as the Celts. The Census Report for 1911 expresses a doubt as to the conclusion of Sir H. Risley that the Marathas are Scythians and adverts to the opinion of ethnologists that they are probably descendants of Alpine Aryans. (Haddon, Wanderings of people) The second race of Aryan invaders of India who principally settled in the U.P. and the Deccan appear to have been Aryans with broad heads. Otherwise it is impossible to explain the medium heads of the people of the U.P. who are looked upon by Sir H. Risley as Aryo-Dravidians. The Dravidians have long heads and if they mixed with the first race of Aryan invaders with long heads who are to be found in the Panjab and Rajputana the mixture of these races, both with long heads, cannot lead to medium heads. We have, therefore, perforce to hold that the second horde of Aryans who came into the U. P. and who mixed themselves with the Dravidian people there were Aryans with broad heads.

The head, however, as we have said above and as has been observed by Sir H. Risley himself, is not the most distinctive sign of race. The

feature most distinctive of race is the nose. The nose distinguishes the Aryan both from the Dravidian and the Mongolian types. The fine nose of the Aryan is distinct from the broad nose of the Dravidian and the flat nose of the Scythian. The flatness of the Scythian or Mongolian face strikes every observer as the root of the nose does not appreciably rise above the level of the eyes. To measure this rise the orbito-nasal index has been invented by anthropometrists and this index has been used, at Sir William Fowler's suggestion; especially where there is reason to suspect intermixture with the Mongolian type. (Census Report 1901 p. 497). To determine, therefore, if the Marathas have any Scythian or Mongolian blood in them we have to look to this index. Let us see what the indices are in this connection. The flat-faced Mongolians are called platyopic, their index being below 110. Those who have indices between 110 and 112.9 are called mesopic, while those whose index is 113 or above are called pro-opic. The last can have no mixture with Mongolian blood. Now all the members of the Indo-Aryan type are placed by their high averages in the pro-opic group (Census Report for 1901 page 602) and thus it is impossible that the Jats and the Gujars can have any Mongolian blood in them. The case of the Marathas apparently presents some difficulty. Their orbito-nasal index is medium, that is they are mesopic and hence it is difficult to decide whether they have Scythian blood in their veins. For this mesopic nature of their nose may as well be due to mixture with Dravidian blood.* Moreover Aryan characteristics do tend to assert themselves in the Marathas whenever their position unproves as may be observed by every careful observer. the nose getting finer and higher at the bridge. We have treated of this subject at greater length in our book "Epic India" and it is sufficient to further remark here that the Census Report for 1911 has given up the classification of Marathas by Sir H. Risley as Scytho-Dravidians and tends to treat them as Aryo-Dravidians i. e. born of mixture of a broad-headed Aryan type with the Dravidian type.

Historical considerations, we will now go on to show, support the conclusions thus far set forth on anthropometrical grounds, especially with regard to the doubtful case of the Marathas. The materials for constructing the ancient history of the Marathas are ample and trustworthy. They have already been put together by noted scholars like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and others. The foremost observation to make is that the fact that the Aryans did enter into and settle in the Deccan long before the beginning of the Christian era, is universally

* In fact as the Dravidians are not pro-opic, their mixture with Scythians cannot lead to the Mesopic nature of the Maratha nose. If at all the Marathas should have been treated by Sir H. Risley as Scytho-Aryans. As already shown with regard to the head Sir H. Risley was misled with regard to the Marathas apparently owing to his prejudice against them, observable in his remarks about them in the Census Report (1901).

accepted by all scholars. On the other hand, history tells us that the Śakas or Scythians invaded the Deccan in the first century A. D. and that their stay in the Deccan was limited to about 25 years only, being finally driven away by Sātavāhana Gautamī-putra of Paithana. If this is so how can the people of the Deccan be Scytho-Dravidian? How is it that the Aryans who settled in the province long before the Scythians came have left no trace of their blood in the population? That they settled here is a fact which can not be gainsaid. The history of this settlement of the Deccan by the Aryans is given by Sir R. Bhandarkar as follows: "The first and the oldest Aryan province in the southern country was Vidarbha or Berar. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata show that Vidarbha was inhabited when Dandakāraṇya or Mahārāshtra proper was a forest". (Bhandarkar's History of the Deccan page 314.) It may be added that the people who settled in Vidarbha were called Bhoja, that Damayantī was the daughter of a Bhoja king and that Nala when showing, in the Mahābhārata, to Damayanti the way to her father's country, distinctly points to Berars.

The Aryans hereafter settled in the Dandakāraṇya or Mahārāshtra proper the chief river of which is the Godavari. The original inhabitants being few, the language of the new settlers became the language of the people generally though in a corrupt or Prākṛit form. As the country to the south of the Krishna was more populous inhabited by Dravidians, it became the boundary, so to speak, of the Aryan settlement as also of the Aryan language. Bands of settlers no doubt penetrated further south down to Cape Comorin and impressed their Aryan civilization and religion on the people but being few they could not impose their language upon them. On the contrary they adopted the language of the people there and even some of their customs. This in a nutshell is the account of the Aryan advance into the south. The Deccan being originally a forest and being settled principally by people of the Aryan race became Aryan in population and in speech while the portion to the south of the Krishna remained Dravidian in population and speech, a fact which squares in exactly with the ethnological aspect of the two parts of the southern peninsula.

The date of this settlement of the Aryans in the Deccan is placed by Sir R. Bhandarkar in about the 7th Century B. C. on incontrovertible grounds, especially on the fact that while places to the south of the Vindhya are not mentioned by Pāṇini they are added by Kātyāyana in his Vārtikas. We come to still firmer ground when we come to the inscriptions of Aśoka of the 3rd century B.C. as they distinctly mention the *Rāstikas* the *Pettanikas* and the *Aparantas*. The last is Northern Konkan and its then capital was Śūrpāraka. (It may be added that Buddhist sacred books speak of Śūrpāraka and Paithana even before this time). *Pettanikas* are the people of Paithana or Pratiśthāna and *Rāstikas* are the Rāshtrikas, who are clearly the ancestors of the

modern Marathas. Aśoka's inscriptions also speak of the Bhojas. Now as the Kuden inscription speaks of Mahābhōjas also, in the same way the Rāshtrikas must have spoken of themselves as Mahārāshtrikas and the country in which they lived came to be called Mahārāshtra. "Thus a hundred years before Patanjali, the whole of the southern peninsula was in direct communication with the north. Mahārāshtra or Deccan had kingdoms governed by Rattas and Ehojas."

These Aryan settlers in Berar and the Deccan were Aryans of the Lunar race *i. e.* of the second race of Aryan invaders who came through the Gangetic basin and who principally occupied the hot lands of the Madhyadeśa to the south of the Ganges and the Jumna. We have this tradition preserved in the story of Śrīkrishna given in the Harivamśa which is certainly the oldest Purāna extant. The Harivamśa says that when Śrīkrishna fled from Mathura against the threatened invasion of the city by Jarāsandha he was asked to go to the four countries in the Deccan which were founded by four sons of Yadu. These four sons of Yadu by Nāga wives it is said had founded four kingdoms one in Māhishmatī, another on the tableland of Sahyādri, a third in Banavāsī and the fourth in Ratnapura on the southernmost sea. This tradition clearly indicates that the people who settled in the Deccan and southwards along the west coast were people born of Aryan fathers and Dravidian mothers. With regard to the Bhojas of Berar, the Mahābhārata says that Rukmī was king of the Dākshinātyas and was a Bhoja king. Thus Puranic tradition clearly indicates that the Bhojas and the Rattas were born of Aryans of the Lunar race. Foreign evidence also substantiates the same theory. In the Periplus, this part of the country is described as Ariake or the country of the Aryas, a name given probably on set purpose to distinguish it from Damarike *i. e.* the country of the Dravidians immediately to the south of it.

We are not concerned here with the political history of Mahārāshtra which we will detail in the next book but we may advert to it in a general way in order to show how this tradition of the Bhojas and Rattas being descended from Aryans and Aryans of the lunar race continued to be entertained among the people down to the 7th century A.D. In the time of Agnimitra (2nd Century B.C.) Vidarbha was ruled by Mādhava Sena and Yajna Sena names clearly Aryan and Kshatriya. From the 2nd century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D. Mahārāshtra was ruled by the Sātavahanas who called themselves Āndhrabhrityas but the people were called Rattas and Maharāthīs as inscriptions of their time testify. After these Āndhrabhrityas who themselves were Aryo-Dravidians as we shall show hereafter, the Rāshtrikas again asserted their independence and it seems certain that from the 3rd century A. D. down to the 6th Rāshtrakūta kings ruled in the Deccan, for the Chālukyas in their inscriptions say that they established their power by

conquering a Rāshtrakūta. Now the Rāshtrakūtas are in inscriptions represented as descendants of Sātyaki, a Yadava well-known in the Purānas, while the Jādhavas or Yādavas represent themselves as descendants of Srīkrishṇa himself. Thus the two leading Marathā families who ruled Mahārāshtra entertained the tradition that they were Yādavas. Hence it may be said that the Marathas by long tradition believed themselves to be Aryans by descent.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his history of the Deccan says the same thing. "We have seen from cave inscriptions," says he, "that from remote times, tribes of Kshatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Rāshtrikas or Rattis were predominant in the country. In the northern part of the Deccan they called themselves Mahārathis. But in other parts the name was Rattis, since we know that many modern chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country call themselves Raṭṭis. Some of these tribes must have called themselves, Rāshtrakūta. The Rāshtrakūta family was in all likelihood the main branch of the Kshatriyas who gave their name to the country and who were found in it even in the time of Aśoka (P. 62.) "The Rāshtrakūtas," Sir Bhandarkar goes on to add "the real native rulers of the country were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin such as the Sātavāhanas and the Chālukyas." We have already adverted to the Sātavāhanas and they were from Āndhra and therefore foreign to Mahārāshtra, but they were Aryo-Dravidians as we shall show and we may now go on to see who the Chālukyas were. These too appear of foreign origin, but they were Aryans and Sir R. Bhandarkar by foreign merely means foreign to Mahārāshtra.

The Chālukyas ruled principally from Badāmi in the Southern Maratha Country but they were not Dravidians; they were pure Aryans from the north and belonged to the solar race of Ayodhya. This tradition has been preserved by Bilhana in the Vikramānkadevacharita and is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. Hiuen Tsang clearly says that Pulakeshin II whom he visited was a Kshatriya and belonged to the Mahārāshtra country. The inscriptions of these Chālukyas themselves state that they were born in the Mānavya gotra and were Hāritīputras. What Hāritīputras meant we will try to elucidate when we come to their political history, but the Mānavya-gotra indicates the tradition that they belonged to the Solar race. The Chālukyas of the north are represented by Chanda bard of Prithvirāja as belonging to the Agnikula. The theory of Chanda about Agnikulas has been proved to be unfounded (we believe that the Rāsā itself is misunderstood on this point as we shall have to show in our next volume) and that the four Agnikula families really belong to other races the only Agnikula family being the Paramārs with the Vasishta gotra. For the Chālukyas of Mahārāshtra are shown in inscriptions to have married into the Rāshtrakūta family. In a grant of Danlidurga

of the Rāshtrakūta family (J. B. R. A. S. Vol. II) it is said that the queen of Indra belonged to the Lunar race on the mother's side and to the Shalikya race on the father's (राज्ञी सोमान्वर्या तस्य पितृतश्च शालिक्यजा). This opposition indicates the fact that the Chālukyas were looked upon as belonging to the Solar race. The eastern Chālukyas represented themselves as born of the Lunar race. Whether they belonged or not to the Lunar race it is certain that inscriptions of date earlier than Chand show that they were not looked upon as Agnikulas which affords to some a ground to believe that they were foreigners admitted into the Kshatriya caste by purification in fire. Chālukyas are in our view clearly Aryans and of the Solar race.

It is remarkable indeed that this tradition of race is still preserved among the Marathas of even modern days. It is well-known that the 96 *kulis* of Marathas believe in three *vanśas* viz., Soma, Surya, Śesha plainly proving that the Marathas are Aryo-Dravidians, and not Scytho-Dravidians. Now strangely enough the Chālukyas or Chalakes who are still one of the leading Maratha families are still assigned to the Suryavamśa, see the noted *pothi* issued from Kolhapur and called क्षात्रवंशसागर or मराठा शाहाण्यव कुटुंबी. Now another Maratha family viz., the Kadams who are plainly the Kadambas of ancient inscriptions assigned in them to the same *gotra* as the Chālukyas (Ind. Ants VI page 24) are also assigned to the Suryavamśa in the above book of the modern Marathas. These facts prove that these 96 families' traditions of the Marathas are not imaginary productions but are supported by inscrip-tional records which go back to the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. According to both of them the Chālukyas and the Kadambas are Solar race Kshatriyas while the Jādhavas and the Rāshtrakūtas (Ratakute in the modern Maratha books represented by भाळे, खण्डाराळे &c., see क्षात्रवंश सागर page 45) are believed to be Lunar race Kshatriyas.

History and tradition, therefore, does not contradict the inference drawn from the features of the Marathas that they are Aryo-Davidians. There can be no Scythian blood in their veins and their Aryan blood is prominent. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar has shown that the ancient Aryans settled and founded kingdoms in Mahārāshtra, that there was one incursion of the Scythian or Śakas about the beginning of the Christian era but within a few years Gautamīputra defeated and drove them away and 'left no rumnant of the race of Khagārāta'. Inscriptional records of the Chālukyās, the Rāshtrakūtas and the Yādavas show that they belonged to the Solar or Lunar races of Kshatriyas, and the modern representatives of these Maratha families the Jādhavas, the Chālkes or Salankhis, the Kadams, the Bhaleraos and others still maintain the same tradition of race. We are justified in holding that a tradition continuing after so many centuries must be accepted and it proves in our view indisputably that the Marathas are Aryans. If there is any mixture in their blood it is of the original people belonging to the Nāga vamśa or the Dravidian race.

We will now pass on to consider how far the history of the Gujars contradicts the inference drawn from their physical characteristics viz., that they must be treated unquestionably as Aryans. A great deal of unhistorical bias has confused historians on this point and has misled them to consider them as foreigners and Mongolians. There is no doubt that historically speaking the word Gujar or Gurjara occurs from about the 7th century A. D. and prominently in the work of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang. The former mentions them as being conquered by Prabhākaravardhana, much in the same way as he conquered the Huns; while the latter mentions two Gurjara kingdoms one in Rajputana at Bhinmāl and the other at Broach. From this, historians suddenly jump to the conclusion that the Gujars were foreigners who came into India along with the Huns in about the 6th century. (V. Smith E. H. 3rd Edn. pages 322 and 412). But Smith is candid enough to admit that the Gurjaras *are believed* to have entered India either along with or soon after the White Huns and to have settled in large numbers in Rajputana, but that there is nothing to show what part of Asia they came from or to what race they belonged (p. 412). If there is no mention anywhere in history as to where from, when and whether the Gujars came into India from outside, why should historians have *believed* that they came at all from outside? It seems that this is merely a suggestion made by bias and in defiance of the ethnological argument which clearly proves that the Gujars belong to the Aryan race.

But the bias has so far predominantly acted on Sir Vincent Smith's views in spite of the above candid statement, as to make him observe elsewhere that the Parihar Rajas of Kanauj were the descendants of 'barbarian' foreign immigrants into Rajputana in the fifth or sixth century and first cousins of the Gujars, a theory of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar elucidated in his article on the "Foreign elements in the Hindu population" in Indian Antiquary Vol. XL. in which he puts forth the suggestion that the Gujars are the descendants of Khazars who must have come into India along with the Huns. ~~It is, therefore,~~ necessary to examine the arguments of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in detail and to see how far they are correct. Let us first see from the Encyclopædia Britannica who the Khazars are. "The Khazars are historic figures on the border-land of Europe and Asia for at least nine hundred years (A. D. 190-1100.) Their home was on the spurs of the Caucasus. They were the Veneians of the Caspian Sea and the Euxine, the universal carriers between the East and the West. The origin of the Khazars is much disputed but they are regarded as akin to Georgians, Finns Ugrians and Turks. The Khazars were fair-skinned, black-haired and of a remarkable beauty. The Kara (black) Khazars were however ugly, short and almost as black as Indians". Now from this description of the Khazars, it is absurd to identify the Gujars with the Khazars. There were black Khazars indeed but they were ugly and short, The Indian Gujars are

all tall and with fine features, though dark in complexion. The tall beautiful Khazars are on the other hand very fair and not dark like the Gujars. They again are allied to the Finns and the Urgas, and must be Mongolian in face as indeed the Huns were. But the Gujars can never be said to be Mongolian in face, their features especially the nose being distinctly Aryan.

The history again of the Khazars as detailed in this article does not show that they ever left their country, like the Śakas, the Yue-chi or the Huns. "Throughout the 6th century Khazaria was a mere highway for the wild hordes, to whom the Huns had opened the passages into Europe and the Khazars took refuge (like the Venetians from Attila) "among the seventy mouths of the Volga" Then again we are told that their county bordered on Persia and Byzantine, the southern boundary of which never greatly varied and they were for the most part restricted within the coupé up area". It is therefore difficult *to believe* that the Khazars ever came to India. It is certain that history contains no mention of their having done so.

The disposition and the occupation of the Khazars seem also to differ diametrically from those of the Gujars. As above quoted "they were the Venitians of the Caspian and the Black Sea, a civil commercial people and founders of cities" The Gujars on the other hand are nomadic peoples and cattle breeders by profession. They in fact never trade and are not a city settled people with elaborate civil organisation. It seems clear, therefore, that the Khazars could not have been the forefathers of the Gujars of India. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has certainly been misled by similarity of sound and by the mere mention of Khazars along with Huns in western history.

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's other arguments adduced in his paper need not be scrutinized, as they do not pertain to historical considerations. We need not stop to see whether Gurjara, the Sanskrit word, has been coined from Gujar by Sanskritists though apparently there is no reason why they should have done so, for they could have pronounced Gujar as well as Gurjara, or whether Gujar, Gūjar, Gūrjara names still surviving are the natural Prakrit forms coming out of an original Sanskrit word Gurjara. But it is necessary to examine his opinion carefully whether Gujars being known as foreigners could have, owing to their success in conquest, been admitted by Hindus to the rank of Kshatriyas. Hiuen Tsang distinctly mentions that the king of Gurjara (Bhinmāl) was a Kshatriya. "This is interesting" observes Mr. Bhandarkar "that as early as the first half of the seventh century *i. e.* about a century after their coming into India the Gujars had become Hindus and had actually acquired the rank of Kshatrips" Ordinarily the inference should have been the opposite of this viz. that the Gujars could not have been foreigners as they could not have succeeded in gaining the status of Kshatriyas within a hundred years of their

coming into India. For we are historically certain that caste was not so fragile in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. The inscriptions of the Guptas and even of Harsha's father show that kings were particular in preserving the purity of caste (see Varnavyavasthāpanapara applied to Prabhākara Vardhana Ep. In. Vol. V. p. 200.) Mr. Bhandarkar similarly twists a third fact into an argument in support of his theory, though it is in reality an argument against him. The Gujara Gauda Brahmins are also foreigners according to Mr. Bhandarkar. The argument that foreigners becoming kings could enter the Kshatriya caste might be plausible though even that is weak but they could not become Brahmins for there could not have been any incentive to admit them as Brahmins. Moreover the Khazars do not appear to have had castes among them. Hence why should some Khazars alone become Brahmins? The fact that there is an ancient class of Brahmins called Gujar Gaud is an argument for holding that the Gujars were an Aryan people with their usual four castes. This also explains how there are Gujar Bānias and Gujar cultivators or Gujar Sutārs (carpenters) and so on. The existence of a Gujar Karhada Brahmin family is also of no importance as it may have got that name by even residence in Gujar country as the addition of the surname पटवर्धन suggests.

Mr. Bhandarkar's fourth argument is still more strange and based on wrong information and wrong inference. (Padihāra is the usual Prākṛit form of प्रतिहार and yet Mr. Bhandarkar takes the opposite line and says that Pratihara is the Sanskritized form of पट्टिहार. Why again we ask should Sanskrit change पट्टिहार into Pratihara? But this is by the bye) An inscription from Jodhpur gives the origin of Padihars as follows. There was a Brahmin who married two wives a Brahmin woman and a Kshatriyā woman. The descendants of the Brahmin woman are called Brahmin Padihars while the descendants of the Kshatriya woman are called Kshatriya Padhihars. "The marriage of a Brahmin" says Mr. Bhandarker, "with a Kshatriya woman with the result as related in this inscription is curious and can only be accounted for as being of foreign importation. How this inference follows from the first premise will be a puzzle to many. Moreover the marriage of a Brahmin with a Kshatriya woman is not curious. It is provided for in Smṛitis and it once was a living practice in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries as many inscriptions (see Corp In III) as stated further on show. And the result was exactly as stated here; the sons of the Brahmin women became Brahmins and of the Kshatriya women became Kshatriyas. As Brahmins and Kshatriyas ate the same food even up to the 7th century such marriages were not offensive. The history of the development of the caste system in India may be given here in a nutshell. The race being the same, caste in ancient times among the Aryans was merely occupational. Hence Brahmins often married Kshatriya wives. In oldest times their progeny was treated as of the Brahmin caste. By degrees, however, caste became rigid and the progeny of such marriages

was treated as intermediate between Brahmins and Kshatriyas. In further process of rigidification of caste the progeny followed the caste of the mothers. Such was the case in about the 6th century A. D. Lastly from about the 8th or 9th century onward marriage was restricted to the same caste only. This history is easily deducible from a comparison of the Smritis and from inscriptions. As this is not the place to discuss the subject, we stop here. But what has been said here is enough to show that the progeny of a Brahmin man and a Kshatriya woman being treated as Kshatriya is not curious (see *Manu स्त्रिष्वनन्तरजातासु द्विजैरुत्पादितान् सुतान् । मद्गणैव नानादुर्मावृद्धोऽपि गृहीतान् ॥ VI. 10*). But supposing it was so, the curiosity is not great, nor does it follow that therefore the Padhihars were foreigners.

We shall discuss the origin of each of the Rajput families in India in our next volume. Here it is, however, necessary to state that Mr. Bhandarkar has attached too much weight and importance to the legends about the progenitors of many families given in inscriptions or in traditions. The legends of Kshatriyas being born of fire or of Lakshmana brother of Rama, or of the Mānavya Rishi are all imaginary and very little historical information is derivable from these stories. Mr. Bhandarkar's treating the Chālukyas and Kadambas as of priestly origin is indeed ridiculous. Because in one inscription Mānavya Rishi is said to be the progenitor of the Kadambas it does not follow that the Kadambas were at any time Brahmins, for the progenitors of all castes or peoples in India are believed to be Rishis especially the seven Rishis. But this origin is imaginary. Again Manu is also looked upon as the progenitor of all human beings and hence it cannot be argued that all peoples were Kshatriyas in origin. In short, it is strange that Mr. Bhandarkar should seek to derive any historical inference from these imaginary legends about the progenitors of peoples. Such legends are important only as traditions and if traditions are long current they may be treated as proof of race. The Chālukyas of the Deccan looked upon themselves in their oldest documents as born of the Mānavya gotra and hence they should be looked upon as Aryan in race. The Kadambas also thought they were born of the same gotra and hence they also might be looked upon as Kshatriyas and allied in race to the Chālukyas. The Sindas looked upon themselves as born of Śesha and hence they may be looked upon as Dravidians by race. Mr. Bhandarkar admits that the Sindas were a class of the Nāga tribe and yet begins a para (p. 27 ditto) with the sentence: "*Another foreign tribe which came from the north to the south is Sindas.*" The word foreign plainly means foreign to India and cannot therefore fitly be applied to the Sindas nor does any thing show that the Sindas came from the north. Mr. Bhandarkar seems so far obsessed by his theory of foreign origin of noted peoples of India that even Brahmins if mentioned as coming from Ahicchatra in the north

appear to him to be foreigners. If Chāhumāns and Padhihars and Paramars and Chālukyas are said to have come from Ahichhatra they appear to him to be foreigners. But Ahichhatra was a famous centre of Aryan settlement and civilization being the capital of the Pāñchālas so well-known in the Vedic literature and it is not at all strange that Kshatriyas and Brahmins should represent themselves as coming from Ahichhatra. One fails to see, however, how this tradition of coming from Ahichhatra can make any people *foreigners*. One is constrained to set down Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar's theory especially about the Gujars as absurd and there is, to sum up, nothing in history to show that Gujars were foreigners or Khazars, or that they came into India from outside along with the Huns of the fifth or sixth century A. D. Their anthropometrical characteristics are purely Aryan, and history does not at all contradict this inference.

Lastly we have to speak about the Jats. Their ethnological characteristics also, as we have already seen, are clearly Aryan. They are fair, tall, high-nosed and long-headed. Does their history contradict their being Aryans? It may be stated at once that the Jats have very little history of their own till we come to quite recent times when the present Jat kingdoms both Hindus and Sikhs in the U. P. and the Panjab were founded. But the Jats have the oldest mention of the three. They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as Jartas (जर्तः) in the Karna-parva. The next mention we have of them is in the sentence अजयजर्तो हूणान् in the grammar of Chandra of the fifth century. And this shows that the Jats were the enemies of the Huns and not their friends. The Jats opposed and defeated the Huns; they must, therefore, have been the inhabitants of the Panjab and not invaders or intruders along with the Huns. Does the above sentence indicate that Yaśodharma of Mandsaur inscription who decisively defeated the Huns was a Jat? He may have been so as Jats have been known to have migrated into the country of the Mālavas or Central India as into Sind. But this is not material to our inquiry. The sentence amply shows that the Jats were not invaders along with the Huns but were their opponents. Nay it may be taken for certain that the Jats are the Viś of the Vedas. They are even now preeminently agriculturists. Agriculturists in Vedic times were Aryan and classed as the Vaiśya caste.* The warrior class or Kshatriyas frequently married Vaiśya wives being immediately below them. This custom has obtained throughout ancient times and is still preserved and Rajputs frequently take Jat wives. The almost innate sense of caste prejudice in India has greatly prevented the mixture of races (Rajputs and Jats are of the same Aryan race) and the Jats have preserved their Aryan race almost uncontaminated. Though treated as Sūdras by modern opinion owing to their being agriculturists, and the practice of widow marriage they are the purest Aryans in India and belong to the first race of Aryans.

* Al-Beruni says that Nanda the reputed father of Kṛishṇa was a Jat.

invaders according to our view, the Solar race of Aryans who originally invaded and settled in the Panjab, being the first settlement of the Indo-Aryans in this country. The following remarks of R. G. Letham in 'Ethnology of India' page 254 may here be usefully quoted; "As a general rule a Rajput is a Hindu and a Jat a Mahomedan. As a general rule a Jat is also a peaceable cultivator. For all this, the Jat is in blood neither more nor less than a converted Rajput and vice versa; a Rajput may be a Jat of the ancient faith. That other differences might have been effected by this difference of creed is likely; the difference between arms and tillage as profession, between haughty autonomy and submissive dependence are sure in course of time to tell upon temper and the features." It may be added "that conversion from Hinduism to Islam has not necessarily the slightest effect upon caste and that the Mahomedan Jats are still as caste-ridden as the Hindu Jats."

We may in conclusion quote some remarks of Sir D. Ibbetson from his "Punjab castes" (1916) regarding Jats and Gujars. "It may be that the original Rajput and the original Jat entered India at different periods, though to my mind, the term Rajput is an occupational rather than an ethnological expression. But if they do represent two separate waves of immigration, it is exceedingly probable, both from their *almost identical physique and facial character* and from the close communion which has always existed between them that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock." "It is certain that the joint Jat Rajput stock is in the main Aryo-Scythian if Scythian be not Aryan". (Page 100). So again about Gujars he writes: "The Gujars are the eighth largest caste in the Punjab, only the Jats, Rajputs, Pathans, Arāins and Brahmins among the higher and Chamars and Chuhars among the lower exceeding them. They are fine, stalwart fellows of *precisely the same type as the Jat*. He is of the same social standing as the Jat perhaps slightly inferior and the two eat and drink in common without any scruple" (p. 184). It is, therefore, strange that in spite of the fact that every person who has had intimate acquaintance with the peoples of the Panjab has marked the ethnic identity of the Jats, Gujars and Rajputs plainly Aryan and not Scythian, theories have usually been propounded by scholars about their being Scythian, Getæ, Yue-chi, Khizar and what not and about their having come into India within historical times, nay, on this side even of the Christian era. There is not a scrap of historical evidence even to suggest much less to prove such immigration (there is neither foreign mention of their coming into India nor have they any tradition of their own of sometime coming into India nor is there any historical Indian record, stone-inscription or other, of their so coming) and we can only ascribe such theories to that unaccountable bias of the mind of many European and native scholars, to assign a foreign and Scythian origin to every fine and energetic caste in India.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CONDITION

Having described the people we will now pass on to describe their social condition that is, their dress and ornaments, their customs and their manners. In these respects too, the days of Harsha stand as a dividing line between ancient and modern India, constituting as it were the last ring in the chain of ancient times. The dress of the people in India, is thus described by Hiuen Tsang. "The inner clothing and the outward attire of the people *have no tailoring*. As to colour, a fresh white is esteemed and motley is of no account. The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and up to the armpits and leave the right shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe, which covers both shoulders and falls down loose. The hair on the crown of the head is made into a coil, all the rest of the hair hanging down. Some clip their mustachios or have other fantastic fashions. Garlands are worn on the head and necklaces on the body." (Watters Vol. I. p. 150) This shows first, that up to the days of Harsha tailoring had not yet been introduced into India. The clothing both of men and women consisted as of old of one piece of cloth wound about the loins, and taken up above one shoulder in the case of men and above both in that of women. The Uttariya or the second or upper piece of cloth was used by both men and women sometimes but not necessarily as Hiuen Tsang does not mention it. This dress is noticed not only in the Manusmriti, but also by Greek writers. In fact, the Greeks themselves and even the Romans used only two long robes, similarly worn over the shoulders and falling fellow in folds. At the present day the one cloth dress of women has still remained in vogue in Bengal, in Madras and partially in Bombay *i. e.* in the east, the west and the south but has been substituted by a sewn petticoat in the north, though even there the women in their houses use often the one cloth covering. For men, the Dhoti or the lower cloth has still remained the

usual clothing used in public. Except in the south and west sewn clothes have now become the fashion; and for the upper clothing or *uttariya* sewn clothes have everywhere been substituted. The institution of tailoring was probably introduced after Harsha's time by the Arabs in the eighth century and perhaps even later by the Turks in the eleventh.

How Hiuen Tsang's description is accurate to the last detail is borne out by the following description by Bāṇa of Harsha when he started on his *digvijaya* or expedition for universal conquest; “एरिधाय राजहंसमिथुनलक्ष्मणी सदृशे दुकूले, परमेश्वर-चिह्नभूतां शशिकलामिव कल्पयित्वा सितकुसुममुण्डमालिकाम्” H. C. page 274. “Harsha wore two like *Dukūlas* or fine cloth pieces marked with pairs of swans and wore round the top of his head, like the moon-crescent on the head of Śiva, a garland of white flowers indicative of the sovereignty of the world.” If two white fine garments marked with pairs of swans and a white garland on his head formed the auspicious dress of even a king aspiring to be an emperor, the dress of ordinary men in ordinary times could not have been anything else but two white cloth pieces, now-a-days called *Dhotis* (called so probably because they are daily washed). The custom of wearing garlands on the head like a crown has now ceased entirely, and the turban has been substituted for it. A turban, however, (*Ushnisha*) is spoken of in the *Harsha Charita* also and even in the *Mahābhārata*, but the description recorded by Megasthenes serves to indicate that the upper garment and the turban often formed one piece of cloth. It is probable, therefore, that no third cloth was ordinarily used for covering the head. The difference between the great and the low, the dress being the same two pieces of cloth, consisted in the fineness of its texture and the whiteness of its colour. Hiuen Tsang speaks of different fine cloths of wool, silk and cotton as follows; “*Kausheya* being of silk, *Kshauma* a kind of linen, *Kambala* a texture of fine wool and *Holala* (or *Horalā*?) made from the wool of a wild animal,” and I suppose cloth made of cotton. The art of making fine cloth of silk, wool and cotton had then reached per-

fection and it may be believed that cloth finer than that woven even now in England was then produced, as even now in cities of India like Dacca. This advance or perfection in the art of weaving is to be gathered from a description by Bāṇa of pieces of cloths collected for the marriage of Rājyashrī. “क्षौमैश्च बादरैश्च दुकूलैश्च लालातन्तुजैश्चांशुकैश्च नैत्रैश्च निमोक्त-निभैर्निश्वासहार्यैः स्पर्शानुमेयैः वासोभिस्सर्वतः स्फुरदिन्द्रायुधसहस्रैरिव संच्छादितम् H. C. 202-3. “The palace was strewn with Kshauma (silk) Bādara (cotton) Dukūla (linen) Lālātantuja (?) Anśuka (?) Naitra (?) cloths glistening like serpent’s skin, fit to be blown even by a breath and inferrable only by touch, of all colours of the rain-bow.” Some of these materials of cloth cannot now be ascertained, but that the cloth was of the finest texture need not be doubted. The white was the colour esteemed by men but probably women liked different colours and different designs of patches of ornamentation, such as pairs of swan mentioned above. Plain, borderless white cloth was, then as now, not liked by women for it appears that this sort of cloth was distinctive of widows.* Of course Buddhist monks and nuns wore simple cloth coloured red, though in this colour there must have been different shades in the different schools as Hiuen Tsang says that the size and colour of the plaits vary in different schools (Watters I page 150.) Jain recluses affected cloth coloured yellow and Hindu recluses or Sanyāsis used cloth coloured soiled red. These colours these three religions probably chose of purpose to distinguish themselves from one another. Plain white clothing of widows is noticed even in the Mahābhārata (Āsramavāsi Parva) when describing the widowed daughters-in-law of Dhṛitarāshtra. This distinctive colour of widow’s clothing has now been thrown into shade by the red colour perhaps taken in imitation of Buddhist runs among the women of the south and by indigo colour by women in the north and west. Strangely enough white cloth is affected by and is distinctive of public women at the present day.

* See H. C. page 238. “परिधत्तां धवले वाससी वसुमती” Let the earth (widowed by the death of Prabhākara) wear white clothes.

If the Indian people wore simple dress they were very fond of ornaments. In fact the taste of the Indian people is in this respect exactly the reverse of the people of the west (who spend more on dress than on ornaments). Contrasted with the simplicity of their dress and habits Hiuen Tsang thus speaks of their ornaments, " The ornaments of the kings and grandees are very extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras of precious stones are their head ornaments and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces. Wealthy merchantile people have only bracelets" (Watters I p. 51). Even now the rage for ornaments in India is excessive though perhaps want of gold and precious stones has now compelled men to go about without ornaments. But mercants, sardars and princes even now wear profusion of ornaments according to their means. The tiara, however, has now disappeared and properly enough as perhaps since the days of the Mahomedans there has been no crowned king as such, (except Shivaji alone) in India. Harsha is said by Bāṇa to have put on one bracelet indicative of his sovereignty but strangely enough is not said to have put on a crown. He was presented with a necklace of big pearls by Divākaramitra as a fitting person to wear such a priceless ornament. Armlets or Angadas have also not been noticed by Hiuen Tsang though they are by Bāṇa as also Kundalas and Keyūras or earrings (see Bāṇa's description of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta pages 197-198 where both are shown to have garlands on the heads and the first a bracelet and Keyūra and the latter a necklace.) The case of women is different. They, even the poorest in India, must have some ornaments on their person while as for rich women, they have a profusion of gold, pearl and stone ornaments.

We must give some further minor details given by Hiuen Tsang about dress and appearance. "Most of the people go bare-foot and shoes are rare". Women even now go bare-foot and even though they may afford to use shoes, while country people and poor men have perforce to do

so. "They stain their teeth red or black, wear their hair cut even, bore their ears, have *long noses and large eyes*, such are they in outward appearance." (Watters, Vol. I p. 151). The practice of boring the ears even now is, and must then have been universal for it is a practice prescribed by the Hindu Śāstras and hence the appellation 'un-bored' applied to people other than Hindus. As for the hair, the Brahmins must have usually shaved their heads as also their chins ; but their description does not indicate so. Previously we are told, the hair on the head hang loose and hence they cannot have been cut even. This probably applied to the Kshatriyas and kings. The military officers allowed beards to grow and even wore whiskers. Bāṇa's description of the Commander-in-chief of Thanesar is very interesting in this respect. "शिरोरुहसटालः धवलस्थूलगुज्जापिच्छप्रच्छादितकपोलभागभास्वरेण...मृतमपि हृदयस्थितं स्वामिनमिव सितचामरेण वीजयन्ताभिलम्बेन कूर्चकलापेन" "with tangled hair on the head, his cheeks covered with white bunches of whiskers and with his long white beard falling on his breast, as if fanning his master seated in the heart, though dead, with a chāmara" H. C. p. 257-258.

We will now go on to describe the manners and customs of the Indian people and will speak first of their marriage customs. The foremost observation to make in this respect is that the custom of child-marriages had yet not arisen in India. Had it been otherwise Hiuen Tsang would undoubtedly have mentioned it as he mentions the custom of the prohibition of widow marriage. From Bāṇa's description of the marriage of Rājyaśrī also the same inference can be drawn. Rājyaśrī was married when she was physically fit to be married and consummation of marriage is spoken of on the day of marriage itself. Perhaps it may be argued that this was Kshatriya fashion but apparently there was no difference between Brahmins and Kshatriyas in this respect. Bāṇa himself married the grown up sister of Mayūra as tradition relates. In this matter also Harsha's times thus are the parting link be-

tween ancient and modern India as hereafter we shall see that child marriage was gradually introduced.

The description of Rājyaśrī's marriage ceremony given by Bāṇa in the *Harsha Charita* is indeed masterly, poetical, picturesque and true to fact and nature. The extreme anxiety of the parents, all powerful as they were, is graphically described, and the grand preparations made on the occasion. It appears that it was then the custom for intending bridegrooms to demand girls in marriage. (In modern India the contrary practice holds the ground among the higher classes at least.) The father or guardian of the girl then chose from among the suitors the best, chiefly on account of high family and then poured water on the hand of the emissary solemnly declaring the gift of the girl. The bridegroom and his party thereafter came to the town of the bride and were suitably lodged. On an auspicious day and at an auspicious time (astrology then being as powerful as now) fixed by the astrologers, the bridegroom came in procession to the house of the bride and was received at the door by the bride's father, conducted to the assembly and duly honoured. The Kshatriyas apparently observed *purdah* then as now and the actual marriage took place in the *purdah* where Brahmins were admitted. The immortal Bāṇa describes the bride anxiously waiting near the marriage Vedi surrounded by her companions and incessantly chiding both her own heart and the companions for prompting her to raise her head to have a look at the bridegroom, as he entered the inner apartment. For Indian brides then as now usually hung down their heads before the bridegrooms. At the arrival of the exact auspicious moment the bride and bride-grooms joined hands, kindled the sacrificial fire, threw in it the oblations of Lājā or fried rice and walked the seven steps constituting life-long friendship, the most vital part of the ceremony of marriage according to the Smritis. The bride and bridegroom then bowed to their parents and elderly ladies and relations and Brahmins. Strangely enough Bāṇa does not describe that there was a feast hereafter. He describes

their repairing to the *Āvāsa grīha* or specially prepared decorated honeymoon room where they passed their first night of conjugal happiness. The bridegroom is described by Bāṇa as residing for about 8 or 10 days hereafter at the father-in-law's house and trying to gratify in every way his mother-in-law. He then departed with his bride after receiving suitable presents, servants and paraphernalia, to his own country.

From the above detailed description it will appear that although the ritual of marriage has remained almost the same, there is a difference in the then and the present custom of marriage in two important points namely, that then the bridegroom usually sought the bride and secondly that consummation took place on the first day of marriage indicating of course that the girls were grown up at the time of marriage.

The next observation to make with regards to marriage is that women once married could not be remarried, at least, in the three higher castes as now. But the tonsure of widows is apparently a custom later than the times of Bāṇa, for in one place, Bāṇa speaks of the peculiar *Veni*, i. e. braid of hair of widows, see बध्नातु वैधव्यवेणीं वरमनुष्यता. H. C. p. 236. What this particular mode of *Veni* or braid of hair of widows was, there is no indication. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have the expression *एकवेणीधरा* applied to *Sītā* when she was in *Rāvaṇa*'s house separated from her husband and this kind of *Veni* is also frequently mentioned by poets in connection with women whose husbands are away. Happier women put on the three braided *Veni* but what difference was made between the *Ekaveni* of wives with husbands living but away and the *Veni* of widows we cannot discover. Widows had also, as already stated, a distinctive colour of their clothes, namely, the white, other women wearing coloured clothes and clothes with borders probably.

The custom of enforced widowhood, *not accompanied* by that of child marriage must not then have been felt a

grievance though pitiable instances of women widowed in early age like Rājyasrī must have occurred now and then. To these women Buddhism offered an asylum and the order of Buddhist nuns must have been principally composed of such women. Though thus enforced widowhood did not then exist in its cruellest form, we have to notice another inhuman custom which appears to have then obtained from the writings of poets and even the descriptions of Bāṇa in the Harsha Charita. Widows of kings conquered and slain in battle appear to have been reduced to the condition of servitude in the family of the conqueror. It is no wonder, therefore, such women often preferred death to servitude. It is strange that the woes of the widows of conquered kings are a favourite topic for the poet's art to exhibit itself. Widow marriage not being allowed, such women in the family of the conqueror might have also often been reduced to the condition of concubines. The harems of kings, it must also be noticed, consisted of a number of wives and a still larger number of concubines or courtezans. The latter, of course, easily exchanged their position with one king for that with another and greater king.* But that the widowed queens of conquered kings should usually have been reduced to the status of servants and sometimes of concubines seems rather strange and cruel compared with the otherwise well ordered and moral condition of the Hindu society and we would not have believed in it, but for such passages as the following one from Bāṇa, आपीतौ युष्मद्विधैः पुत्रैरमित्रकलत्रवन्दिवृन्द-विधूयमान-चामर-मरुच्चल चीनांशुकधरौ पयोधरौ H. C. P. 231.

With these exceptions the condition of women was generally very good. They were well treated and well educated. Rājyaśrī was well versed in various Kalas and Śāstras and was a learned lady. Nay she was taught singing and dancing (H. E. page 197) arts which are now looked down upon as prohibited to respectable women in the Hindu society. Bāṇa's description of the dancing of

* See the mention of the concubines of the king of Malwa who was conquered and killed by Rājya, presented by Bhandi to Harsha. अप्सरस इव बहुसमरस सहस्रावुरायावृतीर्ण वारविलासिनी. H. C. P. 302

the ladies of sardars and princes on the joyous occasion of the birth of Harsha is remarkable. Of course the dancing of such respectable women was different from that of public women and was not open to men to gaze at. And the dancing of men and women together did not exist as may be gathered from the fact that purdah was in force in those days and hence mixed gatherings of men and women were impossible.

The custom of Sati was of course prevalent. And Harsha's mother is described by Bāṇa to have burnt herself even before her husband was actually dead. The practice of burning oneself in fire, was resorted to even by men who did so often to express their intense affection for a deceased master, or for the mere sake of merit or to avoid misery and pain. Bāṇa describes Rājyaśrī as about to burn herself in her destitution and also the friends of Prabhākaravardhana like his physician Rāsāyana and some of his favourite ministers and servants burning themselves before or after his death much in the manner of the Japanese minister who shot himself after the death of the last Mikado. These descriptions of Bāṇa might have been treated as mere poetical hyperbole had it not been for corroborating epigraphic evidence. In the Aṇṣad inscription (Crop. Ins. Vol. III P. 225) we find king Kumāra Gupta burning himself in fire at Prayāga. Why he did so does not appear, but from the fact that he burnt himself at Prayāga, he may be believed to have done so merely for the merit of it. “शौर्य-सत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतोऽधने । अम्भसीव करिष्यामौ ममः सः पुष्पपूजितः” The contempt of death exhibited in these acts of self-sacrifice is indeed remarkable. Then there were other modes of putting an end to one's life, such as falling from a precipice or swallowing dire poison and so on. These are described even in the Mahābhārata and the custom of putting an end to one's life for various allowable reasons seems to be very ancient.*

*As for instance Arjuna's preparation to burn himself in a fire for not being able to kill Jayadratha or the Prāyopaveśana of Bhūriśravā on the battlefield (smothering oneself to death). The custom of self-immolation at Prayāga is described even by Hiuen Tsang.

We will lastly speak of the funeral customs of the people. The dead were usually burnt on pyre, except perhaps in the case of hermits whose dead bodies were buried. On the third or tenth day bits of bones of the burnt body were collected and generally sent to some sacred place to be thrown into a river or pond considered sacred. Śrāddhas were performed at which Brahmins were fed and gifts of several kinds were made to Brahmins. It does not, however, appear that the gifts mentioned in modern Purāṇas and later books had then come into vogue. The following passage from Bāṇa's Harsha Charita describing what was done at the time of the obsequies of the deceased Prabhākara father of Harsha will show this—"अथ भुक्ते प्रथमप्रेतपिण्डभुजि द्विजन्मनि गतेषु द्वेजनीयेष्वाशौचदिवसेषु, चक्षुर्दाहदायिनि दीयमाने द्विजेभ्यः शयनासनचामरातपत्रा-मत्रपत्रशस्त्रादिके नृपतिनिकटोपकरणकलापे नतिषु तीर्थस्थानानि सह जनहृदयैः क्रीक-सेषु, वनाय विसर्जिते महाजिजिति राजगजेन्द्रे H. C. p. 241 "When the Brahmin (one) eating the first oblation to the dead had been feasted, when the bed, the seat, the Chāmara, the umbrella, the drinking bowl, the carriages and the arms and other belongings of the deceased monarch, which could not be looked at without pain, had been given away to Brahmins, when his bones had been sent to a holy place and when the great riding elephant of the king, who had won many battles had been let off in the jungles." This speaks it may be noticed, of only one Brahmin being fed, it speaks of the royal elephant as let off, not given in gift and of the king's belongings being given away to Brahmins, not because they would be of use to his soul in its progress across the river of the Dead in the Yamaloka, but because their sight gave impetus to grief. This description of the obsequies of even a great king will show that the Garuda Purāṇa theory of gifts of various things for the benefit of the soul had not yet arisen. The expression सुधानिचयचित्ते चित्ता-चैत्यचिन्हे which we have omitted from the above quotation is somewhat difficult to understand but it seems that the custom of raising some temple at the place of burning the the dead body of the kings was then prevalent as now. A mark of such memorial temple was promptly made by a **heap** of whitened stones and the memorial temple was sub-

sequently raised. In the case of ordinary funerals such memorials were not raised as will also appear below.

It is necessary to add here the description of the funeral customs of the people recorded by Hiuen Tsang. He says (Watters, Vol. I p. 174) "At the obsequies of the deceased the relatives wail and weep, rending their clothes and tearing out their hair, striking their brows and beating their breasts. There is no distinction in the styles of mourning costume and no fixed period of mourning. There are three recognised customs for disposing of the dead. The first of these is cremation, a pyre being made on which the body is consumed. The second is water-burial, the corpse being put into a stream to float and dissolve; the third is burial in the wilds, the body being cast away in the woods to feed wild animals. Meritorious appellations are conferred on the living, the dead have no honorary distinctions. No one goes to take food in a family afflicted with death. But after the funeral, matters are again as usual. Those who attend the funeral are all regarded as unclean and they all wash outside the city wall before entering. Those who become very old or are afflicted by incurable disease, who desire to cast off humanity, are given a farewell entertainment by friends and relatives and are taken in a boat to the middle of the Ganges with music, that they may drown themselves in it, saying that they would be born in heaven. The Buddhist brethren are forbidden to wail aloud. On the death of a parent they read a service of gratitude "their following the departed is securing bliss in the other world. "

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

The most prominent characteristic of the religious condition of India in the days of Harsha was the complete toleration which distinguished the two or rather three religions which claimed the people of the country for their adherents. Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side and Jainism too. In the same kingdom, in the same city, in the same family even, Hindus, Jains and Buddhists lived peaceably, amicably holding discussions without embitterment on the most abstruse questions of man and God. If the father was a devotee of Śiva, the son was a devotee of Buddha and the same man in his own life might change his religion without causing disturbance either in the family or the society. The reason of such toleration lay probably in the fact that the people of these diverse religions were of the same race and had the same habits and customs, and partook of the same kind of food and drink. It appears even probable that the instinctive tendency of the people for the observation of caste distinctions was not at all obstructed in the different religions and lay Buddhists and Jains probably observed caste as much as the Hindus. The recluses or monks alone of Buddhism or Jainism throwing away caste, the unity of the three religions remained undisturbed.

Hiuen Tsang's description of the several kingdoms in the country shows that the people of India, generally speaking, were at this time equally divided between the orthodox and the heterodox faiths. Of course Jainism was not yet a prominent religion, its adherents being found chiefly in small tracts in the Panjab, in Bengal and in the south. In the map appended hereto has been depicted the condition of the prevalence of the different religions at this time in India, the religions being marked in separate colours and it will appear therefrom that while in the extreme North-

west in Kapiśa or Kafiristan there was practically no other religion but Buddhism prevalent and in the extreme North-east that is in Assam no other but Hinduism, in the rest of the country with few exceptions, Hinduism and Buddhism claimed equal adherents as well among the people as among the ruling kings; and this equal prevalence of the two religions among the peoples and the princes was another cause which preserved their amicable relations. Such relations were also preserved by another fact. Both Hinduism and Buddhism were equally idolatrous at this time. If anything, Buddhism perhaps beat the former in its intense idolatry. That religion started, indeed, with the denial of God, but ended by making Buddha himself the Supreme God. Later developments of Buddhism added other gods like the Bodhisatvas and the idolatry of Buddhism especially in the Mahāyāna school was firmly established. It flourished in and out of India so much that the word for an idol in the Arabic has come to be Buddha itself. No doubt idolatry was at this time rampant all over the world. From the Atlantic to the Pacific the world was immersed in idolatry, Christianity, Semiticism, Hinduism and Buddhism vying, so to speak, one with another in their adoration of idols*. The natural result was, of course, the birth of an idol-denying and an idol-breaking religion at this time, but that religion had not yet reached India. India was thus, at this time, studded over literally with thousands of temples raised to the principal gods of the two or rather three religions. There were temples in which immense statues of Buddha and Bodhisatvas and of the Jain Tirthankaras were worshipped by thousands of devotees and there were other temples in which the Hindu gods chiefly Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Sun were adored by the Hindu devotees. The historical work, Rājataranginī testifies to how hundreds of temples were raised in Kashmir to Śiva and Buddha by pious kings of either religion, and from epigraphic records may be gathered that idols of Śiva, Viṣṇu, the Sun and the Buddha were set up by kings and

* And Jainism too was deeply steeped in idolatry in the worship of naked standing idols of Jina or its Tirthankaras. If the Buddhist's favourite idol was the seated Buddha, the Jain idol was a standing Jina in his naked asceticism.

merchant princes in other parts of India also. It would be impossible to describe all the famous temples, Hindu and Buddhist, which existed at this time and many of which have been described in detail by Hiuen Tsang. But two Hindu temples of great fame described by him may well be mentioned here. In Mūlasthānapura (Multan) there was a magnificent temple to the sun. "The image was of gold, ornamented with precious substances. It had marvellous powers. There was a constant succession of females performing music. Lights were kept burning all night and incense and flowers were continually offered. The kings and grandees of all India gave precious substances as offerings and erected free rest-houses with food and drink and medicine for the sick and needy. At this temple there were constantly 1000 pilgrims from various lands offering prayers. All round the temple were tanks and flowery woods making a delightful resort." (Watters, Vol. 2 p. 254). Along with this famous temple of the sun at Multan may be noticed a temple of Śiva at Benares, "where there were 10,000 professed adherents of Śiva," and "where there was a metal image of the Deva (probably Śiva) nearly 100 feet high which was life-like in its awe-inspiring majesty".

These two instances will suffice to show how the liberality of kings and grandees had contributed to the accumulation of riches in temples both of the Hindus and the Buddhists and how these in later times became the objects of the cupidity of impious and irreligious brigands. An image is after all an emblem of a higher original but when the sense of its being an image is lost and it becomes truly the god himself the growth of pious ignorance is unavoidable. Not only riches accumulate in temples by the adornment of idols, but superstitious beliefs also accumulate touching their miraculous powers. In the times of which we are writing, Hindus and Buddhists appear to have vied with each other in their superstitious beliefs about the potency of images. Superstition is the bane of every religion and Buddhism was not an exception to the rule. As

Buddhism had started with the denial of God it had also started with the denial of all superstitious beliefs. But with the installation of Buddha as the supreme god, the personal worship offered to him was carried to such excess, that bits of his bones and flesh, the parings of his nails and portions of his hair were greedily taken hold of and enshrined in temples and Stūpas which gradually came to be invested with miraculous power. The Records of the travels of Hiuen Tsang are full of stories of the wondrous powers possessed by Buddha's images, and his relics or Śāriras as they were called. It creates a smile in the reader to see that the same Hiuen Tsang who could laugh at the credulity* of the Hindus in believing that the waters of the Ganges (at Hardwar) could save the souls of the dead by mere fretting them and raising the waves or by throwing their bones into it, (Watters Vol. I p. 319), could believe that the Śāriras of Buddha enshrined in a tower near the great Nālandā monastery in Magadha could emit brilliant light at night. He relates having himself seen "the relic tower bright and effulgent as the sun, while from its summit proceeded a lambent flame of five colours reaching to the sky. Heaven and earth were flooded with light, the moon and the stars were no longer seen and a subtle perfume seemed to pervade the precincts" (Life p. 157). Personal adoration can go no further !!!

Not only Buddha's relics and Buddha's images, but even Buddhist monks were attributed superhuman powers. And in this Hindu ascetics were not to be left behind. Such powers were believed to be attained by the practice of Yoga which both Buddhism and Hinduism had made their own and raised to the skies. Buddhist and Hindu Yoga practices were, however, not of a repulsive character. The practices of some devotees of Śiva

* Hiuen Tsang relates a story that Deva Pūsa from Sinhala once came here and finding simple people fretting the water and raising the waves, he bent his head down to check the water. On being asked by Tīrthikas what he was doing he said he was sending water back to reach his relatives in Sinhala, who were thirsty. On being told that it was an absurd proceeding he replied, if sinners in the world beyond received benefit from agitating this water, it must save his relatives in spite of the intervening mountains and rivers. "His arguments convinced the hearers who acknowledged their error and became Buddhist" (Watters Vol. I p. 321).

were almost staggering and their beliefs indeed strange. They believed in a set of demons, who were the followers or companions of Śiva and who were to be propitiated by human sacrifices or by oblations of the flesh of the dead. Such Pāsupatas wore garlands of human skulls as described by even Hiuen Tsang. (Watters, Vol. I). The principal god of this terrible worship was probably Mahākāla of Ujjain and his lieutenant was Vetāla the chief of demons. He was to be propitiated by a sacrifice in fire kindled in the mouth of a corpse and on the burial ground and so on. Their highest aim was to obtain the condition of a Vidyādhara a supposed blessed being in attendance on Śiva. Harsha Charita (p. 161-6) relates how Pushyabhūti, the founder of the Vardhana family of Thanesar, assisted a Bhairavāchārya to attain to this state of being a Vidyādhara by such a revolting sacrifice, and thus himself attained eminence as a king. However imaginary such stories may be, they testify to the strange superstitions of the Śiva cult and their prevalence all over the country. This Tāntric Śiva worship appears to have come from the south, the Dravidians, particularly the Āndhras, being always spoken of as the chief priests in its rites* (H. C. 214) The superstitious practices of the allied worship of Chandikā were not much better than those of the worship of Śiva and there-in too the Dravidians and the Āndhras were the worshippers. Whether the superstition came from the south or not it is clear that the Tāntrika worship was prevalent and its superstitions rampant at this time from Kashmir and Kabul to Bengal and to the southernmost point. From Hiuen Tsang's Records as well as from epigraphic evidence it appears that the worship of Śiva was most extensively spread. Its adherents were more numerous than those of Āditya or Vishnu both among the people as among the princes. Among other Hindu gods Kumāra and Chandikā were prominent, Ganapati† being rather scarcely mentioned.*

* कचिन्मुण्डोपहारणोद्यतद्रविडप्रार्थ्यमानामदर्कं कचिदान्ध्रोपध्रियमाणबाहुवभ्रोपयाच्यमान चंडिकम् etc. आमदर्क is explained by the commentator as meaning Vetāla.

† His name, as is now usual, is not recited at the beginning of the copperplates of this century.

Along with the worship of these gods there still survived the old Vedic worship of fire. The Brahmins seems to have generally kept up the agnihotra and the Kshatriyas appear to have performed more elaborate sacrifices. Aśvamedha or horse sacrifice is shown by epigraphic records to have been performed by powerful kings in different countries. It is not, therefore, improbable that the prohibition of this sacrifice in the Kaliyuga dates later than this period. In fact according to our view the Kalivarjas arose hereafter for reasons which will be discussed in our next volume. This and kindred sacrifices were performed by Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaiśya kings* and not by Śūdra or foreign kings. This explains the spread of Buddhism among the Śūdra and foreign kings who being debarred from performing these Vedic sacrifices leaned naturally towards the Buddhist religion opposed to sacrifice. During the reign of Harsha, however, these bloody sacrifices involving as they did the killing of cows, horses and other animals must have ceased to be performed causing dissatisfaction among orthodox kingly families and constituting one of the grievances which led after the death of Harsha to a concussion between Hinduism and Buddhism. For, the Vedic cult of sacrifices too was not without its superstitions. Sacrifice was believed to be potent in obtaining anything a man desired in this or the next world and in enabling the sacrificer to wield power over the forces or deities of earth and heaven. For a time, however, while the strong hand of Harsha wielded the scepter of the world all slaughter, as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang was stopped and bloody sacrifices were again in abeyance, after having

* The Badāmi cave inscription of Kirtivarman dated A. D. 578, represents the Chālukyas as having performed the Agnishtoma, Vajapeya, Paundarika, Bahusuvarna and the Aśvamedha sacrifices. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI p. 363.

Corp. In. Vol. III no. 12, Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta mentions that Samudra Gupta performed 'the long neglected' Aśvamedha sacrifice (चिरं-त्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्ता) p. 50.

Corp. In. Vol. III no. 36 p. 159 shows that a Brahmin king Indra Vishnu performed several Kratus or sacrifices क्रतुयाजितः p. 159.

Corp. In. Vol. III Nos. 36, 33 Vākātaka inscriptions at p. 159 of Pravarsena II दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानां भाराशिवानां महाराज अभिवनागदौहित्रः.

flourished for about two centuries during the Gupta supremacy, Samudra Gupta having revived the orthodox Aśva-medha sacrifice which *had long been in abeyance* during the Buddhist supremacy of the Kushāns.

The ordinary Agnihotra, however, still flourished and was generally observed by Brahmins, at least of the priestly profession. How the religious of such worship Brahmins was a blend of the old Vedic sacrifice and the later idol worship appears pleasantly clear from the following passage in the Harsha-Charita (p. 91-92) in which Bāṇa describes the religious ceremonies performed by him at the time of his starting on the most important journey in his life, namely to pay his first visit to the emperor Harsha.

अथान्यस्मिन्नहन्युत्थाय प्रातरेव स्नात्वा धृतधौतधवलदुक्कलवागा गृहीताक्षमालः प्रास्थानिकानि सूक्तानि मंत्रपदानि बहुशः समाकर्त्य, देवदेवस्य विष्णोक्षस्य क्षीरस्नपनपुरःगरां सुरभिकुसुमधूपगन्धध्वजवलिर्विलेपनप्रदीपवहुलां विधाय परमया भक्त्या पूजां प्रथम-
हुततरलतिलत्वर्गिघटनचटुलाशिखाशेखरं प्राज्याज्याहुतिप्रवीधितदक्षिणार्चिषं भगवन्त-
माशुशुक्षणिं हुत्वा, दत्त्वा शुभ्रं यथा विद्यमानं द्विजेभ्यः, प्रदक्षिर्गाकृत्य प्राङ्मुखीं नैचिकीं,
शुक्लांगरागः शुक्लमाल्यः शुक्लवासाः शिखासक्तसिद्धार्थकः,.....आघ्रातः शिरसि कुलवृद्धैः,
मौहूर्तिकमतेन कृतनक्षत्रदाहदः.....प्रणम्य कुलदेवतभ्यः कुसुमफलपाणिभिरप्रतिरथं
जपद्विनिर्जाद्विजैरनुगम्यमानः प्रथमचलितदक्षिणचरणः प्रीतिकूटान्निर्गतात्.

“Rising early in the morning and having bathed he wore a fresh washed white cotton piece of cloth and then with a rosary recited many times the Vedic mantras to be recited on a journey. He then worshipped an idol of Śiva the god of gods by first bathing it with milk and offered it with great devotion fragrant flowers, incense, pigment, Dhvaja, Bali, Vilepana and lights. He then sacrificed to the god fire, whose flames going towards the right were increased by the pouring of ghee and sesamum. He then gave Dakshinas to Brahmins according to his means. Having then gone round the sacrificial cow which stood facing the east, and applying white powder to his body, putting on white garlands and wearing white clothes, he put सिद्धार्थ (?) in the hair of his head. He was then smelt on the head by elders and putting forward his right leg first he started from Prītikūta village followed by

his Brahmin relatives, having in their hands flowers and fruits and reciting Vedic Sūktas to be recited on a journey." Such is the interesting picture of the religious side of the life of a great Brahmin of the seventh century (who was not a priest). As compared with the life depicted in the old Gṛihyasūtras (see even the picture drawn by Kālidāsa of the starting of Śakuntalā) we find that his religion was still chiefly Vedic. He recited the Vedic mantras and sacrificed to the Vedic fire. But he also worshipped idols of Śiva or Viṣṇu or other gods and believed in many practices based on astrology. In modern times on the other hand the Vedic worship has gradually dropped and the worship of idols and astrological practices have remained. Thus in religion too, Harsha's time stands as a transition period between ancient and modern Hinduism.

While the old Vedic Agnihotra was still kept up among the Brahmin householders and the sacrificial fire was kindled morning and evening, the later Vedic Sanyāsa was not without its votaries.* In every town and in every Hindu temple these Sanyāsis resided and lived by begging and passed their time in calm contemplation or strangely enough as described by Bāṇa, in bowing to the idols in the temple. They are called Pārāśaris in the Harsha-Charita and elsewhere probably because they followed the rules laid down for Sanyāsis by Parāśara. They were generally Brahmins and although they had given up the world and wandered about they lived in towns as sustenance was only obtainable in human habitations. A few of them indeed were really good and learned men but the majority of them were in Bāṇa's days irreligious and uneducated and had brought their order into contempt. Sanyāsa, therefore, had naturally come at this time into disfavour and Pārāśari had become a synonym for a bad man. Among the associates of Bāṇa

* चैत्यप्रणतिपरेषु पाराशरिषु यज्ञपात्रपावित्रपाणौ प्रकीर्णं वर्तन्ति प्रोक्षेजसि जातवेदासि हवीषि वषट्कुर्वति यायजूकजने (H.C.P. 125.)

in his early undisciplined life he mentions Pārāśaris as well as Bhikshus and in a passage evidencing great power of social observation at page 249 H. C. remarks that there was not a Pārāśari but was not an irreligious man.* They were yet, however, objects of respect and were patronised by kings and grandees, for among the visitors to the Emperor Harsha Bāna describes Pārāśaris as well as Buddhist and Jain recluses. (जैनैरार्हतैः पाशुपतैः पाराशरिभिः वर्णिभिः etc. p. 97.)

The rage for Pravrajyā or giving up the world is a strong passion of the Indian mind from ancient times. It was due to the belief that this world was full of misery, that the soul was bound in the chain of transmigration from body to body according to its Karma and that the only escape from the misery of the present and future births lay in Pravrajyā or giving up the world and ceasing to act.† Under this belief the Rishis of the Upanishads gave up living in towns and went to forests. The same belief was placed in the forefront by Buddha, who added to it the institution of monasteries. While Brahmin Sanyāsis were enjoined to live singly, Buddha not only allowed men and women of all castes to become recluses, but for their secure maintenance and quiet, established Sanghārāmas or monasteries and directed lay devotees to feed them. Sanghārāmas or monasteries, therefore, sprang into existence and as Buddhism spread, multiplied. Thousands of Bhikshus of all castes lived a life of ease and quiet in these splendidly endowed institutions and they had fine halls and temples and stupas built for them by pious kings and grandees. These monastic institutions of the Buddhists were undoubtedly the parents of the monastic institutions of Christianity and eventually succumbed to the same causes as led to the downfall of the latter. The downfall of the Buddhist monasteries had, however, not yet commenced. From Hiuen Tsang's

* पाराशरी ब्राह्मण्यः—

† अखिलमनोज्वरशमनकारणं हि भगवती प्रव्रज्या (H. C. P. 338.)

records and also from the Harsha-Charita, India was at this time covered all over its extent by monasteries inhabited by thousands of monks and they were a set of well behaved and moral people, generally speaking, and had not yet come into disrepute like the Hiudu Pārāśaris. Jainism too had its recluses and its monasteries though they were yet a small community from Hiuen Tsang's account. Śaivism too had its recluses or ascetics and these lived probably in temples of Śiva and burial grounds.

Among all these different recluses namely Jainas (जैनैः) or Buddhists, Ārhatas (आर्हतैः) or Jains, Pāsupatas, Pārāśaris, Varnis (Brahmacharis) (H. C. above quoted) and others were to be found men learned in the philosophies of their respective doctrines and a peculiar characteristic of this time was the extreme fondness of the people and the princes to hear learned discussions on philosophical questions between the professors of the different doctrines. The Indian religion, strangely enough, combines the highest philosophy with the grossest superstition. The Indo-Aryans in times remote, grappled with the most abstruse problems relating to God and soul, and have left us speculations in the Upanishads and the Vedas beyond which no people have yet gone. Imbued with a deep sense of the miseries of this world the Indo-Aryans applied themselves to a consideration of the world beyond while the western Aryans applied themselves to the problems of this world. And in their speculations, as Max-Muller has observed, they never shrank from accepting conclusions at which they logically arrived. Hence the diversity of schools in Indian philosophies and hence also their freedom from bigotry or intolerance of other opinions. The Indo-Aryan mind always took delight in logically discussing the various questions of religious philosophy. Buddhism especially was fond of such discussions. The development of Nyāya philosophy which Buddhism to some extent made its own lent indeed a scholastic character to such discussions and there was no criterion of truth except the opponent's defeat in discussion. Yet they have an interest and a value of their own as

reason was held supreme or in other words as the argument from revelation was never resorted to. Bāṇa's work gives ample testimony to the popularity of such discussions in his time. Especially, Hiuen Tsang records the great assemblies of learned men which were convened at the time of the quinquennial alms-giving ceremonies which Harsha used to hold at Prayāga and at the last of which Hiuen Tsang himself was the president of the assembly. The usual procedure in such assemblies was that some one made a declaration of his doctrines and called upon all present to refute them. Sometimes a written declaration was posted at the gate of a monastery calling upon adversaries to tear it. Hiuen Tsang tells us of one such declaration posted by a Brahmin opponent to the door of the Nālandā monastery which no body daring to tear, he himself tore and then entering upon a controversy with the Brahmin defeated him, he having first sworn to be a slave of the man who would defeat him. Hiuen Tsang, however, relieved him from his oath and allowed him to depart a Buddhist. The Buddhist monasteries appear to have been constant scenes of such disputations, for the monks residing therein having no care for their maintenance had ample time for study and discussion besides performing their religious exercises. Hiuen Tsang notes also this feature of the life in Buddhist monasteries. The Buddhists themselves were divided into 18 sects and had as many disputations among themselves as with outsiders. "The Brethren are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity and bring moral character into prominence. Those who bring forward or estimate aright fine points in philosophy and give subtle principles their proper place, who are ornate in diction and acute in refined distinctions ride richly caparisoned elephants," preceded and followed by a host of attendants. Bāṇa's description in the *Harsha-Charita* evidences also the assembling of opponent philosophers at the hermitages of Buddhist recluses, and the passage is interesting as giving us a catalogue of the various schools which then contended in the field of discussion. In the *Āśrama* of Divākaramitra

were assembled, Bāna tells us at page 316 H. C. Arhatas,* (Jains), Maskaris (Sanyāsis), Svetapaṭas (Śvetāmbara Jains), white-clothed Bhiksus, Bhāgavatas, Varnis (Brahmacharis), Kesalunchakas (those who rooted out their hair), Kāpilas (Sāṅkhyas), Lokāyatikas (atheists), Jains (Buddhists), Kānādas (followers of Kanada's Vaiśeṣika philosophy), Aupanishadas (Vedantins), Aiśvara Karanikas (Naiyayikas), Karandhamas (the philosophers of वातुवाद or elements), Dharmaśāstris, Purānikas, Śaptatantavas(?), Śaivas, Śābdikas (gramarians), Pāncharātrikas (followers of the Pancharātra sect of Vaishnavas) and others. This catalogue of the philosophies which were current in the seventh century is historically important. The Buddhists are here called Jains, Jina being a name of Buddha while what are now called Jains are called Ārhatas. The Bhāgavatas are again distinguished from the Pāncharātras. The Mimānsakas are probably intended by the term Dharmaśāstris for they based their arguments on revelation. Lastly, Varnis or Brahmachāris are distinguished from the Aupanishadas and these again from the Maskaris. It is difficult to find out the nature of the exact differences in these several allied philosophies and we must content ourselves with noting the fact of the distinction.

However much these different philosophies might contend with one another, on two or three points all of them seem to have held only one view. Firstly they all believed (with the exception of Lokāyatikas or atheists alone) in the existence of the soul and its metempsychosis through numberless births according to Karma. The belief in the Karma doctrine and in the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul prominently distinguishes Indian philosophy from the philosophy of the West. We are not concerned here either with its truth or otherwise or with the history of its origin. But it is pertinent to remark

* आर्हतैः मस्करिभिः श्वेतपटैः दाण्डराभिक्षुभिः भागवतैर्वर्णिभिः केशलुञ्चकैः कापिलैः लोकायतिकैर्जनैः कण्णोदैरौपनिषदैः ऐश्वर्यकारणैः कारन्दामिभिः धर्मशास्त्रिभिः पौराणिकैः साप्ततन्त्रैः शैवैः शाब्दिकैः पाञ्चरात्रिकैश्चान्यैश्च-

that this belief was a potent and living force at the time of which we are writing. It had a great effect in maintaining the morals of the people at a high level. The following extract from Hiuen Tsang a foreign and unbiassed writer is relevant in this connection "They are of hasty and irresolute temperament but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully and they yield more than fairness requires. *They fear the retribution of sins in other lives and make light of what conduct produces in this life.*" (Watters Vol. I P. 171.) And further, "As the government is honestly administered and the people live together on good terms the criminal class is small" (Ditto). The same cannot be said of the present state of the Indian society and apparently the credit of this high moral condition of the people is due to the teachings of Buddhism which lays stress upon this doctrine of transmigration of soul and its moral lessons with the greatest force, though it has taken it from Hinduism itself.

Secondly, the doctrine of Ahinsā had become acceptable to almost all the different schools of religious thought in India. Its opponents were chiefly the Mīmāṃsakas or the upholders of the old Vedic sacrifice, besides of course the Lokāyatikas or atheists and perhaps Pāśupatas. but even these Mīmāṃsakas had already come round to accept it so far as ordinary slaughter of animals was concerned. From the Mahābhārata we already find the compromise arrived at namely that although slaughter for purposes of sacrifice and Śrāddha was no slaughter it was so for all ordinary purposes. We have shown elsewhere (Epic India) that the Ahinsā doctrine was originally started by Hinduism itself against animal sacrifice. (See Brihadāranya and other Upanishads). But it was taken up by the Buddhists and the Jains and placed in the foremost rank of their tenets. Whenever Buddhism flourished animal sacrifices, therefore, fell in abeyance and along with it naturally animal food also. The growth of the worship of Kṛishṇa had made cows and bulls objects of special adoration to the Hindus also and the slaughter of

cows and bulls had entirely ceased, as also that of certain larger animals. When Hiuen Tsang visited India this prohibition had become so strong "that the flesh of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, wolves, lions, monkeys and apes was entirely forbidden and those who ate such food became pariahs" (Watters' Records V.I.P.178).

But the flesh of other animals was still permitted and probably even Brahmins and Kshatriyas ate mutton and venison as also fish. Besides during the Gupta supremacy *Āsvamedha* had been revived and at this sacrifice bulls and horses must have been slaughtered, the sacrificers taking refuge under the formula "slaughter for sacrifice was no slaughter." Such practices must have given offence to strong rulers of the Buddhistic faith and they must have used their political power for the suppression of *all slaughter*. Hiuen Tsang tells us of Śīladitya of Molapo prohibiting slaughter and animal food in his kingdom in the latter half of the 6th century. This king himself was so punctilious that he gave strained water to his horses and elephants lest insects might be killed (Life p. 148) The *Rājataranginī* (III 6) mentions the efforts which Meghavāhana made to prohibit slaughter in Kashmir. All such partial attempts were now cast into shade by the systematic efforts of Harsha who wielded absolute power over the whole of Northern India. "He prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the five Indies." (Watters' Vol. I p. 344). Harsha was the master of four Indies only namely the middle, the north, the west and the east. But in the south probably his directions or requests must have been complied with by the several kings in the south, the people being already in favour of the prohibition of animal food. Harsha's efforts appear to have been successful and although there was a rebound for a time against *Ahinsā* after Harsha's death as we shall have to relate hereafter, it became finally fixed in the Hindu mind and strangely enough more completely in the south than in the north. At this day Brahmins of the south are total abstainers from flesh while in Northern India they are

only generally so. The Kshatriyas of the whole of India who, it may be a surprise to read, are the most conservative people of the land, still use animal food but the prohibition of animals enumerated by Hiuen Tsang as above, is observed even by them. The Vaiśyas are total abstainers all over the country and other castes follow the Kshatriyas, but habit of centuries and example of Brahmins make them also generally abstainers from flesh. The non-slaughter of cows and bulls has, it may be added, become so completely the chief dogma of each and every follower of Hinduism that its contempt rouses them as is well known, even now, sometimes to the verge of religious frenzy.

Such is the great change in religious sentiment which came over the people with respect to animal slaughter in the momentous reign of the emperor Harsha. There is no example in history of a great and vast people giving up animal food for the sake of religious merit. The Ahinsā doctrine has indeed raised Hinduism to a high position of glory and has added to its spiritual power. But the historian cannot but observe with Max-Muller that while it has enabled India to live a higher spiritual life, it has contributed largely to bring about its political death. For a vegetarian people cannot ordinarily hope to compete with the flesh-eating peoples of the world in the struggle for existence, as the history of India in the succeeding centuries but too painfully proved.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL CONDITION

Sir Vincent Smith observes at page 357 of his ' Early history of India ' 3rd Edition, that when " the wholesome despotism of Harsha terminated by his death, India instantly returned to her normal condition of *anarchical autonomy*. " This is, I am afraid, a wrong and an unhistorical view. To those who look upon India as one country and who consider a despotic imperial rule as the only remedy for her political ills, the political condition which usually obtained in ancient India may appear as one of anarchical autonomy. But it must be remembered that India never was one kingdom at any time except the present, when the British rule has brought the whole country under subjection. India may indeed be called one country from certain aspects of race, religion and tradition, but it cannot be denied that it never was, at least in ancient history, one country politically. It generally consisted of a number of kingdoms and these were usually at war with one another. To apply to this condition the term anarchical autonomy would be improper.

For what was the condition of Europe at this time or for that matter at any time in its history ? Europe may fitly be compared to India in every respect. Exclusive of Russia, Europe is almost equal to India in extent and population and its people are practically of one race, namely, Aryan and of one religion, namely, Roman Christianity. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang describes India as divided into about seventy kingdoms (Watters' Vol. I p. 140). Europe in the seventh century could not have been divided into less. England itself was divided into five kingdoms, France, Germany and Italy into many more. Indeed the condition of society, civilization and the means of communication in ancient times

prevented the formation of kingdoms larger than those that existed in India or Europe at that time. And history shows that these kingdoms of Europe were constantly at war with one another. European history is indeed a terrible history detailing the constant and usually sanguinary wars waged by the several kingdoms with one another. Now would it be proper to describe this condition of Europe as one of anarchical; autonomy, or to make the comparison still more complete, to say that when the Empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces after his death, Europe reverted to her usual condition of anarchical autonomy? Even now when railways and telegraphs have made the growth of large kingdoms possible, Europe is still divided into a number of small kingdoms which are not larger than the kingdoms in India described by Hiuen Tsang. If we take 6000 li or 1200 miles as the average circumference of a large Indian kingdom like Mahārāshtra the area of an average large kingdom in square miles comes to about 1,20,000 sq. miles. Or we may make calculation in another way and divide the total present area of India viz. 18,02,629 sq. miles, by 70 and arrive at the area 25,752 sq. miles of an average kingdom in India as it existed in the seventh century. The smaller kingdoms existing in Europe at this day, Belgium (11,373 sq. ms.), Holland (12,582), Portugal (32,000), Italy (1,10,632), Bulgaria (33,645), Roumania (53,489) and Greece (25,014), not to speak of the small states of which the German Empire is composed, are not thus larger than the kingdoms existing in India in Hiuen Tsang's days, and these states of Europe are normally in a condition of war. A decade does not pass without a fight somewhere, and yet these small states are alive and flourishing; and history cannot describe the normal condition of Europe as one of 'anarchical autonomy'. The mistake lies in looking upon India as one country or a territory that deserved to be one country under one rule and hence, I apprehend, the use of the word anarchical.

The question for the historian is why did the small kingdoms of India succumb to the Mahomedans in the

12th century? Why did they not live and develop into strong kingdoms like the states of Europe? It is usually suggested that the Indian kingdoms ought to have foreseen the danger of foreign invasions and that they should have laid aside mutual feuds in order to gather strength against them. It is argued, for example, that after the defeat of the Huns, under Mihirkula in 528 A. D. India was free from foreign invasion till the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni about 1000 A. D., and she was free to work out her destiny. This involves not only the previous misconception that India was one country but also the further misconception that such foreign invasions could have been foreseen. In fact we usually look upon the condition of the seventh century, from our state of knowledge in the twentieth century. But the invasions of Mahmud could not have been foreseen by any the wisest man, in the seventh century. No body in those days or even later could have dreamt that the Turks, fired with the fanaticism of a new creed and cursed with the barbarism of new invaders, would devastate India in the 11th and the 12th centuries. Even the loss of Sind in the beginning of the 8th century could not have served as a warning. The conquest of Sind, in India, by the Arabs may fitly be compared to the conquest of Constantinople in Europe by the Turks. The Turks have remained in Europe like a thorn in the side of Europe for these five centuries in the same way as the Arabs remained in Sind for five centuries before the 13th. The Arabs from Sind molested the Hindus east, north and south much in the same way as the Turks harassed Europe in the west, north and south. Yet Europe never thought of laying aside her internal animosities and combining under one empire. Why should then the kingdoms of India have thought of combining under one sceptre to drive away the Arabs? Nay, the parallel goes much further. Mr. Sardesai accuses the Rāshtrakūtas of having actually taken the assistance of these Arab foreigners in their fights with the Gurjaras. But it must be remembered that in advanced Europe the same thing was done and is

being done. History tells us that Francis I of France excited the Turks against the Germans in his war with Charles V, Emperor of Germany, in the 16th century. And curiously enough the debt has been paid back in the present 20th century by the last Emperor of Germany by raising the Turks against the French and their allies although the latter are of the same religion, race and civilization as the Germans. The reason is, that in political struggles, even religion and race are not of much account. The Bulgars are at present fighting against the Russians though of the same race and even of the same religious church. We need not, then, feel wonder if the Rāshtrakūtas sought the assistance of the Arabs, against their own co-religionists. We must remember that the Gurjaras and Rāshtrakūtas formed two distinct kingdoms with distinct political interests. The real difference between Europe and India lies in the fact that while both the Gurjaras and the Rāshtrakūtas have eventually succumbed before the Arabs, the French and the Germans are still alive and not likely to succumb to the Turks. The real question, therefore, for the historian is why did the Gurjaras and the Rāshtrakūtas succumb? In other words why did the kingdoms in India not develop into strong nations? What was the political condition in the seventh and the preceding centuries which led to her decline and downfall? That is the question which we really have to solve and which requires to be carefully tackled in the light of western and eastern history past and present.

The main cause of this difference in the vitality of the nations in the west and the nations in the east appears to be the complete divergence in the development of their political ideas. While in the west the highest ideal of a state was evolved at a very ancient date in Greece, in India the Indo-Aryan intellect not only failed to grasp the essentials of a perfect state but developed ideas which were diametrically opposed to them. Perhaps the Indo-Aryan intellect was, as said before, engrossed with the idea of the nothingness of this

world's prosperity and devoting itself to spiritual speculation spurned the limitations of a limited state and concerned itself with the welfare of the whole world, man and beast, animate and inanimate. In Europe the small citizen states of Greece were led by the Hellenic intellect to a very high political development and the Romans by their legal temperament carried it to the farthest limits. The duties and the dignities of a *citizen* of the Roman Empire, a word which still reminds us of the ancient development of city-states, were now clearly understood and defined and they in their turn moulded the development of political ideas in the Germanic peoples who added their own political instincts and notions to the ideas inherited from the civilizations of Greece and Rome. The German states were, indeed, not republics like the ancient states of Greece and Rome, but the power of the king in these was limited by institutions of states-general or representative assemblies of the people; and these have developed into the modern kingdoms of Europe with their limited monarchies. The rights and duties of the citizens or rather members of a state have further been developed by French thinkers preceding the French Revolution and their ideas have now permeated to the lowest class in each and every state of Europe. Under their influence each individual citizen in the western states believes that he is a partner in the political partnership of the state and is thus both its master and servant in his own small capacity. Each citizen again is bound to the state not only by ties of affection or patriotism but also by the ties of self-interest, for each one shares in the prosperity of the state or its adversity and is thus ready to make any sacrifice for it by self-interest as well as by patriotism. Such a state must necessarily be a strong organisation and cannot be suppressed or killed except by the greatest exertion of enemies. Nay, it has come to be a maxim with political philosophers in the west that no people, however few, imbued with the instincts of true citizenship, can ever be suppressed by force.

The development of political ideas in India was exactly in the opposite direction. The Indo-Aryans were indeed in the beginning imbued with the same racial tendencies as their brethren in the west. The sovereignty so to speak belonged to the people and the king was merely their leader and agent. There were public assemblies of the people which advised the king on all important matters. Taxation was levied apparently with the consent of the people. The later tradition that the people promised Manu $\frac{1}{6}$ th of their land produce in consideration of his accepting their kingship contains the germ of this principle. Kings were often elected and in some tribes there were no kings at all, the people themselves regulating their affairs by a council of elders. In short, in the earliest period of Indian history the political condition of the people was developing in the same direction as in the west. Indeed the union of the people with the state and the king was so complete in ancient times that the names of the three were identical. The state was still tribal and the same word in the plural indicated the state and the people, while in the singular it meant the king. In the Vedic and even in Epic times this was the rule. For example the Kurus, the Madras, the Pāñchālas, the Kosalas and so on meant both the people and the country; and the singular Kuru, Madra, Pāñchāla and Kosala and so on meant the king. A similar state of things obtained in the west. The land was there also called after the people and the king was called by the same name. France was the land of the Franks, England of the Angles and Saxony of the Saxons; and France, England and Saxony meant also the kings of those lands. Thus the name of the people gave the name to the country and the king, both in the east and the west.

Such was the state of things in India down to Buddha's time. In the succeeding centuries this condition gradually changed. The people gradually receded from view, probably because they were now composed largely of Śūdras and not of the Aryans as in previous times. The kings who were often non-Aryan and sometimes even

foreigners, gradually assumed absolute power. The people thus became accustomed to the rule of kings who were not of their own race and of the Kshatriya caste. They gradually ceased to take interest in politics, being less or never consulted and eventually came to believe that it was none of their business to meddle with state affairs. Particular persons of the three higher castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and 'Vaiśyas did take some interest in politics being soldiers and officials, but the generality of the people being Śūdra, was debarred from all participation in political activities. And eventually the people lost all idea as to their possessing any rights of participation in the government of the country.

In this way diverged the political development of the Aryans in the east and in the west. Not that in the west the factor of a lower class did not arise. In Greece there were the Helots; in Rome the Plebeians; in France the Gauls; in England the Britons. In Germany alone, perhaps, the people were homogeneous. But in all these cases the lower classes were not racially very distinct from the higher and not very inferior in physical and mental capacities. In all these countries, therefore, they struggled to obtain political rights. For instance the persistent efforts of the Plebeians in Rome to obtain political and even social equality are well known and these struggles themselves were an education to the people. In India, on the other hand, especially in the north, the Dravidian lower classes were very inferior in capacities, and being different in complexion, features and habits remained distinct in position, social and political, and never struggled for equality of rights. Political power, therefore, gradually centered primarily in the higher classes, especially in the Kshatriyas and in the kings next. The king was invested with divine attributes in public estimation by superstition as well as by craft, and the despotic power of kings without any restriction by popular assemblies was eventually firmly established during the Buddhist period of Indian history.

Such remained the political condition of India in the seventh century. The king was absolute and possessed of despotic power unrestricted by the voice of any public assemblies. The kingdom and the people belonged to him, so to speak, as his private property. The kingdom naturally ceased to be called by the name of the people. Among the seventy or so kingdoms mentioned by Hiuen Tsang only a few bear the name of the people. The old names of Kuru, Pāṇchāla, Anga, Vanga &c. are gone and we have the names of Thanesar, Kanauj, Karnasuvarṇa, Tamralipti and so on. They are names taken generally after the capital town or some physical feature of the country. The kings are not named after the people but after a Vanśa or family as the Vardhanas, the Maukharis, the Guptas and so on.

And these families did not attain to kingly position by the consent or approbation of the people or by hereditary rights of several generations even, but by divine favour obtained, it was believed, by reason of austerities performed by certain individuals in their past lives. Under this superstitious view any body might become king or had the right to become king if only he succeeded in establishing himself on the throne by hook or crook. For, the people's consent or acceptance was never thought of as having anything to do with the affair. The story related by Kalhana about how Ranāditya (Raj. III) became king is typical of this popular superstition. The Harsha Charita also relates how Pusyabhūti obtained a boon by assisting in a Pāśupata sacrifice, that a Chakravarti would be born in his family. When the Brahmin Chacha usurped the throne of Sind, he is said in the Chachanāma to have observed "It is written in the books of Hind that whenever a person who has trained his soul to austerities dies, his soul transmigrates to the child of a king or a great man in return for his good deeds." The people thus had not only no political rights but had no hand whatever in the acceptance of kings, as persons became kings by reason of their austerities per-

formed in former lives. Under such a view of the organization of a state, there can scarcely be born that national vitality which is the essential factor in the strength of nations. Naturally enough patriotism was a virtue which never arose in India. There are, in Indian history, no noble examples of patriotic sacrifices such as are to be found in Greek, or Roman history or in the later history of the European nations. The feeling of love of the country or the nation cannot arise when the nation itself has no existence. The place of patriotism was supplied by the feeling of loyalty. The king being the absolute master of the state or the people, appointed by divine will, the people could naturally be actuated only by the feeling of loyalty or love to the divine king. Loyalty has been the distinguishing characteristic of the people of this country from the most ancient times. In the *Harsha Charita* we find many such examples recorded by Bāṇa and in these servants or officers give up their lives simply for the grief they felt on the death of their sovereign. And if the royal family continued steady on the throne for generations it did so not by the patriotism of the people but by the loyalty of their servants and officers. The people generally were also loyal to the reigning king. But their loyalty must always have been lukewarm and they were generally willing, or felt no concern, when one rule was substituted by another.

What the condition was in individual kingdoms also obtained in empires. Harsha's empire was the culminating point of the Buddhist period of Indian history which was passing away. He founded and maintained an empire as strong as the Gupta empire and in the history of the following mediæval period no kingdom approached either the extent or the solidarity of Harsha's rule. Harsha again was one of the most righteous emperors in the history of the world, conscientiously endeavouring to secure the happiness of the people. And yet the political conceptions of the people remaining the same, he could not infuse into his empire any national vitality. On the

contrary the very extent of this mass of kingdoms held together by force, increased its aptitude to topple down at the slightest shock, like a pile of stones heaped one upon another without any cement. Of course, we cannot blame Harsha for not introducing the cement. For, India had not then evolved representative institutions nor had the Indian intellect evolved proper conceptions of a political state. That department of enquiry remained a blank in the Indian intellectual activity. Harsha, therefore, could never have thought of giving to the people any rights of participation in the government of the country. His maintenance of order by sheer force but confirmed the current opinions about the absolute power of kings, and of God's favour as the origin of all kingly power.

Under such a view, kingdoms and even empires could not have any vitality. Harsha's empire fell to pieces, immediately his strong arm was removed from the administration. The subject kingdoms immediately became independent while Kanauj itself fell into disorder, Harsha having left no son. For in such a state of political views not only the virtue of patriotism cannot be fostered, but the contrary vice namely treason cannot but have ample scope to flourish. Every ambitious person who can by force or treachery seize the throne has the assurance that the people's allegiance will be transferred to him as a matter of course. The people having no voice in the matter or rather believing that they had no voice were naturally held of no account in such revolutions and the successful usurper was always accepted without demur. Traitors were, therefore, not uncommon. The punishment for unsuccessful rebellion or treachery was indeed drastic, then as now, traitors being imprisoned for life and 'dead or alive nobody took any account of them' as Hiuen Tsang observes. But such drastic punishment did not deter ambitious and bold persons, especially as success was not very difficult when opportunities offered. These revolutions or rebellions were never of the people but of a few individuals only. Ministers and commanders-in-chief,

were generally the usurpers in such revolutions and they were usually successful whenever the reigning king died without issue, or was an incapable person. Such has indeed been the trend of Indian history from the days of the Sungas down to the days of the Peshwas and their lieutenants, even throughout the Mahomedan times. Had the people had a proper conception of their duties as citizens of a state they would not have tolerated such revolutions nor would the ministers have dared to seize thrones. Only since the establishment of the British rule are we getting accustomed to the sight of ministers never aspiring to place themselves in the position of their masters.

We have discussed, heretofore, at length what in our opinion was the main cause of the weakness of Indian states. To put it shortly, the absence of representative political institutions prevented the people from feeling self-interest in the maintenance of the state intact and the belief that kings were appointed from heaven in reward for their austerities in past lives made the people thoroughly unconcerned as to who ruled them. The king enjoyed absolute power and was the master of the state or kingdom as if it were an item of private property. Patriotism was naturally absent and though its place was tolerably supplied by the feeling of loyalty, disloyal and treasonable persons were not uncommon, those who were successful in their usurpation being accepted by the people without demur. This state of things continued down to the latest period of Indian history, for we find in the last successful usurpation by Rāghoba, hundreds and thousands came forward to support his cause. Had the people a proper conception of their rights and duties as members of the Maratha state, not a man would have been found to stand by that misguided person in creating the unfortunate cleft in the solidarity of the Maratha state which eventually destroyed it. The greatest benefit of the British rule in India is the awakening of the people to a sense of their essential rights and duties as citizens.

of the British Empire. And it will be wise for the British government to take note of this awakening and to admit people to their due share in the government of the country. British statesmen should remember that even the British government in India is comparatively weak if it is not supported by the co-operation of the people rendered not merely by the sentiment of loyalty but by the feeling of self-interest engendered by self-government through representative institutions.

The question why nations fall is one of extreme complexity and difficulty. But there can be no doubt that representative government creates a feeling of self-interest in the people which is the great backbone of a nation's strength. History indeed records the fall of the brilliant city-states of Greece and of Rome in spite of such national sentiment. But we must remember that that sentiment had been completely undermined in Greece and Rome by demoralization and luxury and hence it was that these states succumbed and fell. But they rose again when the same sentiment became strong. The Indian states on the other hand never developed the national sentiment at all and hence were never strong. They could not have developed into strong states in the succeeding centuries. On the contrary, coming under the influence of certain causes which we shall discuss in another place they gradually became enervated and hence fell easily before the advancing tide of Mahomedan invasions.

It is, however, necessary to state before concluding this chapter that the despotic states of India of the seventh century were certainly strong as compared with the contemporary despotic kingdoms of Asia and it is hence that they could beat back the Huns who in Europe could not be beat away. The physical and moral capacities of a people are also an important factor in the vitality of nations. Even a vegetarian people inured to arms and abstemious in habits can hold their own in the struggle of nations. In the seventh century the people of India were habituated

to the use of arms owing to the constant warfare waged by the different kingdoms. They were also, as Hiuen Tsang testifies, simple and abstemious in habits. The Indian states of the seventh century were strong and warlike in spite of their despotic constitutions and were neither enervated by luxury nor enfeebled by want of martial exercises. The prominent index of the enervation of a people is their employment of mercenary forces and neither Hiuen Tsang nor Bāna mentions any mercenary troops in the army of Harsha.

CHAPTER VIII

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

The kingdoms of India of the 7th century A. D., notwithstanding their despotic or autocratic nature, were usually well-governed and happy and were probably better off in this respect than the kingdoms contemporary with them in the West. The Indo-Aryans, while they acquiesced in or rather preached the divine nature of the kingly authority, at the same time sought to impose a check on the autocracy of kings by holding that laws were also divine and incapable of being changed. In fact in the Indian kingdoms every thing from the life and conduct of the king down to the taxes and punishments was fixed by the divine ordinance of the Smṛitis. In the West the king is believed to be the source of all laws. In India the source of law is the Śruti and the Smṛiti and no human agency can change it. The kings with even the consent of the people had thus no legislative power. Their duty was simply to administer justice according to the divinely ordained law and to keep peace and order by punishing robbers and other evil-doers. They were to receive taxes from the produce of land and trade and handicraft for performing this service and the amount was fixed at one sixth of the former and one-fiftieth of the value of the latter. The former amount in case of necessity might be increased to one-fourth. The expenses of government, as Hiuen Tsang has noted, were very limited and the kings probably never found it necessary to levy taxes beyond what were sanctioned by the Smṛitis. The people again with their highly religious nature were generally free from crime and thus was caused that usually happy condition of the ancient kingdoms of India which so favourably impressed impartial foreigners like Hiuen Tsang who themselves lived under widely different conditions in the imperial kingdom of

China.* With these preliminary remarks we shall try to describe in detail the administrative condition of the 7th century from the evidence of the Harsha-Charita and of epigraphic records of that time. The provisions of the Smritis also will assist us in this inquiry to a considerable extent.

The country was called in those days by the name of Deśa a word which Varāhamihira and others also use. The former appellation of a country was Janapada or 'people' showing, as we have already noted, the changed condition of kingdoms which no longer consisted of homogeneous peoples bearing particular names. In the south, however, the word Mandala was more widely used than Deśa in such words as Chola Mandala, Tonda Mandala, Kongu Mandala and so on, wherein the first word probably means a particular people. Mandala often also indicated a division of the country or Deśa according to its people and the word Rāshtra in Mahārāshtra or Rājya in Kashmir also occurs and conveys the same idea as Mandala.

The Deśa or country was usually divided for administrative purposes into divisions which were in the north, called Bhukti and which in the south were called Vādi or sometimes Mandala. This division corresponds with the district of the British rule. The word Bhukti perhaps referred to so much tax collected and might be fitly translated by the word collectorate. The Bhukti or District was again subdivided into smaller portions which were called Vishaya everywhere and which correspond to the modern Tehsil or Taluka. In Tamil and other countries of the extreme south Vishaya was often called Nāda and in Gujarat we meet sometimes with the word Ahāra. Vishaya

* This is what Hiuen Tsang records:—"As the Government is generous and official requirements are few, families are not registered and individuals are not subject to forced labour and contributions. Taxation being light and forced labour being sparingly used, every one keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony. The king's tenants pay one-sixth of the produce as rent and tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise after paying light taxes at the ferries and the barrier stations.

was not further subdivided though we sometimes find further subdivisions of the Vishaya into portions—East, West, North, and South as in modern or Mahomedan times into Tarafs.

The Vishaya consisted of a number of villages or grāmas. Thus the lowest administrative unit was the village, a village being usually described as situate in a particular Vishaya of a particular Bhukti or Mandala. The Vishaya was named usually after the chief town of it while the Bhukti had a name which sometimes referred to a people. Thus Khetaka Ahāra means the Kheda Tehsil and Jejāka Bhukti or China Bhukti (Hiuen Tsang, Watters I p. 391) meant the collectorate of the Jejāks or Chinas. Bhukti also was sometimes named from a big town or city e. g. the Ahicchatra Bhukti mentioned in the Banskhera grant of Harsha.

The grāma or village formed the backbone of the country and its administration and had fixed sites and boundaries. For the villages remained undisturbed in the internecine wars that were constantly going on and found no difficulty in transferring their allegiance to any new king or any new power. The important towns no doubt suffered in the wars waged and were frequently devastated entirely. But the villages were undisturbed and remained self-contained in their administration, having their hereditary headmen and head registrars corresponding to the Patels and the Patwaris of modern days. From the Harsha-Charita it appears that the former's name was अक्षपटलिक. and the latter's name was करणिक. Karana is obviously the register of tenancies in the village and the Patawari is still called in the south करणम् and करणिक and Kulakarana in the Deccan also means the same thing. The word Patil is derived in my opinion from अक्षपटल which word occurs in Kautilya's Artha-Sāstra also (page 62) and which there plainly means an office building for keeping records (अक्षपटलमध्यक्षः प्रत्यङ्मुखमुदङ्मुखं वा विभक्तोपस्थाननिबन्धपुस्तकस्थाने कारयेत्). It seems clear from this that there were record offices or government offices so to speak in every village. In fact

ग्रामाक्षपटल would mean something like the Chavdi of a Deccan village, where government work is ordinarily done and the man in charge of it was called ग्रामाक्षपटलिक. He is thus clearly the headman of the village, and had a right to present nazar to the kings as described by Bāṇa. (H. C. 274) तत्रस्थस्य चास्य ग्रामाक्षपटलिकः सकलकरणपरिकरः करोतु देवो दिवसग्रहण-मयैवाकन्यशासनःशासनानामित्यभिवाय वृषाङ्कामभिनववटितां हाटकमयीं मुद्रां समुपनिन्य. The word Mahākshapatalika occurs in a grant of Dhara-sena dated A. D. 512, see Corp. Ins. III p. 180, and indicates that there was a chief revenue or record officer for the whole state. In this way the ordered nature of the administration is testified to by the maintenance of records in every village, town, chief town and the capital. Hiuen Tsang also states that regular records were maintained in each kingdom. The ग्रामाक्षपटलिक is, therefore, the parent of the modern Patel and was the chief government official in each village. This village officer is also mentioned in another inscription (Corp. Ins. III p. 257) where the word अन्यग्रामाक्षपटलाधिकृत occurs and indicates the appointment of the officer in every village.

The existence of other village-officers or rather servants is indicated by the word सकलकरणपरिकर in the extract from Bāṇa given above. The headman of the village (Patel) registrar (Patwari,) and the other servants of the village were apparently hereditary (or Dhruva a word occurring in Gujarat grants and still used in Gujarat) and they constituted a unit of administration which was self-contained and sufficient. They collected the chief land-tax viz. one-sixth of corn and also the minor taxes which were rather numerous and inconvenient. We may quote here the usual expression used in the grants of villages of that period and try to understand them. Take for instance the Khoh grant of Mahārāja Hastin (Corp. Ins. Vol. III p. 96) सोद्वंगः सोपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रवेशः or the grant of Dhara-sena of A. D. 571, (Corp. Ins. Vol. III page 167) where it is said that the land was granted to the grantee सोद्वंगं सोपरिकरं सवा-तभूतवान्यहिरण्यादेयं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकम्, or the grant of Śilāditya VII (Corp. Ins. III p. 179) सोद्वङ्गः सोपरिकरः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सभूतवातभूत-

देयः etc. In all these the word उद्गं must be taken to mean the principal tax i. e. the land-tax. This word has not been yet traced by me to any ancient works. But as Dr. Fleet has suggested in a footnote at page 97 of the Corp. Ins. Vol III, it is plain that it means the chief income from the village. उपरिकर seems, in my opinion, to mean extra taxes and not taxes on extra cultivators as Dr. Fleet suggests. What these extra taxes were may be discovered by the aid of the Smritis and the inscriptions also in this volume. The Manu Smṛiti provides for taxes on various articles besides corn in the following slokas—आददाताथ षड्भागंदुमांसमधुसर्पिणाम् । गन्धौषधिरसानां च पुष्पमूलफलस्य च ॥ पत्रशाकनृणानां च चर्मणां वैदलस्य च । नृमयानां च शृण्डानां सर्वस्याश्ममयस्य च ७-३१-३४. These things may be taken to be such things as were sold and not things which any person reared or produced for his own consumption. That these taxes were actually levied in the 7th century appears probable from epigraphic records of the time. The Chammak copperplate grant (Corp. Ins. Vol. III p. 238) deserves to be quoted here at length. It grants the village, अकरादायी अभटछात्रप्रवेद्यः अपागंपरगोवलीवर्दः अपुष्पक्षीरसदाहः अचारासनचर्माङ्गः अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेणिखनकः सर्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहतः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सकलृप्तः सोपक्लिप्तः etc. This may be translated as follows.— ‘The village is not to pay taxes. It is not to be entered by soldiers or the police. It is not to give the increase of cows and bulls. It is not to be subject to the payment on flowers and milk or on pasturage, hides and charcoal. It is not to pay tax on salt or wet salt, on sale and purchase and on mine produce. It is free of forced labour of every kind. It is granted with treasure trove and other minor finds and with klipta and minor klipta. (I follow here the translation by Dr. Fleet with some exceptions). The words निधि and क्लृप्त followed by the words उपनिधि and उपक्लृप्त meaning the same things but of a minor kind suggest that उद्गं and उपरिकर may also be taken to be the same tax on the chief produce viz. that of land and on minor products such as flowers, fruit, milk, etc. brought for sale as is provided for in the Manu Smṛiti. How the उद्गं or land tax was levied, whether by apportioning from the actual produce or by average yield, is not clear. Land was

certainly measured, for the measurements of land are often given in inscriptions of the time. Thus in Cop. Ins Vol. III No. 28 grant of Dharasena p. 166 lands in several villages with particular names even are given and the measurements mentioned are Padāvarta Śatam (100) or Padāvarta Navati (90) or Padāvarta Ashtāvinśati (28). Padāvarta probably means so many square paces, pada being not the actual foot but the pace or two feet. These fields are small indeed but they belong, it must be remembered, to Gujarat where land is very fertile. For other less fertile tracts the measurements must be different, for instance the grant of Pravarasena (Corp. Ins. Vol. III 241) made in the Bhojakata Rājya (or modern Berar) a village is measured by राजमान or royal measure. What this royal measure was is not mentioned; the word used is राजमानिक. भूमिसहस्रैराष्टभिः 8000 and Dr. Fleet thinks that the name of the measure was Bhūmi. Apparently however भूमि is a plot of land. The 8000 measures of land of the village granted to 1000 Brahmins would probably constitute a large modern village of about 4000 acres and the measure would thus approximate to a Bigha or $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of modern times. The word निवर्तन (Nivartana) is not found in grants given in this volume.* That word however appears to be a very old one. It occurs in the Kautilīya Arthaśāstra at page 107 where its meaning is given in the following table of space measures; 4 cubits = 1 Danda (stick) 10 Dandas = 1 Rajju (chain) and 3 Rajjus = 1 nivartana. This makes the nivartana equal to 120 cubits i.e. 180 feet or 60 yards length. The field or square nivartana would be a square area with nivartana as one side i.e. 3600 sq. yards. As an acre consists of 4840 sq. yards which makes the acre equal to approximately $1\frac{1}{3}$ nivartanas. The measure of the bigha of the Mahomedans was also based on the danda or stick, being taken to be 20 sticks long by 20 sticks broad and was nearly one half of the nivartana. Perhaps the Bhūmi mentioned in the above grant may be the nivartana which certainly was an old measure. In whatever manner

*It occurs in many grants of older date in the south (even Nasik cave inscriptions), it thus was preserved in the south and west: in the north other names had taken its place.

realised, the उदंग or land tax was received in kind and probably the उपरिकर or minor taxes were also received in kind. The grain was stored by a special officer of the State called the कोष्टागाराध्यक्ष, who was also in charge of the minor articles. These were either immediately sold or were stored for future use, according to their nature. Interesting details of the manner of sale or storage are to be found in the *Kautiliya Artha Śāstra*, pages 93-99.

Let us next try to understand village life and administration from inscriptions as also from the *Harsha-Charita*. The grants of villages were addressed either to the villagers or to government officers; thus the grants at page 193 and 195 Corp. Ins. Vol. III are addressed to the villagers (प्रतिवासिनः कुटुम्बिनः समाज्ञापयति) who are ordered to pay the taxes to the grantees. The villagers are said to belong to all castes among whom the Brahmins were the foremost (see Corp. Ins. Vol. III p. 216 प्रतिवाग्निनश्च ब्राह्मणोत्तराः). Where grants are addressed to government officers, the latter are asked not to interfere with the enjoyment of the villages by the grantees. The grantees in their turn were required to be of good behaviour. The following expressions in the Chammak grant (Corp. Ins. Vol. III page 239) are very interesting. अद्रोहप्रवृत्तानां अब्रह्मघ्नचौरगणदारिकराजापथ्यकारिप्रभृतानां असंग्रामं कुर्वतां अन्यग्रामेष्वनपराधानामाचन्द्रार्ककालायः which has been translated as follows:—"The grant will last with the moon and the sun provided that the grantees commit no treason against the state, that they are not slayers of Brahmins, thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, that they do not wage war or commit offences in other villages, otherwise the grants were revokable." This condition not only proves the moral and ordered life in the villages but also shows the circumspect nature of the administration.

The chief requirements of Indian villagers for their material well-being are salt, fuel and grass or grazing. The villagers appear to have had a free and sufficient supply of these things, though these when taken for sale to the market were subject to the tax of $\frac{1}{6}$. We have already seen that inam villages are often expressly stated

to be free from tax on salt both dry and wet and on grass. It seems there was then no monopoly of salt-manufacture by government. In many villages there were wells of salt water and in some places salt was dug out from hills. Such quantities were of course limited and salt manufactured on a large scale for sale was an important commodity for taxation which even the ancient governments did not disregard. As for grass and grazing, there were apparently common grazing grounds in every village. Pasture-plots enclosed and giving valuable grass are noticed in Smritis and are called *vivita*. When grass was taken from these for sale to the market it paid the government the usual tax. Lastly, fuel was obtainable by the villagers for their own use in the forests of their own villages. Each village had its own forest. And there were forests on the borders of kingdoms invariably. These forests are treated by the Smritis as ownerless. However portions of forests called *Nāgarāna* where elephants abounded were preserved. But other forests and village forests were open free for villagers. Bāṇa describes tracts bordering on forests and forest villages and the forests themselves with that love of interesting detail which constitutes the singular charm of the Harsha Charita. Some of these details are worth quoting here. Unrestrained forest guards often seized the hatchets of wood cutters of other villages going to cut wood in forests (अनियंत्रितवनपालहटहियमाणपरग्रामाणकालिककुटारैः H. C. page 304). There were small fields in these forests tilled not by ploughs and bullocks but by hand spades. There were *prapas* or water-providing huts at the entrance of waterless forests. In some places great heat was created by the burning of wood for charcoal. At some places you would meet with bands of wood-cutters with bodies exercised with the constant cutting of wood, having long hatchets on their shoulders to which were slung their breakfast baskets. At others you would meet with people carrying loads of honey, māṁshika, feathers of peacocks, honey-combs, barks of khadira tree, &c. as also women of forest tribes having on their heads basketfuls of forest flowers and fruit, going to villages to sell them. These and

other details show that people had free access to forests for jungle produce and jungle tribes freely took forest produce for sale to the bordering separate villages.

Villages thus in those days were usually well regulated and self-sufficient communities whose life was easy, and well ordered. They were not however quite without their own troubles though petty. The usual pest of the villages then as now was the policeman and the soldier; the Chāta* and the Bhata as they are called in grants. The grantees of inam villages were, therefore, specially granted the privilege that their villages would not be entered by the policeman and the soldier. The word अचाटभटप्रवेश्य occurs in almost every grant and conveys this important privilege to inam donees. Sometimes an exception was made by the word चोरवर्ज्यम्. Dr. Fleet translates it by 'with the exception of fines imposed on thieves.' I would however translate it by 'with the exception that villages may be entered for the purpose of pursuing or catching thieves.' The exception plainly relates to the प्रवेश or entry of village. The word द्रोह is sometimes further added *e. g.* चोरद्रोहकवर्जः in Khoh grant of Samkshobha (Corps Ins. III p. 115), and it shows that the right to enter inam villages extended to the pursuit or detection of traitors. It would be natural to expect that the state would not allow, as has been already noticed, inam villages to which the privilege of 'non-entry by policemen and soldiers was granted, being the centres of the activity of robbers or traitors. The state villages of course remained open to the unavoidable oppression of the policeman and the soldier. The latter, however, must have troubled them at rare intervals only that is when on march or doing fight.

The villages were usually prosperous in spite of these occasional troubles; and they were expected to perform certain charitable duties. The prosperous village was expected to keep a Sadāvarta or alms' house where grain

*The word Chāta or Chātra as it some times occurs means unquestionably the policeman. It occurs in H. C. also (p. 286) as noticed further on. It occurs also in the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti, but I am afraid it is wrongly interpreted by Vijnāneśvara who lived in the 12th Century.

was given to every needy person every day. It was also expected to keep open a *prapā* or water-house, where water was served to every thirsty person throughout the day. It was also expected to open a rest house or *Sabhā* and a *prāgrāṣa* or sacrificial room. Bāṇa in describing the prosperous condition of the Śrīkantha or Thanesar kingdom under Prabhākara Vardhana refers to this duty in the expression वहिर्परचितविकटमभासत्रप्राग्वंशमण्डपैः प्रसूतामवि ग्रामैः (H.C. p. 176) which means that outside every village were erected spacious mendaps for *sabha*, *satra*, *prapā* and *prāgrāṣa*. These mandapas were of course temporary sheds erected for temporary purposes, that is, to be kept open during the summer and winter seasons and not during the rainy season and autumn, when travellers were not expected to move or be in need.

We will now pass on from the village to the Vishaya or Tehsil. As the headman of the village was its chief officer, so for the Vishaya there was necessarily a chief government officer called Vishayapati in several inscriptions (e. g. विषयपतिनर्वनागस्यान्तर्वेद्यां) (Corp. Ins. III p. 70). Manu declares that there should be a chiefman for each village, a chief man for ten villages, for twenty, for one hundred and for one thousand. (VII, 115).

ग्रामस्याधिपतिं कुर्यात् दशग्रामपति तथा ।

विंशतीशं शतेशं च सहस्रपतिमेव च ॥

This is perhaps academical but we have clear references to the Vishayapati in records and the Vishaya consisted of a number of villages, the average of which was a hundred. The district i. e. Bhukti or Mandala may be taken to contain one thousand villages more or less, and there was a district officer also called Mandaleśvara or Rāshtrapati. The Vishayapati and the Mandaleśvara represented the king and hence they often are called Rājasthāniya in inscriptional records.* Subordinate to these there were other officers also, chiefly a police officer and a magistrate. The duty of catching thieves and exterminating robbers

*See e. g. Corp. Ins. III p. 654. (राजस्थानीयवृत्त्या &c.)

was always considered paramount and police stations were established for every ten or less number of villages as provided for even in the Manusmriti VII, 114. (द्वयोस्त्रयाणां पंचानां मध्ये गुल्ममधिष्ठितम् । तथा ग्रामशतानां च कुर्यादष्टम्य संग्रहम् ।) The police officer of 100 villages or rather of the Vishaya (Tehsil or Taluka) is called Chauroddharanika (चौरोद्धरणिक), while the magistrate or dispenser of punishment was called दण्डनायक. These names occur in several inscriptions of the time. Of course, in different states, names of officers sometimes differed, but apparently the system was generally the same. We give below some names of officers appearing in the Deo-Barnak inscription (of Bengal) Corp. Ins. Vol. III p. 216 नगरभुक्तौ बालवीवैषयिक श्रावणदलिक्षान्तःपातिवारुणिकाग्रामः... दूत सीमकर्मकर मध्य राजपुत्रराजामात्यमहादण्डनायक महाप्रतीहार. (illegible) प्रमाता...कुमारामात्यराजस्थानीयोपरिक... धिक चौरोद्धरणिक दण्डिकदण्डपाशिक. The officers whose names can well be ascertained in the above are the दूत or envoy, the सीमकर्मकर or marker of boundaries, राजपुत्र the heir apparent or king's eldest son, राजामात्य king's ministers, महादण्डनायक the chief dispenser of punishments for the whole state, महाप्रतीहारी the chief usher. प्रमाता the measurer, कुमारामात्य minister in charge of princes, राजस्थानीय the representatives of the king (i. e. District and Taluka or Tehsil officers), चौरोद्धरणिक the pursuers of robbers, दण्डिक magistrates and दण्डपाशिक executors of sentences. These names indicate that almost all departments of administration which are necessary for a well ordered, civilized government existed in those days. The boundary settlement officer, District and Taluka chief officer, the surveyor or measurer, the magistrate, the police officer, and the दण्डपाशिक or jailor are there and do the work required of them in a complex administration.

It does not appear that in ancient India there was any distinction observed in civil and criminal cases. Probably civil cases were very few and far between, disputes being settled by Panchayats; but when they went to the state, either to the king's own court or to the court of the chief judicial officer, they were treated as cases for fine, the party losing having to pay a penalty so to speak. The Rājasthāniya or the Mahādandanāyaka or the chief

magistrate probably decided all such cases, on oral or documentary evidence and by the advice or opinion of assessors or what is called the Parishad. We have of course no reference to the Parishad in the inscriptions but probably the provisions of the Smritis must have been observed. Hiuen Tsang describes that in case of doubt ordeals were resorted to, and the four kinds of ordeals are worth being quoted here.

“ These are by water, by fire, by weighing and by poison. In the water ordeal the accused is put in one sack and a stone in another, then the two sacks are connected and thrown into a deep stream; if the sack containing the stone floats and the other sinks, the man's guilt is proven. The fire ordeal requires the accused to kneel and tread on hot iron, to take it in his hand and lick it. If he is innocent he is not hurt, but he is burnt if he is guilty. In the weighing ordeal the accused is weighed against a stone; and if the latter is lighter the charge is false, if otherwise it is true. The poison ordeal requires that the right hind leg of a ram be cut off and according to the portion assigned to the accused to eat, poisons are put into the leg, and if the man is innocent he survives, and if not the poison takes effect. ” Watters' Vol. I, p. 172.

The appointment of officers and of courts requires the maintenance of records as we have already stated and that such records were maintained is proved by the testimony of Hiuen Tsang. He says (Watters' Vol. I page 154) “ As to their archives and records, there are separate custodians of these. The official annals and state papers are called collectively ‘*nīlapītha*.’ In these good and bad are recorded and instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail. ” The name *nīlapītha* reminds one of the blue state publications of the British government. The historian of Kashmir, Kalhana states that he wrote his history from the *nīlamāta*. The existence and maintenance of such records should dispel the common notion that India had no historical records. Unfortunately these have been lost in the convulsions attending the conquest of India by the Mahomedans.

The Vishaya or Ahāra (Gujarat) or Nadu (south India) was like the village a fixed quantity which did not vary with the growth or decay of kingdoms. They had fixed natural boundaries and were in fact natural divisions of the country. They corresponded to the modern Tehsils or Talukas and like the villages exist in my opinion in the same form now, as they existed in the 7th century. The number of villages in each Vishaya was thus naturally fixed. The total number of villages in a Bhukti or Mandala was also normally fixed, though perhaps the extent of a Bhukti was more subject to modifications than the extent of the Vishaya. Several Bhuktis or Mandalas corresponding to modern districts constituted a kingdom i. e. the Deśa or Rāshtra, and the number of villages in a Deśa was also approximately fixed. We hence see in ancient inscriptions countries described as consisting of so many thousand or hundred villages and gradually this number became a traditional one. In the Aihole inscription the Mahārāshtra country is said to consist of 99,000 villages and is also described as comprising* three Mahārāshtras. What these three Mahārāshtras were we are not told. But if we take the larger Mahārāshtra subject to the Chālukya Pulakeśin as consisting of the Nagpur and Berar divisions of the C. P. and central and southern divisions of the Bombay presidency with the two districts of Thana and Surat of the Northern division and the Maratha districts of the Nizam's state, we have at present the following number of villages in these:—Nagpur and Berar Dvns. 16565, Central and Southern divisions 17699, Nizam state Maratha Districts 17000 approximately and Thana and Surat 4000—total 55264. This number falls short considerably of 99000 villages assigned to the Mahārāshtra of Pulakeśin but perhaps a larger portion of the Hyderabad State was included in the ancient kingdom of the Chalukyas.† The discrepancy would not be very consider-

* अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां । नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणाम् ॥

† The same kingdom but of the later Chālukyas is also described in old records as Rattapādi seven and a half lakhs including the Āndhra Mandala; we will discuss this number in a note.

able. supposing even that Mahārāshtra under Pulakesin was more flourishing than under the British government. The number usually attached to certain names of Rāshtras or Mandalas is, however, not always the number of villages in that Rāshtra but something else, unless it is expressly stated that the number relates to villages (see note at the end).

We have thus far elucidated the civil administration in a kingdom as it existed in the 7th century. The unit was the village with its head-man अक्षपटलिक or महत्तर and its registrar the करणिक. The Vishaya or Taluka consisted of a certain number of villages and there were officers for each Taluka. These were विषयपति, the चौरांद्धरणिक and the दण्डनायक. Similar officers were appointed to the Bhukti or District, and there were chief officers for the whole state who were called महाक्षपटलिक, महादण्डनायक and so on. These officers were paid by the assignment of certain lands or villages or towns even as their grade rose higher. The Manu Smṛiti provides that the grāmika (headman) should get for the year what the king gets for one day and the head of a hundred villages should get one whole village for his pay and of a thousand, one town. (यानि राजप्रदेयानि प्रत्यहं ग्रामवासिभिः। अन्नयानेन्धनादीनि ग्रामिकस्तानवाप्नुयात् ॥ ग्रामं ग्रामशताध्यक्षः सहस्राधिपातः पुरम् ॥7, ॥8, ॥9.) This direction appears to have still been in force in the 7th century as Hiuen Tsang records "that ministers of state and common officers all have their portion of land and are maintained by the cities assigned to them. "

CHAPTER IX

ARMY, NOBLES AND COURT

We will now pass on to the army. It consisted of foot, horse and elephant. The fourth arm, the chariot is mentioned no doubt by Hiuen Tsang but probably he here mentions the conventional four arms or chaturanga of the Indian army. Bāna describes most minutely the army of Harsha and we find no mention therein of the chariot. Hiuen Tsang also does not mention chariots when he details the strength of Harsha's army. The elephant was from ancient days the most formidable arm of the Indian forces. Foreigners feared Indian armies for the elephant corps. Elephants were then what artillery is now-a-days in Europe. And the greater the number of elephants, the greater was the power of the army in much the same way as the greater the number of cannon in modern armies, the greater is their power of destruction. These numerous elephants were supplied by the immense forests fringing the Himalayas and the Vindhya as already mentioned. The art of catching elephants, of rearing them and of training them to fight had almost reached perfection in the 7th century and there were regular treatises on all these subjects. The use of the elephant again developed the courage, the strength and the skill of fighters with elephants. The Indian soldiers and horsemen often grappled with elephants with effect. And when put to flight the elephant force was usually a nuisance to its own employers. The elephant arm was thus both a source of strength as well as of weakness to Indian armies as history has often recorded. Probably the commander manœuvred the elephant force in battles in such a way that in the event of its turning back it could not do harm to the rest of the army. On the march the elephant force was always kept at a distance as Bāna has described (see below).

The cavalry came next. India supplied the horses required, but Indian horses were ranked lower than horses

imported from Persia, Arabia and Afghanistan. In the inner camp of Harsha, Bāna describes the royal horses as कांबोज, वनायुज, सिंधुज, आरुज, भारद्वाज and पारसीक (H. C.p. 100). कांबोज is Afghanistan and पारसीक is Persia. सिंधुज meant probably Arabian horses, being brought to Sind by the sea. What वनायु, आरु and भारद्वाज are it is difficult to state. Unfortunately we have not been able to identify these countries. (Bhāradvāja seems to be some Himalayan tract from Varāhamihira's list of peoples and Āratta probably means the Pānjab). In the training and raising of horses the same pitch of excellence had been attained in India as in that of the elephants. The marks of a good horse, the nature of his diseases and the modes of treating them are detailed with fullness in the treatises of Śālihotra, some of whose principles are referred to even in Bāna's Harsha Charita. Strangely enough, Bāna mentions the grooms to be always Chāndālas.

The infantry came the last as it was not counted of much value. The soldiers were armed with bucklers and swords. The foot archer does not seem to be a prominent feature of the Indian army in Harsha's days, though the riders on elephants usually used the bow and the arrow. Every prince and Rajput appears to have practised archery. Bāna's description of Harsha, Rājya, Kumāra, Mādhava and others mentions their wrists and arms as blackened by the constant drawing of the bow.

Harsha's army on the march has been graphically described by Bāna, who in the Harsha Charita at least, is remarkably true to fact and nature. It would not be improper if we give here a few extracts from that description though it must be admitted that very many passages in it cannot be well understood at this distance of time and in the present state of our imperfect knowledge of the Sanskrit of things used in the army. "One prahara (3 hours) before sunrise exactly, the royal marching drum began to send forth its sound, and shortly after a pause, there were eight distinct strokes given on it intimating that the army was to march that day eight kos (or 16 miles). Other royal

sounding instruments followed namely the Nāndi (or triumphal drum), Kunja, Kāhala and Śankha (or conch). The army was immediately in a bustle, people got up and struck off their small tents, boxes were filled with the marching materials and other paraphernalia. Elephants were roused from their sleep and taken out of their sleeping places and harnessed. Horses too were roused and taken out and made ready. Mad elephants were moved out of the way with heavy iron chains clanking behind them, as their hind legs dragged them. Families of Kulaputras (relatives) and Sāmantas (chiefs) were got into bullock carts or on elephants and moved. The royal kitchen servants with their paraphernalia and animals of food (Harsha appears to have been a flesh-eater in his young days) and with pots of milk and other preparations covered and *sealed*, walked fast and pushed people here and there. The princes in attendance, well attired and seated on female elephants, with umbrellas on their heads and with foot soldiers walking about them, hurried to the gate of the royal camp."

"As the sun was rising, the royal intimation conch began to send forth its peculiar notes announcing that the king was ready and donning his accoutrements. Within a few minutes Harsha came out of the gate riding a richly caparisoned she-elephant. (she-elephants appear to have been used by royal personages for riding on the march), surmounted by a white umbrella, with Tāmbūla or betelleaf in his mouth (he had already bathed and taken some refreshment), wearing a very delicate white piece of Naitra cloth. Exchanging glances of greeting with the princes and speaking a word here and a word there, he moved on to a place preceded by hundreds of gold mace-bearers who were making room in the crowd and staying there he saw the whole army pass on, an army as vast as the creation itself coming out of the milky ocean." Then the army marched swiftly to the next halting place at a distance of 8 krośa. Bāna true to nature also depicts the many interesting incidents that usually happen on a Royal march. "At some villages the villagers curious to see the

king would turn out preceded by their Mahattaras or Patils and by women having pots full of water on their heads and when turned back by the mace-bearers running and falling and yet looking at the king. At others, people would cry out complaints against the evil doings of tax-collectors (भोगपति) and the past delinquencies of policemen (चाट). H. C. p. 286. At others still, the people reckless from rage at the pilfering of their crops and grass would pour denunciations on the king, crying 'Who is the king? Whence does the king come? What sort of man is the king? At one village two Brahmin disputants got into high trees for fear of being hustled away by the mace-bearers and from thence kept crying out their own complaints.' Such amusing incidents so characteristic even of the present Indian ryot happened in the days of Harsha also. The army contained contingents of cavalry-detachments commanded by their own Rajput leaders. There is no description of the cavalcade of the Royal seraglio which formed so conspicuous a section of the Mogul army on march as described by Manucci. Probably Harsha was unmarried at this time, that is, when he started for his digvijaya and no seraglio hampered his movements. Having arrived at the next halting place Harsha dismissed his attendant princes at the gate of the royal enclosure and is shown to have entered it alone.

There does not appear to have been any mercenary forces in the army of Harsha.* It consisted generally of Rajputs and other lower castes of the king's country. The Kulaputras (or relatives of the kingly family or king's clansmen) seem to have always been of importance. What they represent in modern times we cannot exactly say. (Perhaps they are the modern Bhāiband of Rajput states). Each arm had its commander, and the whole was under the commander-in-chief. The description by Bāṇa of Harsha's commander-in-chief is as detailed and complete as any by

* Curiously enough दक्षिणात्य or Deccan horsemen are mentioned by Bāṇa in the description of Harsha's army. Perhaps they were few. But the reference testifies to the ancient skill of the Marathas in horsemanship.

a modern English novelist. (H. C. p. 257) He was a tall, yellow-complexioned, massive, deep-voiced, bearded and whiskered man of about 80 bearing many scars on his half bare body. The mention of many scars seems somewhat strange, for the higher grades of officers must have worn an armour when in fight. Armours however are not mentioned in the descriptions given by Bāṇa. All the same, they must have been used as they are mentioned even in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana.

The army was maintained by the king from his own revenues. The men were probably paid yearly in kind and money, corn being given from the granaries of the state filled with grain collected in every district in the form of revenue from lands. This is the mode of payment mentioned by Manu though there is no reference to it in the Harsha Charita or Hiuen Tsang's Records. The maintenance of a vast army of elephants was indeed a matter of very great expense. Probably the 60,000 elephants mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as eventually forming the force of Harsha, the emperor, is an exaggeration. At all events it could not have been maintained at one place, but in sections kept at several places, throughout the empire. The feed and nuisance of so large an elephant force are almost incalculable. The permanent camping of an elephant force is indeed a novel affair to us at this distance of time. Bāṇa with his usual liking for details has described the elephant camp at Sthāneśvara with all its intricate paraphernalia, when Harsha was not yet an emperor but merely king of Sthāneśvara, the commander of the elephant force being one Skandagupta with his prominently long nose "as long as the pedigree of his master." We will give some of the interesting details in this description. 'There were physicians of elephants who reported every day the health of the bigger ones to the commander. There were drivers ornamented with peacock feathers on the head and followers of elephants propitiating newly caught elephants with green cane grass. Some reported the fresh rutting of elephants; some sought orders

for mounting heavy drums on the vicious ones. There were foresters reporting the capture of elephants in jungles by the help of what are jokingly called गणिका or curtezan she-elephants (these were female elephants who enticed by their blandishments wild elephants within enclosures). There were bogus elephants made of hide with which elephants were taught to fight. There were purchasers of grain from towns and villages for the food of elephants. These and other details of the working of an elephant camp are indeed interesting at this day when the elephant arm has disappeared from Indian armies.

Before proceeding further we may cite the description of an Indian army recorded by Hiuen Tsang for the sake of comparison as well as further detail.

“The national guard are heroes of choice valour, and as the profession is hereditary, they become adepts in military tactics. In peace they guard the sovereign’s residence and in war they become the intrepid vanguard. The army is composed of foot, horse, chariot and elephant soldiers. The war elephant is covered with coat of mail and his tusks are provided with sharp barbs. On him rides the commander-in-chief and there is a soldier on each side to manage the elephant. The chariot in which the officer sits is drawn by four horses while infantry guard it on both sides. The infantry go lightly into action and are men of intrepid valour. They bear a large shield and carry a long spear. Some are armed with swords or daggers and dash to the front line of the advancing battle. They are perfect experts with all the implements of war having been drilled in them for generations. Watters’ Vol. I p. 171.

SĀMANTAS OR NOBLES

The Sāmantas or Sardars as they are now called in India or the nobles as they are called in the west, were a necessary and a usual part of the administrative machinery of a country in ancient India. The word Sāmanta is

clearly derived from Samanta or vicinity and means etymologically those who are near the king. The Sāmantas were mostly the king's kinsmen and relatives or such families as had rendered meritorious services in past times or scions and representatives of dispossessed kingly families. They appear to be always territorial lords and were miniature kings in their own subject territories. For they clearly had the power to make grants, as inscriptions show many grants made by Sāmantas. They were also masters of small armies, with which they were bound to assist the king whenever he moved against his enemies. They were also bound to assist the king on other necessary occasions as Bāṇa mentions an Ātavika Sāmanta (*i. e.* a feudatory chief of the forest country) coming to assist Harsha in his search for his sister. (H. C. p. 309). These feudatories or nobles or Sardars lived usually, however, at the capital town and graced the Darbar on all state occasions. Their wives similarly attended on the queen. Bāṇa describes the wives of the Sāmantas as coming in hundreds to the palace at the time of Harsha's birth and keeping the birth festival by dancing as has already been stated. (H. C. p. 186 समन्तात्सामन्तान्तःपुरसहस्राण्यदृशन्त). The Sāmantas with their wives thus exactly fulfilled the functions which dukes and duchesses and other noblemen and noblewomen discharge in European countries. Besides this duty of attending on the king and queen on state occasions, the Sāmantas often appear to be employed as officers. Bhandi for instance was the son of a Sāmanta chief and was the commander of the Thanesar cavalry force. Skandagupta, again, the leader of the elephant force of Thanesar was himself a Pārthiva or king (H. C. p. 267) *i. e.* a feudatory chief or Sāmanta. The Sāmantas were usually then as now employed in the military service, but perhaps they must sometimes have been employed even in the capacity of ministers of whom we shall now go on to speak.

The ministers were certainly as necessary a part of the administration as the nobles. They were called Mantris (councillors.) or Sachivas (helpers) or Amātyas

(those who live with the king, the word being derived from Amā together). Their number was not fixed, but they had separate departments to look to, or functions to discharge. The most important and usually mentioned is the सान्धिविग्रहिक or the minister of peace and war, in other words the minister for foreign affairs. Thus Bāna describes Harsha as asking his foreign minister to write to all other courts (महासंधिविग्रहाधिकृतमवन्तिकमन्तिकस्थमादिदेश H. C. p. 263). These officers are called mahā or great because they belong directly to the court and attend on the king. They were often hereditary. See Corp. Ins. III p. 35. अन्वयप्राप्तसाचिव्यो व्यापृतसंधिविग्रहः In grants of inam villages the names of such officers frequently find mention. These Śāsanas (or Sanads) are written by a responsible officer who is usually described as भोगिक, one who is entrusted with the collection of भोग or tax i. e. a revenue officer, sometimes even the foreign minister also. It was customary to give the name of the father and the grandfather also of the writer. See e. g. Corp. Ins. III p. 104. लिखितं च वक्रामात्यप्रणेत्रा भोगिकनरदत्तनेत्रा भोगिक रविदत्तपुत्रेण महासंधिविग्रहिक सूर्यदत्तन. See also ditto p. 119. लिखितं मया भोगिक राज्यक्रामात्यनष्टभोगिकध्रुवदत्तभोगिक गुंजकीर्तिना. Bhogika has not been explained by Dr. Fleet but as we have just said he probably was a minister of Bhoga or revenue.* The grants also always mention a Dūtakara (messenger) who is always an important person. It appears that a minister or other important officer was specially deputed to deliver on the spot the land or village to the grantee and to make the grant known to the villagers and village officers. For instance, in the grant at page 119 ditto, the Dūtaka is उपरिक-दीक्षित-गृहपति स्थपति-सम्राट्शर्यदत्तः 'who was the chief of sacrificers, householders and sthapatis', probably the head of the department of religion or state church. Sometimes the grant deed was written out at the king's own dictation and the word स्वमुखाज्ञया is used, see Corp. Ins. III p. 199. And it is curious to note that grant deeds were sometimes signed by the

* See also H. C. p. 286. असतोपि पूर्वभोगयातिशेषानुद्भावयाद्भिः i. e. villagers complaining of imaginary evil deeds of past tax-collectors.

king himself. Harsha's own signature is thus before us in the Banskheda grant.* Probably the king signed the deed written on paper and the copyist engraved its exact counterpart on copper, for the real signature is on the copper plate. The signature of Harsha is in a very ornate hand. Ornate letters were then usually written. And it is further curious to add that the word for signature is its exact English equivalent in the expression "given under my own hand," (स्वहस्ता मम महाराजश्रीहर्षस्य). Further the signature is not sufficient and must be supported by the seal as in English documents. The seal or मुद्रा of Harsha is thus also known to us, and usually the seal was impressed on the linking of the copperplates. Strangely enough our connection with our own past is so completely broken by the intervening Mahomedan rule that we have forgotten our ancient words for seal and signature namely मुद्रा and स्वहस्त and know only the Mahomedan equivalents namely Muhr and Sahi. The use of the king's own signature shows that the ministers had not the power to make valid grants of lands and villages. Their authority was restricted.

Besides the ministers there were other important officers called superintendents or अध्यक्ष namely, the superintendent of शुल्क or customs, of कोष्ठागार or storehouses, of दुर्ग or fort and so on. They did not enjoy the rank of अमात्य or minister but yet were important officers. We have already described the district officers but these Adhyakshas seem to be officers of the whole state and as such may be ranked next to the ministers. These may not have been hereditary though the tendency has always been in India to make offices hereditary. The grant of Pravara-sena of the Vākātakas Corp. Ins. III page 237 mentions these officers in the line यतोऽस्मत्सन्तव्यका सर्वाध्यक्षाधियोगनियुक्ताः अज्ञासंचारिकुलपुत्रका भटाश्च छात्राश्च विश्रुत्य पूर्वाज्ञयाज्ञापितव्याः (Translated as follows by Dr. Fleet "our obedient and highborn officers employed in the office of general superintendents.")

Lastly, we come to the court. The centre of the court was of course the king. He was an absolute

* Thus Dharsena's grant and that of Śilāditya are also signed by them. See Corp Ins. III pages 167 and 180.

monarch; he was, however, bound by laws of divine origin and therefore of an unchangeable nature. He was, again, considered the father of his people and was also the dispenser of justice. Except in a few exceptional cases, the king though despotic, was therefore generally a just and an affectionate ruler and was also in return loved by the people. The king of course was born to enjoy and had come to the royal station, so the people believed, by reason of austerities performed in former lives. He was, therefore, always surrounded by young and beautiful women. He was attended on by these damsels as his Chāmara-bearer, Tambūla-Karanka-bearer and so on. They stood about him even in open court. This feature of an ancient king's life strikes us as almost voluptuous. But it was a long established practice of the court. Even *Manu Smṛiti* (7,224) describes the king as always surrounded by women.* *Megasthenes* also does the same. (*Ancient India* Mc. Crindle's *Megasthenes* page 71 & 72). *Kālidāsa* also describes the king as attended by *Yavanis* and lastly *Bāna* describes even the chaste and self-restrained *Harsha* as attended by beautiful young women in court when *Bāna* went to see him. (*H. C.* p. 118). Even on elephants when marching or fighting, the king had young women for his arm-bearers. Probably this custom was originally borrowed from the Persians by *Chandragupta* or even the *Nandas* who copied the forms of the Persian court, then the most powerful and magnificent imperial court in the world. It is hence that we can explain the mention of *Yavanis* by *Kālidāsa* as attending kings. In *Bāna*'s days these women were not probably *Yavanis* as they are not so described. They were always selected for their strength, health and beauty. Except for great kings like *Harsha* who was martial and of great moral strength, these women must generally have been a cause of great moral degeneracy in Indian kings.

The king had an anointed queen and several other wives who were, however, subordinate to the former. The

* Though according to the *Mahābhārata* ancient kings before *Chandragupta*'s days had no such attendants.

anointed queen had a Pattabandha about her forehead. It was a narrow golden belt ornamented with jewels.

The palace had besides the harem always more than three kakshas or courtyards; the outer one being for people and for state reception, the next inner one for Sardars and the third for intimate persons only. The palaces were stately buildings, though not of stone. The floors, however, are described as made of shining stones. The columns and walls were ornamented with gold and even precious stones. The palace was usually a several-storeyed building with inner gardens of flowerbeds and large fruit trees (see the description of the palace of Prabhākara Vardhana at Thanesar by Bāṇa. H. C. pages 215-6.)

The king was then theoretically and usually practically both the leader of armies on the battle-field and the dispenser of justice at home. The throne room or audience hall was also the house of justice and Manu and other Smritis require the king to attend court every morning to dispense justice to the people. Here everybody had admission as a matter of course. Suitors were sometimes permitted to draw the attention of kings to their wrongs by ringing the bell of justice hung in the audience hall.* The king dispensed justice with the help of Brahmin and Kshatriya and Vaiśya assessors.

The Smritis direct the king to divide his time for convenience of business into three portions: one devoted to dispensation of justice, one to administration and the third to his own recreation and pleasure. Harsha followed this practice most scrupulously as Hiuen Tsang has recorded and his times were most punctually observed. Drums and conches announced to the public what the king was doing at any particular time. Some sounding instruments were looked upon as royal *i. e.* to be used by kings only. These instruments are described as five in number in the epithet समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः which usually occurs in inscriptions as applied to kings, and even Sāmantas or feudatory chiefs (see Corp. Ins. p. 294). What

* Aiyangar's Ancient India p. 346.

these five were has been discussed in a note at p. 296-29 ditto where Prof. Pāthaka's view is referred to (In. Ant. Vol. XII p. 98.) and the instruments are stated to be the Śringa or horn (trumpet), the Rammata (tambour), Śankha (conch), Bheri (kettle drum) and Jayghantā (gong). But it seems they are mentioned in the following line of Bāna : रटपटहे नदना-
न्दीके, गुञ्जत्कुञ्जे कूजत्काहले शब्दायमाने शङ्खे (H.C. p. 275). The Pataha or drum and the Sankha or conch were of course prominent and are easily recognisable.* Hiuen Tsang mentions that Harsha's drum was given a stroke with a golden stick for each pace that he walked, a distinction which was not allowed to any other king. Perhaps this was done in special honour of Harsha as Emperor or king of kings. We may well imagine the importance of royal drums and conches in those days when cannon had no existence.

The king was usually surrounded by his body-guard which consisted of select strong men of hereditary service. Bāna describes the guardsmen of Harsha as devoted men with strongly exercised half-bare bodies, yellowish fair in complexion, standing around him in a row at fixed distances and poetically compares them to a colonnade of golden pillars surrounding the king. (H. C. p. 110). The king's seat was usually a couch, the four feet of which were inlaid with ivory and the surface covered with a slab of stone sprinkled with sandal pigment. There was also a small portable seat of the king called Āsandi. When the Malava king was conquered and slain in battle the things seized in plunder were his Sinhāsana (throne) Śayana (couch) and Āsandi (chair) (H. C. p. 103). For the resting of the foot there was always a jewelled footstool called Pādapītha.

The Pratihāri or the usher of the king was an important personage about him. The head usher had several subordinates under him. The head Pratihāri of Harsha is minutely described by Bāna as a tall, gold-complexioned, broad-chested man with his body encased in a fresh washed

* Of the rest Nāndi is given in M. William's dictionary as in music a measure Dvādaśatūrya-ghosha and Kāhala is given as a large drum (Panchatantra).

kanchuka or coat, wearing a golden belt about the waist, provided with a jewelled buckler, a necklace about his chest, and kundalas in his ears, a white turban on his head, a pearl-hilted sword in his left hand and a golden wand in his right (H. C. p. 98). The Pratihāri is always called Kanchuki which shows that he alone used a coat. His white turban is also peculiar to him for the others had usually bare topknot hair surmounted by garlands. This description probably proves that like the Yavanī attendants, the Kanchuki was also borrowed from the Persian court.

In one important particular, however, in the seventh century the Persian court system appears to have been abandoned. I find no mention of eunuchs in the description of the royal household in Bāṇa's Harsha Charita and elsewhere. The Varshavaras or eunuchs were undoubtedly employed by Chandragupta. They are mentioned along with the कञ्चुकोष्णीपिणः or Usners by Kautilya, see his Artha Sastra. They are also mentioned in the Brihatkathā as employed in the palace at Pātaliputra. Of course the inhuman practice of castrating men for the use of the harems of kings was originally a practice of the Semitic peoples. From the kings of Babylonia and Nineveh the eunuchs were borrowed by the Persians and from them by Chandragupta (or his predecessors the Nandas) and succeeding Mauryas. But later the supply of such persons probably ceased and from the Guptas onwards they are not found in India. This moral reclamation of Indian courts continued down to the time of the Mahomedans who introduced eunuchs again but since the establishment of the civilized and more moral British rule, this pest has ceased to disfigure even the courts of Indian princes.

A study of the inscriptions recorded in the Corp. Ins. Vol. III discloses that dependent kings used the title Mahārāja, independent kings Mahārājādhirāja and also Parama Bhattāraka; while emperors added to this the title Parameśvara. The Chālukya king Pulakeśin assumed this title, it is expressly said, because he defeated the Emperor Harsha. Besides these titles generally used

particular kings affected particular adjuncts or rather epithets. For instance, the Chalukyas called themselves Prithivīvallabha, the Valabhi kings called themselves Senāpatis, the Guptas used the word Vijitāvani Avanipati on their coins. The Vākātakas called themselves Parivrājakas because perhaps they were Brahmins, and so on.

Every line of kings had its separate banner or Dhvaja and Lānchhanas or crest as it is translated by Dr. Fleet. The Lānchhana was used no doubt on coins and seals, but it is not certain if the same symbol might not often be used on the Dhvaja also. The symbol was always an animal. Strangely enough even countries in the west ancient and modern also adopt particular animals only as their symbols. The Lānchhana of the Guptas appears to have been a peacock, that of the Vardhanas of Thanesar a bull. That of the Chālukyas appears to be a Varāha or boar. The Lānchhana of the great conqueror Yaśodhārman of Mand-saur inscription was the *Aulikara* (Corp. Ins. III p. 151-153). *Aulikara* must be some animal* but what animal it is has not yet been determined. The Dhvaja or banner had also distinctive animals on them such as a lion, a monkey and so on. The colour of the Dhvaja also seems to have been distinctive in each royal family-distinctions which are still observed.

The royal umbrella was always of the white colour. The emblems of royalty as enumerated in a Śloka of the Bhāgavata Purana were (1) Chāmara, (2) Vyajana, (fan) (3) Śankha, (4) White Umbrella, (5) Crown, (6) Sinhāsana and (7) Śayyana or Couch. These things those who were not kings were not allowed to have (Bhāgavata X, 26-61).

* उल्लि is given in dictionaries as a wild animal mentioned in the Atharvaveda.

NOTE—I.

SYSTEM OF VALABHI ADMINISTRATION A. D. 500-700.

(We give below an extract from Bombay Gazetteer. History of Gujarat p. 81-83 detailing Valabhi administration between 500-700 A.D. with our observations.)

The Valabhi grants supply information regarding the leading office-bearers in revenue, police and village administrators whose names generally occur in the following order:—

- 1 *Ayuktaka* : }
- 2 *Viniyuktaka* : } meaning appointed, apparently any superior officer.
- 3 *Drānghika* : apparently an officer in charge of a town as Drangha means a town.
- 4 *Mahattara or Senior* : has the derivative meaning high in rank. *Mhātārā*, the Marathi for an old man is the same word. In the Valabhi plates *Mahattara* seems to be generally used to mean accredited head-man of a village, head man recognised both by the people of the village and by the government.
- 5 *Chātabhata* : i. e. *Bhata*s or *sepoys* for *Chāta*s or *rouges*,* police mounted or on foot, represent the modern police *Jamadars* *Havaldars* and constables. *Kumārapāla Charita* mentions that *Chātabhata*s were sent by *Siddharāja* to apprehend the fugitive *Kumārapāla*. One plate records the grant of a village 'unenterable by *Chātabhata*s.'
- 6 *Dhruva* : fixed or permanent, is the hereditary officer in charge of the records and accounts of a village, *Talathi* or *Kulkarni* of the modern times. One of the chief duties of the *Dhruva* was to see that revenue farmers did not take more than the royal *share*. The name is still in use in *Cutch* where village accountants are called *Dhru* or *Dhruva*. *Dhru* is also a common surname among *Nagar Brahmins* and *Modh* and other *Vanias* in *Cutch*, *Gujarat* and *Kathiawad*.
- 7 *Ādhikaranika* : means the chief judicial magistrate or judge of a place.
- 8 *Dandapūśika* : literally holding the fetters or noose of punishment, is used both of the head of the police officer or of the hangman or executioner.
- 9 *Chauroddharanika* : the catcher of thieves. Of the two Indian ways of catching thieves, one of setting a thief to catch a thief,

* Our view is that *chāta* is a policeman and *bhata* is a soldier see above.

the other of pagi or tracking system ; the second answers well in sandy Gujarat and Kathiawad where the tracker or pagi is one of the Bārābalute or regular village servants.

- 10 *Rājasthānīya*: the foreign secretary, the officer who had to do with other states and kingdoms or Rajasthanas. Some authorities take Rājasthānīya to mean viceroy. (We look upon him as Govt. District officer).
- 11 *Amātya*: Minister and sometimes councillor, is generally coupled with Kumāra or prince. (Kumārāmātya is Amātya for princes and differs from Rājāmātya)
- 12 *Anutpannadānasamudgrāhaka*: the arrears gatherer.
- 13 *S'aulkika*: the superintendent of tolls or customs.
- 14 *Bhogika*: or Bhogoddharaṇika : the collector of the Bhoga i. e. the state share of the land produce taken in kind, as a rule, one sixth. The term Bhoga is still in use in Kathiawad for the share usually $\frac{1}{6}$ th which land-holders receive from land cultivating tenants.
- 15 *Vartmapāla*: the road watch were often mounted and stationed in Thanas or small road side shades.
- 16 *Pratisāraka*: patrols, night-guards or watchmen of fields or villages.
- 17 *Vishayapati*: division lord, probably corresponded to the modern subhā (rather mamladar)
- 18 *Rūshtrapati*: the head of a district.
- 19 *Grāmakūta*: the village headman.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS

The plates show traces of 4 territorial divisions.

- 1 Vishaya the largest corresponding to the modern administrative division.
- 2 Ahāra or Aharāṇi that is collectorate (ahar, collection) corresponding to the modern district or zillah.
- 3 Pathaka, of the road, a subdivision, a place named and its surroundings.
- 4 Sthali: a petty division of a place without surroundings.

The district of Kaira and the province of Kathiawad to which the Valabhi grants chiefly refer appear to have had separate systems of land assessment, Kaira by yield, Kathiawad by area. Under the Kathiawad system the measurement was by the padāvarta literally the space between one foot and the other that is the modern Kaṣam or

pace. The pace used in measuring land seems to have differed from the ordinary pace as most of the Kathiawad grants mention the bhūpadāvarta or land pace. The Kaira system of assessment was by yield, the unit being piṭaka or basketful, the grants describing fields as capable of growing so many baskets of rice or barley, (or as requiring so many baskets of seed.) As the grants always specify the Kaira basket a similar system with a different-sized basket seems to have been in use in other parts of the country. Another detail which the plates preserve is that each field had its name called after a guardian or some tree or plant. Among field names are Kotilaka, Atimenakedāra, Khandedakedāra, Gurjarakshetra, Bhimakshetra."

(In the above Chauroadharanika is a higher police officer than the mere pagi. For the word occurs in nothern grants also. Again Rājasthānīya certainly means the representative of the king in the district or tehsil and has nothing to do with Rājasthān a modern word for state. This word occurs in the Mandsaur inscription also as already stated, and there stands for the subā or viceroy. By Vishaya I would take the modern tehsil and Vishayapati, Tehsildar and not subā who would be Rāshtrapati more properly.

It may be added that nearly the same names were used in nothern India as we have shown in our extact from the Deo-Barnak inscription already given.)

2.—7½ LAKHS RATTAPADI.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his Ancient History of India gives discrepant explanations of this figure. In a foot-note at page 40, he says that this figure refers either to the revenue or the number of villages. In a footnote at page 78 explaining Gangavadi 96000, Nolambavadi 36000 and Banavāsi 12000 he says that these figures refer either to the revenue or the value of the produce, and refers to the opinion of Mr. Rice that they indicate the former and also to the opinion of Dr. Fleet that they refer to the number of townships in spite of the apparant exaggeration. Contrary to his previous note Mr. Aiyangar adds that this cannot be from the existing practice and that it must be either revenue or income or thirdly the quantity of seed required. Now these figures are indeed a riddle, but they cannot apparently stand for the number of villages which for Mahārāshtra's Rattapadi has been expressly stated to be 99000. The proportion of 99000 to 750,000 is approximately 7½. This cannot be either the revenue or the amount of produce nor the number of ploughs as the average of ploughs for a village is about 25. Yet the agricultural statistics of India for 1904 gives the number of ploughs for the Bombay Presidency as 9,34,031. The extent of the later Chālukya Empire may be taken a little less and the number 7½ lakhs may even stand for

ploughs. We shall, however, leave the question undecided and refer to it again hereafter. The word *saptārdha laksha* as applied to Rattapadi cannot be referred to the number of villages even in the whole portion of India to the south of the Narmadā. For even the whole of India does not contain at present more than 730, 806 villages. (Of course we are here arguing on the supposition that the number of villages in India or in any part of it cannot vary far from the number of villages existing in the 7th century A. D., (such variation at best not exceeding 10 or 12 per cent). The number of villages to the south of the Narmadā at present is approximately, Bombay Presidency 56,593 Madras Presidency 59858, Hyderabad State 20,089, Mysore 17,012, total 1,33,552. But as a matter of fact Rattapadi probably includes only Bombay Presidency two divisions, Berar, Nagpur, Hyderabad and a part of Mysore being the extent of the territory subject to the Chālukyas. The number of villages given for this tract in the Aihole inscription viz. 99,000 is approximately correct. Previously the Sātāvāhana kingdom of Paithana extended over nearly the same territory. And this explains why the word *saptārdha laksha* occurs in a Bāṇa inscription also* (Ind. Ant. XV, 195) of about 420 A. D. The word may thus be of old standing even and includes the Āndhra territory also. Even in Bāṇa's time the word *Dakṣiṇāpatha* meant the Deccan exclusive, of South India that is the Deccan plateau down to the Malaya mountain. The following extract from H.C. p. 288 is geographically interesting उत्तमाहिनः किष्कुस्तुरुष्कविषयः प्रादेशः पारसीकदेशः शशपदं शकस्थानम्। अदृश्यमानप्रतिप्रहारे पारियात्रे यात्रैव शिथिला। शौर्यशुल्कः मुलभो दक्षिणापथः। दक्षिणार्णवकहोलानिलचलितचंदन-लतामौरभमुंदरीकृतदरीमन्दिरादुर्दारादूर्तैर्नदीयामि मलयः मलयलग्न एवच महेन्द्रः। The दक्षिणापथ of this passage corresponds with the above described territory and does not include South India or India south of the Malaya. This country is always called सप्तार्धलक्ष or 7½ lakh territory in inscriptions, a number which cannot represent villiages nor ploughs as we have already stated.

What does it then represent? That is almost a riddle. Can it be the amount of land produce paid as government share? This question it is very difficult to answer. The amount then collected was in kind and not in coin as now. Moreover the government share then was not what it is now, though I think that the British Government does not now take much more than the 1/6th traditional revenue demand in India. Prices moreover have largely changed and we cannot argue from the revenue in money now derived. Yet the produce of land has not much varied, agriculture still remaining primitive, nor the number of villages in the same tract of the country. Hence an estimate may be made of the share of government then realised in kind. Taking the cultivable average of a village as 1000 acres and the produce of one acre as 10 maunds we may take the government share of one village's

* आन्ध्रमण्डलद्रादशसहस्रग्रामसंपादित सप्तार्धलक्षविषयाधिपते: &c.

produce $\frac{10000}{6}$ maunds. Here another difficulty intervenes. The present measures of capacity or weight have been introduced since Mahomedan times; the *ser*, the *maund*, the *Khandi* are all Mahomedan. The old measures were *Prastha*, *Ādhaka* and *Drona* for measures of capacity and also weight. To what an *Ādhaka* or *Drona* comes as compared with the *maund* or *khandi*, cannot possibly be determined with any pretence of exactness. The *Manu Smṛiti* gives a *Drona* of corn as a month's sustenance wage of a labourer धान्यद्रोणस्तु मासिकः which at present is taken to be $1\frac{1}{4}$ *maund*. Placing these data before the curious reader, we remain content and leave this subject unfinished.

BOOK II

THE FIRST HINDU KINGDOMS

(*Circa 650-800 A. D.*)

CHAPTER I

REVOLUTION IN SIND

(The following account is based on Chacha-nāma a Persian translation of an Arabic account of the 12th century A. D. The account is reliable in many ways, being based on contemporary records, but the dates are usually misgiven, even the conquest of Sind by the Arabs being placed before 712 A. D. by some years. We have tried to give our estimate of the dates by reference to Hiuen Tsang's account who personally visited Sind in 641 A. D. and who mentions that the king there was a Śūdra and not a Brahmin. There are certain legendary stories especially of astrologers' predictions which we omit as usually added afterwards in popular tradition almost all over the ancient world. With these corrections: Chacha-nāma may well be followed and it affords us interesting materials for many historical deductions).

At the time of Harsha's death Sind was ruled, as we have already noted, by a Śūdra king named Sāhasī of the Maurya clan a branch of which ruled at Chitor in Rajputana. Sāhasī's capital was Alor a town situated on the left bank of the Indus, now in ruins, the river also having changed its course here. Subject to Sāhasī were three or four smaller kingdoms ruled by Jat and Kshatriya princes the chief two being the Lohana prince of Brahmanābad and the Rajput prince of Siwistān. What Brahmanabad, which is of course an Arabic name, was in ancient Indian geography it is difficult to determine. But it was a town to the south of Alor and some-where near Hyderabad* and

* In Alexander's time there was a city of the Brahmins which he conquered and where he killed many Brahmins for instigating its revolt. Hermatalia is the supposed name of it which is usually taken to be Brahmana-sthala of which Brahmanabad would be the Arabic translation (see Alexander's invasion by McCrindle).

its sway extended upto Debal a town on the sea-coast near modern Karachi. Siwistān seems to be nothing more than the country of the Sibis a noted Kshatriya clan in the Mahābhārata and even in Alexander's time. The Sibis had a principality to the west of the Indus and it was from ancient times subject to Sind. For even in the Mahābhārata Jayadratha king of Sind, is said to be lord of Sind, Sauvira, and Sibi (Vana P. ch. 267) and is accompanied by the princes of the two latter when he goes by way of the Kāmyaka forest on his expedition to the Śālva country. (Vana P. Ch. 265). These three are undoubtedly Alor, Brahmanabad, and Siwistān of the Chacha-nāma. Sind had subject chiefships in the north also towards the Panjab and this extensive country was ruled by Sāhasī with whose account the story of the Chacha-nāma begins. The whole country was thoroughly Buddhistic both the ruling king and the subordinate princes and the people generally being Buddhists even according to Hiuen Tsang. The country appears to have been, though nominally only, subject to the Emperor Harsha of Kanauj.

Some time about 650 A.D. (so it may approximately be taken) Sāhasī fell ill and died without issue. And his kingdom was seized by Sāhasī's minister Chacha, a Brahmin, and an ambitious, energetic and unscrupulous man. The Chacha-nāma relates that he did so with the assistance, nay, by the instigation of Sāhasī's queen who had fallen in love with him. They kept the death of the king a secret, enticed the turbulent nobles and relatives of the king who were likely to oppose them to the palace and imprisoned them. Then as by an order of the sick king, the government was publicly entrusted to Chacha whose authority was already well established. Chacha made many nobles his partisans by giving them estates of the imprisoned Sardars and when he had a strong party in his favour, he announced the king's death and his own assumption of the crown. He strengthened his position further by marrying the guilty queen of Sāhasī and thus established his own dynasty in the kingdom on a firm basis.

Whatever the truth of the story of the queen's love, the usurpation by the minister Chacha is not a strange or improbable event. Similar events in ancient and modern Indian history can be quoted, for example the usurpation of the Pataliputra empire of the Śungas by their minister the Kanva or the supplanting of the last Bahmani king of Bedar by his minister Kasim Bereed. Nor is Chacha's marrying the queen an unreliable incident. The wives and concubines of deceased or deposed kings have usually been appropriated by usurpers even in Indian history as in Denmark of Shakespear's Hamlet. We may therefore well believe the story of Chacha's usurpation given in the Chacha-nāma though the queen's part in the affair may be set aside as improbable.

The usurpation by a minister is not an improbable event but was it a religious revolution? We shall presently see. Chacha was a singularly fortunate usurper. He defeated the king of Chitor who was, as we have said, a relative of Sāhasī and presumably a Buddhist and who came to lay claim to the crown and to dethrone the usurping minister. Chacha thus confirmed further strengthened his position and reputation by conquering the northern subject states of Sind and taking Multan made his boundary conterminous with Kashmir, so the Chacha-nāma relates, in the east.

When Chacha had also conquered the northern states of Iskania and Babia with the eastern states of Multan and Karur, he turned his arms towards the west, crossed the river Mekran (Arabic for the Indus) and conquered Mattah the king of Śiwistān or the country of the Siwis (Śibis). He then finally turned towards the south (probably the Arab historian had the story of Chacha related to him by some native reporter who has given it the form of a Digvijaya by Chacha) and called upon Agham Lohana the powerful king of Brahmanabad to submit. But the latter decided to oppose Chacha and a battle was fought outside the town in which Agham was defeated. He retired into the town to which Chacha laid siege. The besieged Agham

who was a Buddhist sent for aid to the ruler of Kanauj the then capital of Hindustan but before a reply could be received Agham died. His young son submitted to the fortunate Chacha who then entered the city and allowed the unmolested inhabitants to remain in the town as before, subject to himself.

The deplorable state of Buddhism of this time can be gathered from the story of the Samāni (Śramaṇa) recluse of the Navavihāra related in the Chacha-nāma. Like Hinduism Buddhism had drifted by this time from the highest philosophy into the grossest superstition and idolatry. This monk was supposed to be a great sorcerer of wonderful powers and Chacha was told that he had assisted Agham with his powers and enabled him to prolong the siege for more than a year. Chacha resolved to have him killed by his swordsmen and went to see him. He was fashioning clay idols of Buddha with his own hand. He did not at first notice the all-powerful king Chacha who for a time stood by him. Having finished his work of idol-making the Samani noticed the king and asked him to sit down offering him a grass mat. Chacha sat and eventually left, not only without having him killed but after promising to help him in repairing the Navavihāra. When asked why he had changed his mind Chacha said he saw a devil hovering above himself ready to pounce upon him. Such were the strange superstitious beliefs of the day about the necromancy of Buddhist monks.

But though Chacha spared the Samāni, he was a bigoted Hindu and his usurpation appears to have been actuated by religious motives also. The Chacha-nāma relates that Chacha while at Brahmanabad made certain rules by which he degraded the turbulent Lohanas and Jats in social position. He made it a rule that they should not carry swords except on occasions of urgent necessity, that they should not wear silken cloth, that they should use scarfs of black or red colour, that they should ride horses without saddle, that they must walk about bare-headed and bare-footed, that they must always, when they went

out, have with them dogs to distinguish them and that they should supply firewood to the ruler of Brahmanabad, serve as guides and spies, and be trustworthy and honest. The story is certainly well founded that Chacha made these rules. They were enforced during his son's time also and even in the time of the Arabs who conquered Sind, for the Chacha-nāma relates that Mohomed Kasim enforced the same conditions. In fact some of these restrictions are still observed. Many tribes of Jats go about bare-headed still. Even in Rajput times, the Jats were not allowed to cover their heads with turbans or to wear red clothes, or to put a crown on the head of their bridegroom, or to put a *nath* in their women's nose. "The Ghatwals obtained success over the Rajputs and removed the obnoxious provisions. They thus are called Mālik and wear red turbans." (Ibbetson's caste in the Panjab p. 130.)

It does not appear that these restrictions were imposed solely because the Jats and Lohanas were troublesome and riotous and committed robberies on the roads as perhaps it might at first sight appear. For the restrictions given above explain at once the meaning of the whole story of this prohibition. It seems that the Jats and the Lohanas claimed to be Kshatriyas and to have all their privileges, viz. wearing the sword, riding a horse, having a red turban while the orthodox Hindu population denied these claims. It is easy to surmise, that during the preceding period of Buddhistic supremacy, many castes had thrown away Vedic practices and rites and had thus forfeited their title to be treated as Dvijas or Aryans. Now we have already seen that the Jats were Vaiśyas of Vedic times, and their occupation was agriculture which was not then exclusively the occupation of the Śūdras. The Lohanas appear to have been originally Kshatriyas, but they had during Buddhistic times become peaceful traders. Yet both must have kept up Kshatriya pretensions as every one naturally desires to raise himself up in social position. As Hinduism now gathered strength, Hindu society began to confirm each caste in the status which it held by its

practices. The Jats who were agriculturists and who had lost entire touch with Vedic rites, became Śūdras in public estimation and were confirmed in that position and the Lohanas who now followed trade the profession of Vaiśyas became Vaiśyas in the Hindu view and were therefore confined to that status. Both appear to have practised widow marriage which was repugnant to the orthodox Hindu and the rigid Kshatriyas who did not practise it and this was a further reason in the confirmation of Lohanas as Vaiśyas and the Jats as Śūdras. These two races have still kept up their martial instinct but the historian cannot but observe that the gathering of strength by Hindu orthodoxy led to the demartializing of certain races which had an unfavourable influence on the future course of events.

Strangely enough in spite of this order Chacha married the widow of Agham Lohana much in the same way as he had married the widow of Sāhasī for political reasons. The power of Chacha was now firmly established and he ruled Sind successfully for several years. When he died we cannot well determine. Sind was conquered by the Arabs in 712 A. D. and Dahar the successor of Chacha the Brahmin king of Sind, so the Chacha-nāma relates, had ruled 33 years. It may be said therefore that Dahar came to the throne in 679 A. D. If we take Chandra, Chacha's brother between Chacha and Dahar for 7 years as the Chacha-nāma relates, Chacha may be taken to have died in 672 A. D. after a rule of about 22 years.

As Chacha left sons behind him it does not seem probable that Chandra ruled for 7 years after Chacha as the Chacha-nāma states. Perhaps Dahar was a minor and hence Chandra's rule for a brief period. Chandra is said to have become a monk or Buddhist. Probably the Buddhists were yet powerful in Brāhmanābad where he resided. After him or when Dahar came to majority Dahar became the king in 679 A.D. Dahar certainly ruled in Alor the capital of Sind and Brāhmanābad the subordinate kingdom was in charge of Daharsia, Dahar's brother

(it is probably a mistake that the latter is supposed to be an elder brother). There was some rivalry or dispute between them and their quarrel about the marriage of Bai their sister and the stories of the sagacity of Budhiman minister of Dahar in saving him from the attempts on his life by Daharsia we omit as rather unhistorical. What we are certain of is that Dahar was a strong ruler* and his brother and his kinsmen including sons of Chandra were in charge of subordinate provinces or states. Whether Dahar was a son of Chacha by Sahasī's widow as the Chacha-nāma states can not definitely be determined. Dahar, Daharsia and Bai are said in the Chacha-nāma to be her children, but the same work states further on that Bai was Chacha's daughter by a Jat woman. It seems probable that Chacha as usual with Indian kings had several wives, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Jat or Vaiśya and Śūdra *i. e.* the queen of Sāhasī. Dahar was probably his son by a Brahmin or Kshatriya wife. For Dahar was treated as a Brahmin by the Brahmans of his time as the Chacha-nāma distinctly states. Whether Dahar is one of the 36 orthodox Rajput families, as Tod relates we will discuss in our second volume and will now proceed to describe the destruction of Dahar and the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, an epoch making event in the history of India.

* We may believe the story of an invasion of Sind by Kanauj incited by Matta of Siwistān who after his defeat by Chacha had taken refuge with the Kanauj king. They were both Buddhists. Chacha had given a daughter in marriage to the Kashmir king and her son together with Sahiras king of Kanauj and Rasil his brother invaded Sind but Dahar defeated them by a stratagem. The details are of course not very historical and Sahiras of Kanauj is unquestionably Sriharsha whose name still rang in India when the Arabs conquered Sind. But since Harsha had long lain in rest in Dahar's time it must have been some other king if an invasion of Sind by Kanauj did take place in Dahar's regime. The Chacha-nāma also speaks of an invasion by a king of Ramal which in Arabic means sand and this may have been a Bhati king of the desert, that is, what Bahawalpur or Jaisalmer now are.

CHAPTER II

CONQUEST OF SIND BY THE ARABS

Like the nose of the alligator Sind is the most vulnerable part of India being exposed to foreign attack. The back of the country is covered by the Himalayan mountain chain and is therefore like the back of the alligator impossible to assail. The head of the country and its forehead too are protected by the Hindukush and the Suleiman ranges and are therefore practically unassailable. It is lower down where the river Indus falls into the sea that there is no natural obstacle in the path of a foreign invader. This nose of India is doubtless approachable through a sandy desert country without much water but to those who are accustomed to traverse deserts on camels and mules, Sind is easily accessible and hence it is that it has frequently fallen a prey to foreign invaders in the history of ancient India.

But though frequently thus attacked and conquered by the Persians before the period of which we treat the Indians of Sind as frequently asserted themselves and gained back their independence. The dynasty which Chacha subverted had ruled in Sind for about 150 years and Chacha and Dahar had ruled for about 60 years. The conquest of the country by the Arabs in Dahar's time, however, proved permanent and from 712 A. D. down to our day (with the apparent exception of a few years) Sind has remained under foreign subjection. We will, therefore, describe the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in detail and see what causes operated towards that eventually permanent enslavement of the country which overtook Sind at the beginning of the 8th century and the rest of the country at the end of the 12th. Many details are fortunately available in the Chacha-nāma an almost contemporary account for this event.

The Arabs, it is said in the Chacha-nāma, made several abortive attempts during the reign of several Khalifas to conquer Sind but when they had fully conquered Irān and had thus a nearer and a stonger base for their operations they made really earnest efforts to subjugate the country. A good pretext soon offered itself. Some ships conveying Mahomedan male and female pilgrims from Screndib or Ceylon (it is strange that the Arabs had already by this time taken their religion to Ceylon probably directly by sea from Arabia) with many valuable presents in jewels and pearls from the king of Ceylon to the Khalifa Walid who ruled in Baghdad, by way of the Persian gulf were compelled by adverse winds to go to Dehala a seaport town of Sind situated on the western bank of the Indus. The Indus delta was then infested by robbers as even Hiuen Tsang has described. They were very bad men according to him though nominally Buddhists. These men attacked these ships, conveyed the treasure to Dehal and imprisoned the Mahomedan men and women pilgrims. The authorities of the town ought not to have countenanced this act, but probably they had their due share in the spoils and so perhaps Dahar himself to whom a complaint was formally made on the subject by Hajjaj the governor of Irān. Dahar is said to have replied "That is the work of a band of robbers than whom none is more powerful. They do not even care for us." This was certainly not a fair reply for a powerful king to make and Hajjaj easily induced the Khālifa Walid to declare a holy war against Sind promising him in spoils twice the amount of money he would spend on an expedition for the conquest of Hind and Sind as the Arabs styled it.

Great preparations were made at Kufa the capital of Irān by Hajjaj who placed the expedition under the command of his nephew and son-in-law Mahomed Kasim, an upright true Mahomedan and a discreet energetic commander. 6000 men of good family from Sham (Syria) joined the expedition. There were battering rams and catapults also taken to assail fortified towns and these were put on board ships near Shiraz from whence they went

by sea to Debal, while Mahomed Kasim marched by land through Mekran towards the same town. The army arrived first at Ārman Bela and from thence proceeded to Debal where it was joined by the ships. The whole army with battering rams and catapults now encamped before the fortified town of Debal and soon invested it. Hajjaj kept up constant communication by means of swift runners (on camels) with the expedition and minutely directed and supervised its operations.

Dahar seems to have done nothing to save Debal. There was a band of 500 Arabs under one Alāfi in Dahar's service, Alāfi having fled from his country in consequence of a murder committed by him. The Chacha-nāma states that Dahar consulted Alāfi who said that Mahomed Kasim was invincible and thereupon Dahar kept quiet. But probably Dahar thought the place strong as it had withstood attacks by previous Arab expeditions. This present expedition was however more serious than others that had preceded it and Debal fell before the conquering Kasim. One incident of the attack and capture requires to be noted. There was a high temple with a higher flag in the town and people said there was a talisman in it. So long as the tower and flag stood, Debal would not fall. Mahomed Kasim had that temple's tower and its flag-mast thrown down by the charge of the Khālifa's catapult an engine worked by 500 men and thus the city fell. Talismans and magic were believed in both by the Arabs and the Buddhists in those days and the magical absurdities related in the Arabian Nights of the day of Haroun-al-Rashid Khālifa of Baghdad are well known. The historian may set magic aside, but he cannot but remark that improved weapons of warfare are an important factor in the success of armies. The Arabs were skilful in the use of catapults which then were what cannons are now and catapults and battering rams were not much known to the Indians. Their subjugation by the Arabs may therefore particularly be attributed to better weapons of destruction possessed by the Arabs.

The conquerors gave the first lessons of terrible Mahomedan warfare to the Hindus and Buddhists of Debal. For they massacred all the male population of the town. The people stood aghast and prayed for mercy; but Mahomed Kasim said he had no orders to show mercy; probably he wanted to make an example by inflicting a terrible lesson. When Mahomed Kasim came to the temple whose tower had been thrown down, he found "700 beautiful females under the protection of Buddha who were of course made slaves." The temple was probably a Buddhist female Vihāra. Debal was mostly Buddhist. The Governor was also a Buddhist and called in the Chacha-nāma Jahin Budh. He escaped, and joined Jaisiah son of Dahar who was then at Nerūn. Mahomed Kasim had already granted pardon to certain persons who had promised to show the imprisoned Mahomedan male and female prisoners. These men were spared on bringing out the prisoners and also a Hindu officer who had charge of them for having treated them kindly during their confinement. What a great difference between the cruel treatment of prisoners by Mahomedans and their kind treatment by Buddhists!!! That officer, however, had to become a Mahomedan. The town was of course pillaged and the valuable plunder was divided into five parts one of which was sent to Hajjaj for the Khalifa as the government's share "according to the religious law" and the rest were shared between the commander and the soldiers according to fixed rules. In this manner the Arabs strove for conquests all the more for it was thus the self-interest of the government, the commander and each soldier to conquer. This procedure had its own share in the causes which may be assigned for the success of the Arabs.

Such was the terrible beginning of the eventual conquest of India by the Mahomedans, Debal being its first victim. The male population was mostly massacred, the town was completely plundered, many willing and unwilling people were converted, and beautiful females

were carried away into captivity. It was a terrible example and when Mahomed Kasim after having arranged for the government of the town proceeded towards Nerūn, the next city higher up the Indus, also on the west bank, near modern Hyderabad, the city submitted without fighting. It had indeed shut its gates in the absence of its Samāni or Buddhist governor; and Jaisia, Dahar's son who was there with some force had by Dahar's order crossed the river and gone to Brahmanabad. But the Samāni soon returned, went to Mahomed Kasim's camp and tendered his allegiance. He also gave plentiful supplies to the army. Nerūn was therefore spared. Mahomed Kasim entered the town and built a mosque in place of a temple and made arrangements for the government of the place.

In order to leave no unconquered territory behind before he attempted to cross the Indus, Mahomed Kasim led his army towards Siwistān. The Sibus were a warlike people and probably Kshatriyas. The ruler of the fortified town was a cousin of Dahar, named Bachchra (Vatsarāj) son of Chandra. He resolved to fight and closed the gates. But the population was Buddhist. And there was a Samāni party (Buddhist) within. It said to Bachchra "We are a priestly class; our religion is peace. According to our faith, fighting and slaughter are not allowable. You are moreover sitting in a safe place. We are afraid the Arabs will take our place and will deprive us of our life and property. So we advise you to make peace." But Bachchra did not accept their cowardly advice and fought. Mahomed Kasim who brought up his battering rams and catapults up the Indus river in boats to Nerūn and from there took them by land to Siwistān now invested the town and fort. The Samāni party in the town sent word to him: "All the people whether agriculturists, artisans, merchants, and others have left Bachchra's side and do not acknowledge allegiance to him." The result was, the town was soon taken and Bachchra finding it difficult to hold the fort, fled with his men at night towards Budhia. Mahomed Kasim entered the fort, plundered the town except the Samāni party and made arrangements for the

due government of the fort and the country. He sent the usual one-fifth of the plunder to Hajjaj and gave the rest to the army. He then moved in pursuit of Bachchra to Budhia where the Arabs had to fight, but eventually all the country to the west of the Indus was reduced to subjection and Kasim came back to Nerūn, without leaving any enemy behind him, to consider the means of crossing the Indus which it must be stated here has in recent times changed its course considerably. For it is now to the west of Hyderabad the modern substitute of Nerūn but in Kasim's days it was to the east of it.

We cannot but pause here to reflect upon the conduct of the Buddhists of Nerūn and Siwistān. Indeed the verdict of history cannot but be that given by Gibbon viz. that as Christianity enfeebled the Romans and was one of the causes of Rome's downfall ; so in India the spread and paramountcy of Buddhism was one of the causes of the fall of India's independence. Of course Christianity has not enfeebled the Teutonic races, so has Buddhism not enfeebled the Mongolian races notably the Japanese. But as the tenet of Ahimsā or non-slaughter of living beings, together with the abandonment of animal food took strong root in India and became the supreme article of faith and conduct of the people martial spirit naturally declined. Cruelty has its dark side, but without cruelty there can be no martial spirit. The *Budhist* Harsha did succeed in establishing a widespread empire by his military achievements, but he was a meat-eater from his childhood though perhaps not to the end of his life. The Guptas who were orthodox Hindus and followers of the religion of animal sacrifice were of course a flesh-eating clan and during their days the middle class, the traders and agriculturists, the Vaiśyas so to speak were also carnivorous and were consequently as martial as the Brahmins above and the Śūdra population below them. It is hence that the Guptas of Magadha and the Vardhanas of Thanesar though Vaiśyas were able to drive away such ferocious foreign invaders as the Kushans and the Huns. But Harsha's Buddhistic zeal and his imperial power succeeded in

abolishing animal-slaughter and animal food from the land. The natural effect of this prohibition, working for nearly half a century, became visible among the middle classes of the country, the orthodox Brahmins and the strong Kshatriyas, however, evading the prohibition as well as the lowest classes. The middle class thus at the beginning of the 8th century was completely emasculated for ever (and it remains so to this day) and thus half nay more than half the population of the country was, when the Arabs came to India, as tame as sheep, only fit to be slaughtered by the ferocious Arabs. The Buddhists as we have seen openly declared that their article of faith was no slaughter and no fighting and we thus find at Nerūn and at Siwistān the people divided into two camps; those who did not want to fight and those who did. The former usually consisted of the agriculturists, the merchants and the artizans or the Vaiśyas and the quieter portions of the Śūdras, the middle class of the people so to speak. They were both averse to kill and afraid to be killed and they always sided with the Arabs when they found they were strong and likely to be victorious. The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, however, fought vigorously. Bachchra and his Thakurs, the Chacha-nāma says, lost their lives “ in trying to accomplish their sinful deeds ” !!! The turbulent Jats too, though degraded by Chacha to the position of Śūdras fought valiantly. But as one-half of the population was cowardly and even favourable to the Arabs, Sind could not avert its fate. Fortunately at that very time Aryanism (we will not call it full Hinduism yet) or the religion of animal sacrifice revived elsewhere. Buddhism was conquered or driven into the background and the downfall of the rest of India was averted for three centuries more. Sind of course fell a prey to the Arabs and remained a Mahomedan province throughout the succeeding centuries of Indian history.

To return to our story, Mahomed Kasim was encamped on the west bank of the Indus for a long time unable to find a way to cross it. The river was certainly a great

obstacle before him and Dahar was not unmindful of his duty and his opportunity. He made preparations to oppose the Arabs there. He had already called Jaisia his son from the opposite bank to his and now posted him with a strong force to oppose the crossing. He himself came down with a large army from Alor his capital and encamped in the open plain at some distance from Jaisiah. He even came down to the bank of the river opposite to the Arabs. He was a strong powerful man and a great archer. The Mahomedan historian himself relates how he strung his strong bow which none else could string and drawing it to its full length shot an arrow accross the river and killed an Arab horseman who also wanted to shoot Dahar from his side. This brave deed testifies to Dahar's strength and fearlessness which were not inferior to those of Poros before him and Prithviraj after him. But the strength and bravery of one man or many Rajput warriors was not of much avail against the bigotted impetuosity of the Arabs aided by defection on the side of the Indians. For here we come to the third cause of India's fall viz. the defection and treachery of its own sons which we proceed to describe as related in this Arab history itself.

Unable to secure boats, with scarcity of provisions in his camp and with sickness too among his men and horses, Mahomed Kasim was in great difficulties. But he was a resolute and a fortunate man. Hajjaj who backed him from Irān was also a resolute and a fortunate man. He sent him 2,000 fresh horses and a contingent of fresh soldiers and re gave him sound advice which is well worth repeating here. He wrote him "there are four ways of acquiring a kingdom: 1st conciliation and alliance, 2nd expenditure of money and generous gifts, 3rd adoption of expedient measures at the time of disagreement and 4th the use of overpowering force, strength and majesty. Try to grant every request made by the princes and please them by giving solemn promises." These four methods are the same as mentioned in Indian books on politics viz. Sāma, Dāna, Bheda and Danda or conciliation, payment, division and punishment. You can conquer an enemy by conci-

liating him or paying him large presents or by creating division in his camp or finally by using force pure and simple. The first two ways were not to be thought of for Dahar was implacable and rich. The other two remained and Mahomed Kasim succeeded in finding an opportunity of creating division and defection. There was an island in the course of the river and this Bet was in possession of one Mokah Bassaya. He had probably cause to be dissatisfied with Dahar and he went over by a stratagem to Mahomed Kasim who promised to make him big grants of territory. And Moka Bassaya in all subsequent operations of the Arabs faithfully and zealously assisted Mahomed Kasim. He was in fact the Bibhishana of the story of the conquest of Sind. He was a Rajput and perhaps even a Brahmin and was conscious apparently of his duty to his country for he is said to have written to Kasim as follows (p. 106 Chachanāma): "The country of Sind is our native country. It is an acquisition of our fathers and grand-fathers and our heritage. There is a consanguinity between us and Rai Dahar. He is also a king over other kings of Hind. It should be our duty therefore to stand by him and co-operate with him. We are also affected by his pleasure and pain and we are partners in the same country. But reason and wisdom suggest and mystic philosophy proves that the country will go out of our hands" and therefore it is wiser for him to surrender to Kasim. Traitors like Moka Bassaya have usually betrayed their country's cause with similar casuistry to save their conscience in the history of India from the king of Taxila in Alexander's days down to the Nāgara minister of Rai Karna of Gujarat in later days and these traitors in whatever country found can never indeed be too much execrated.

Moka Bassaya master of the Bet (Mahomed Kasim promised him the province of Bet as his own estate and passed a written document to that effect with his own signature and seal) not only now supplied provisions to Kasim but assisted him in crossing the river. He furnished him with boats and advised him to cross it at the Bet (island). A bridge of boats was made of length corres-

ponding to the breadth of the river at this place along-side the western bank. When Rai Dāhar heard of the defection of Moka Bassaya he appointed his (Moka's) younger brother Rasil to oppose the Mahomedans in crossing the river. He too was a renegade and also lukewarm though appointed governor of Bet by Dahar. The Arabs were also assisted by many Thakurs and Jats besides Moka who had paid homage to the Arabs and joined them. These were posted at the island or Bet to assist the Arabs in crossing. Fixing one point of the long bridge of boats on the west bank, the Arabs moved the other which under the force of the stream reached the opposite coast. It was immediately made fast there with moorings by intrepid warriors amidst divided opposition by the Indians. Mokah Bassaya and his Jats and Thakurs interfering with the opposers under Rāsil. Thus the Arab army was able to cross the Indus without much difficulty. Jaisiah with his force fought with this army of Arabs on the east bank but was defeated. Jaisiah a brave man was unwilling to fly but the driver of his elephant in his loyal solicitude addressed the elephant. "Do you want to escape?" "How can that be done?" said Jaisiah and the clever intrepid driver drove his elephant against the Arabs who had surrounded him, forced his way out and safely took Jaisiah to his father Dāhar who was glad to see his son safe and sound.

The Arabs having succeeded in crossing the river and in driving away Jaisiah placed there to oppose them, their subsequent victories need not be detailed at length. Dāhar who had left Alor and had come down with his most efficient forces, to the district of Jhim (somewhere to the south of Brāhmanābād) fought a determined battle with the Arabs, resolved like the ancient Kshatriyas to die or conquer. The contest was terrible. Dāhar had according to the Chacha-nāma about 5000 horsemen, 100 elephants and 20,000 foot soldiers with complete armour or coat of mail. Dāhar himself was seated on a furious elephant with a litter lashed to it and an iron coat spread over it. He was armed cap-a-pie and had a tightly strung bow in his hand. Two maid-servants were sitting with him in the

litter, one of them handing him arrows and the other giving him betel leaf. His right was commanded by Jaisiah, his left by his nephew Jahin. His son Daharsia with many chief men of Sind (many names are given here) and all the Jats of the eastern part of the country brought the rear. How many men Mahomed Kasim had is not clear. He had probably 6000 horsemen and they used bows carrying lance also with arrows. He had infantry also and he had the assistance of renegade Indian forces such as those of Moka Bassaya and others,—Thakurs and Jats of the western portion of Sind (to the left of the Indus). But these must not have been considerable. The contest was fierce and determined and lasted from morn to about 4 in the evening when an unfavourable accident happened. The god of battles had decreed the day to the Mahomedans. Dāhar was fighting determinedly with arrows as also with discs (the peculiar Indian weapon called chakra) which was not known to the Arabs and which he threw with such force and aim that “it severed the head of a horse, a horse-man or a foot at whosoever it was thrown.” But at this time naphtha arrows shot by Arabs set the litter of Dahar’s elephant on fire. The Indian battles show usually similar accidents. The commanders strangely enough always ride elephants which give sure targets to assailants. The elephant unable to bear the heat, disobeyed the driver, rushed out of the battle-field towards a lake that was near and plunged himself into the water. The driver as well as Dāhar were thrown down violently. They came or they were rescued out of the water but a party of Arabs assailed them and killed them. The army of Sind when the elephant of the king thus fled out of the battle as usual gave way and dispersed. The rout was soon complete and many were massacred, but a few reached the fort of Raor (not Alor) which was nearest the battlefield. Thus ended the chief battle in this conquest in favour of the Arabs on the 10th day of Ramzan of the 93rd year of the Hezira (712 A. D.).

Enormous plunder fell into the hands of the victor. Elephants, horses, wearing stuffs, cattle etc. were seized,

a fifth part of the value of which was sent to Hajjaj as also the head of Dāhar and the heads of his tributary princes together with their ensigns and royal umbrellas, with a letter of exultation and thanks given by Mahomed Kasim. Among the slaves was a wife of Dāhar and several daughters of princes and Ranas and a niece of Dahar. They were sent further of course to the Khalifa with the exception of Ladi, Dāhar's wife whom Mahomed Kasim ransomed and married according to the usual predilection of conquerors for the wives of conquered princes.

One great incident which happened before this battle requires to be related at length. There were as already stated, 500 Arabs under Alafi in the service of Dāhar and on the eve of battle Dāhar asked them to lead the vanguard in fighting. Alafi said, "Oh king! we are indebted to you for many acts of kindness. But we are musalmims and cannot draw our sword against the army of Islam. If we are killed, we die the death of polluted wretches. If we kill we are responsible for murder and our punishment will be fire of hell." Alafi and his 500 Arabs thus refused to fight against their brethren and correligious and had to leave the service of Dāhar. It is said they went to Kashmir immediately. Others state they remained behind assisted Jaisiah for a time and when he left Sind and went towards the modern Rajputana then they went to Kashmir. This incident shows the glaring contrast between the conduct of Hindus and Mahomedans on this eventful day. There were Hindus who fought against Hindus in this memorable battle but there were no Mahomedans against Mahomedans. This incident not only illustrates the stern religious earnestness of the early Arab Mahomedans but their elevated morality also. The 500 Arabs of Dāhar did not act the treacherous part which the Mahomedans of Ramrai of Vijayanagar played in later history at the famous battle of Talikot. The latter showed as if they fought with the Mahomedan enemies of Ramrai but when the proper time came they turned their arms against the Hindus themselves. Alafi could have

done that, but treachery was no part of the Mahomedan religion in his days. It was not a tenet of that religion then that one may without sin be treacherous to an infidel. Christianity in later days preached and practised this debased doctrine and Mahomedans of later history also did the same. But the Arabs of Mahomed Kasim's days kept their promises most scrupulously. To massacre *opposing* Indians and to appropriate their women was their *avowed* creed. But if they promised pardon to any infidel Indians, they never broke their word. Even in religious matters they kept their promises. The question whether those who had accepted subjection and payment of tribute for freedom of religious worship should be allowed to build their temples and to worship their idols was referred to Hajjaj and even that stern and cruel man said "Since we have accepted their tribute, we must allow them freedom of their own worship." It is clear then that the conquering Arabs of the early days were distinguished not only by religious zeal but high morality and the latter seems to be as much a requisite of success in war as unity and military superiority.

Jaisiah with a few followers escaped from the bloody battlefield and went to Raor. That fort was not thought safe and he went to Brāhmanābād where were the accumulated riches of his father and sufficient forces to oppose the Arabs. Dahar's another queen Bai remained in Raor with 15000 warriors and opposed Kasim who soon invested it with his victorious army. Bai found that "She could not escape the clutches of those chāndālas and cow-eaters" and resolved to burn herself. "She and many Rajput women were of one mind and so they entered a house, set fire to it and soon were burnt to death." This was probably the first immolation of Indian women in its history. The Indians no doubt fought among themselves in former times and even sometimes appropriated the women of the conquered princes as has been stated before. But there was no compulsion in these cases. If they refused to be wives and concubines of the victors they remained only as

servants and were even allowed to go away as Buddhist nuns or other recluses. And there was no loss of religion or of caste. But with the Mahomedan conquerors the case was entirely different. Women were forcibly appropriated by them as wives or as concubines or as slaves and were also forcibly converted. And the eating of cows' flesh and the slaughter of cows were the most abominable things with the Indians. The courage of Indian women had always been exhibited in the long established practice of sati and thus Indian women during Mahomedan times often, nay almost always, made those terrible holocausts of themselves which make the history of the Mahomedan conquest of India hideous and painful. This sacrifice by Bai said to be Dāhar's step-sister and wife and other Rajput women was thus probably the first of its kind in Indian history.

Raor was taken and plundered. The fighting people were massacred and the women enslaved. Altogether there were, it is said in the *Chacha-nāma*, 60000 slaves including many beautiful women of princely families. These were like the plunder, divided between the government and the soldiers. From thence Kasim went to Brāhmanābād, capturing two towns and forts on the way, Bahrar and Dahlila. Jaisiah not finding it safe even at Brāhmanābād left it with many followers and took his position in the desert, deciding to harass Kasim's forces during investment of the city. It was well prepared for the siege and withstood it for six months. There were about 40 thousand fighting men in the city and they made frequent sallies fighting with determination from sunrise to sunset. Jaisia also harassed the Arabs from behind. In this way Mahomed Kasim was sorely troubled, but Moka Bassaya came to his relief. He gave him accurate information about Jaisiah and asked a force to be sent against him. Jaisia was finally defeated (much like Indrajit of Rāvana defeated by Bibhishana's aid) and he betook himself to Chitore. The fate of Brāhmanābād was now sealed. It fell in the usual way. The merchants and other non-fight-

ing people threw themselves on the mercy of Mahomed Kasim and opened the gates. The city was immediately taken possession of, the merchants were spared, the warriors were slaughtered and the city was plundered. Women slaves were captured; among them were two virgin daughters of Dāhar who were sent to the Khalifa along with the fifth royal share of plunder. These as is well-known eventually became the cause of Kasim's downfall and death.

As Moka Bassaya said, Brāhmanābād was the chief city of Sind and when that was conquered the whole of Sind came into Kasim's possession. He made a long stay there and made arrangements for the administration of the country. One day it is said a thousand Brahmins came before him with shaven heads and beards. On inquiry they said "We are Brahmins; many of us had killed themselves when our Brahmin king Dāhar was killed. We have shaved our heads and beards in token of our loyalty to him." Kasim pardoned them, extolled their conduct and asked them to serve the country as before. They were asked to do the same duties to government as heretofore and were reinstated in their offices. Those who were actual priests were allowed to worship the idols in the temples as before and were allowed even to beg as before "with a copper-bowl collecting corn in it." This description probably applies to the Buddhist monks. Kasim even allowed the cultivators to give three out of every hundred Dirhams of revenue to the Brahmins and to pay the rest to the treasury. This toleration of the religion of the people—their being permitted to build their temples, to worship, their idols and to pay their priests is in strange contrast with the policy of the Mahomedan conquerors in succeeding centuries. As we have said before, Kasim followed this wise and honourable policy with the consent of Hajjaj who said that on payment of tribute the subjects had a right to worship in their own way. The tribute was fixed at 48 Dirhams on rich men (about 12 rupees in weight of silver), 24 for the middle class and 12 for the poor yearly. As the old revenue administration and even old officers were con-

firmed we may take it that the old system of revenue taxation remained in force and was not changed and taxation increased as in later times. The whole policy of Mahomed Kasim and his superiors was thus generous and truly wise.

But he was not equally generous in his treatment of the Lohanas and the Jats or as it is said here of the Lākhās and Sāmmās. Perhaps policy also dictated that these turbulent and warlike tribes should be kept down rather than relieved of the disabilities imposed upon them by Chacha. Perhaps orthodox Hindu feeling also was against them. Vazir Siyakar, minister of Dāhar (now converted) said that they were compelled by Chacha to wear coarse cloth, to take dogs with them when they went out in order to be distinguished, and not to ride horses or take swords. "If any headman or Rānā was obliged to use a horse, he was to ride without a saddle. If any accident occurred to any traveller, the Jat tribes were called to help; if any one committed theft his children were thrown into flames, that is, burnt. They guided caravans at night." Mahomed Kasim dealt with them exactly in the same way and further directed, following the rule made by Umār about the people of Syria, that "they should entertain a traveller within their limits for one day and if he fell sick for three days."

Mahomed Kasim now turned his attention towards Alor and Multan, the northern chief cities of Sind. He first came to a town called Musthal with a beautiful lake in its vicinity. The inhabitants were all Samānis and Buddhists and these submitted as also the Jats of the surrounding country. They were pardoned and subjected to tribute. Then he came to the country "where the Sammahs lived. They came forward dancing to the music of drums and pipes and said that was their way of receiving a king. He then came to the country of the Sahtas. These came out bareheaded and bare-footed and implored pardon. They were taken under subjection and tribute imposed on them. Taking guides from this place he came before Alor "the biggest town in the whole of Sind." Tof

son of Dāhar was there. He still believed that Dāhar was alive and had gone to Hind to bring an army, (a belief like that which prevailed after the battle of Panipat about Sadashivrao Bhau.) The place was invested and the warriors fought valiantly. But Dāhar did not come with any reliefs. As usual the merchants and artizans were not fighters and dreaded being massacred. They sent word to Kasim imploring pardon. Tofi finding the temper of the people changed, sought safety in escape and joined his brother Jaisiah at Chitor. The city fell into the hands of Kasim who spared the merchants and the artizans for Ladi's sake and even the fighters who submitted, slaughtering only those who opposed the Arabs. Hajjaj blamed him for leniency and declared that all fighting people or races should be killed, a practice which was certainly safe for a conqueror but which the great Kasim did not always follow upto this time. He, however, observed it more truly in his conquest of Multan towards which he now turned and which offered him more stubborn resistance.

He first came to Babia on the Beas where Kaksa son of Chandra and thus a nephew of Dāhar, after Dahar's death at the memorable battle of Zhim where he was present, had taken refuge. Kaksa submitted without opposition. He was the most prominent man of his time and was placed in charge of the treasury of the kingdom. But at Golkondah Kasim was opposed and here the warriors suffered the same fate as at Alor and Brāhmanābād, 4000 men of the military class being killed. Again at Sikkah he was opposed by Bachera Tāki (belonging to the Takshaka tribe of Rajputs of the Panjab). Here for 17 days bloody battles were fought and many noted Arab chiefs fell. Bachera eventually left the fort, crossed the river and went to Multān where Kasim followed him destroying all neighbouring towns. At Multān Kundrai and Bachrai fought with him every day for two months (Kaksha cousin of Dāhar is strangely said here to have despaired of success against the Arabs and to have gone to the king of Kashmir Did he leave the Arabs and join the Hindus ?)

Eventually a traitor showed a place where the fortress of Multān could be burrowed under and thus enabled the Arabs to gain it. 6000 warriors were put to the sword and merchants, agriculturists and artizans as usual were spared. But a heavy tribute was exacted from them. 60000 Dirhams in silver were collected by the nobility and gentry and were given to the soldiers. Kasim demanded more tribute for the Khalīfa. In this extremity a Brahmin showed a temple where in the midst of a beautiful pond was a golden image in a small chamber placed on copper vessels full of gold coins : "The idol was perfectly like a man with two rubies in its eyes. It weighed 230 maunds of gold and 40 copper jars under it contained 1320 maunds of gold." These were of course seized. Does this refer to the idol of the sun for which Multān was so famous as described by Hiuen Tsang? It looks like it but Al-Beruni has stated that Mahomed Kasim conquered Multān but left the idol of the sun intact; but Jahan-Ibn-Shaiban broke the idol and killed the priest. But this must have been later on. Alberuni also describes the idol as a wooden one covered with a red coat of leather though that idol too had two rubies for its eyes. Perhaps there might have been two idols one immoveable and the other moveable made of gold to be carried in processions.

The whole of this plunder was to be sent to Hajjaj but that religious man wrote "You have already paid 120000 dirhams and over *i. e.*, twice the sum expended on your expedition and you can now build mosques for the faithful." Accordingly Mahomed Kasim laid the foundations of splendid mosques at Multān. He made this city his place of residence as it was a strong place on the frontier. He had 50,000 horsemen with him for its protection. He is said to have conquered the country as far as the boundary of Kashmir as settled by Chacha by the planting of fir trees and he himself planted some more there. He also sent a message to Rai Harichandar of Kanauj, asking him to bend his neck to the yoke of Islam. Rai Harichandar replied "This kingdom has been in our possession

for 1600 years and no enemy has ever set foot in our territory. When the strength of both sides is tested on the field of battle then we shall decide," Mahomed Kasim decided to make war against Kanauj which he said was proud of its men and elephants and asked his followers to be ready. But the fates had decided otherwise. The tide of Mahomedan conquest was to stop here for three hundred years more. Next morning a camelman came post-haste from the Khalifa bearing a letter containing a command to Kasim "to put himself, wherever he might be, in raw leather immediately and come back to the Khalifa." Mahomed's stern religious sense of duty to the Khalifa as the spiritual and temporal lord of Islam was so strong that he there and then asked his men to put him into a fresh hide. The box was immediately sent to Baghdad where on its being opened by the Khalifa the corpse of this famous conqueror of Sind was taken out. Thus did the two daughters of Dāhar take revenge upon the man who had killed their father and doomed them to their sad fate. The story is undeniably true, for this end of the famous Arab conqueror of Sind could not have been fabricated. But this event together with the previous history shows clearly one fact viz. that the Arab empire in its early days was singularly strong in consequence of unity, discipline and strong religious conviction.

CHAPTER III

SIND DOWN TO THE END OF THE 12th CENTURY.

Sind was conquered by the Arabs in 712 A. D. and remained under their sway for full three centuries until its conquest by Mahumd of Ghazni in 1025 A. D. The Khalifas of Baghdad were the distant masters and they ruled Sind through their governors. These governors resided at Multān and there were subordinate governors in the minor towns on the Indus. The local officers in every district were no doubt Hindus, Brahmins and Rajputs. The Buddhists naturally declined as the government was not theirs. There were remnants for a long time of ancient Rajput princely families which are given by Tuhfal-ul-Kiram as follows in the reign of Aram Shah king of Delhi. (History of Sind by Mirza Kalich Baig Vol. II, p. 28.)

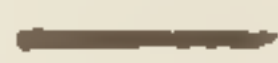
1. Rana Bhanar Sahta Rathor in Darbelah.
2. Rana Sinyar Sammah of Tong in Ropah.
3. Jesar Machhi Solangi of Maniktarah.
4. Wakhia Son of Punhun, Chanon at Dara Siwi.
5. Chanon Chana at Bhagnahi.
6. Jiya of Jhim *i. e.* Himah Kot.
7. Jasodhan Agra of Men Takar in Bhanbhor
(Brāhmaṇābād)

We find here many noted Rajput names such as Samma, Sahta, Rathor, Solunki etc. but we do not find the name of Dāhar in the above. The family of Dāhar appears to have left Sind altogether and lived subsequently in Rajputana, the Panjab and Kashmir. The towns noted in Sind Hindu history still survived such as Alor, Brāhmaṇābād, Jhim (Hydrabad), Schwan but during Mahomedan times, new towns became of note such as Ucha, Bakkar and Thatta. The last especially supplanted Debal on the sea-coast and the latter is not found mentioned hereafter at all. It must be noted that during the reign of Haroun-Al-Rashid or before, about 780 A. D. Sind was visited by a

great earthquake which destroyed Brāhmanābād and Alor and other old towns and which changed the course of the Indus also for it flows now to the west of Nerun whereas in Hindu times it flowed to the east of it. It may therefore be said that even nature changed the face of the country. Many people were converted to Mahomedanism including some princes. But the population generally remained Hindu. Mahomedan saints, however, attracted now the public attention and gaze and naturally supplanted the Buddhistic monks. Noted saints have still their holy places and mosques in Multan and other towns which are revered both by Hindus and Mahomedans. The early religious zeal and sincerity of the Arabs was undoubtedly remarkable and Sheikh and Sayyad saints could not but be attributed as great Ajmat or spiritual power as the Buddhist.

It is strange that the Arabs did not much try to extend their conquests. Probably as has been said, the rest of India was now stronger having revived its Aryan spirit. Perhaps the Khalīfas themselves declined and became luxurious. The Ummya Khalīfas reigned only till 754 when the Abbassadies drove them out. These reigned from 753 down to 1025 A. D. Kadir Billa the Khalifa in Mahmud of Ghazni's days gave shelter to Ferdusi whose story is well known, he having incurred Mahmud's displeasure by writing a satire on Mahmud's illiberality. Mahmud demanded Ferdusi from Kadir Billa, but the latter declined to surrender him and Mahmud thereon conquered Multān in revenge and sent his vazier Abdurrazak to conquer Sind in 1025 A. D. In the course of one year Sind was conquered and lost to the Arabs finally. Thus was Sind returned to Indian history over a quarrel between patrons of learned men-not a bad lot. Sind remained part of Mahmud's Empire or kingdom down to about 1200 A. D. when Muhammad Ghorī conquered India and after him when Kutubuddin became independent king, Sind became a part of the Turkish Mahomedan Indian Empire, at the beginning of which our history ceases.

The Samma and Sumra dynasties of Indian Mahomedan rulers of Sind in the 14th century may, however, be noted in the end. When the Moguls under Timur, came to India and shook the Delhi throne, Sind like other Indian provinces of the Delhi empire attained independence. The first dynasty of the Sumras ruled from 1338 as independent rulers till 1357 when the Sammah dynasty came in and ruled till 1519 A. D. The Sammas* appear to be converted Hindus. By the strange fascination of religious zeal they claim descent from the Arabian prophet's family. But their pedigree consists wholly of Hindu names like Bharata and Śatrughna and the Chacha-nāma also states that the Sammas were Lohanas. They were descended apparently from Sāmba son of Śrīkrishna, a Yādava and he was a sun-worshipper of Multān (this sun temple in the Hindu Purāṇas is said to be founded by Sāmba). The Sammas, therefore, were clearly Aryans and Kshatriyas degraded by Chacha to the position of Śūdras. They were converted to Islam but they still possessed great influence and were warlike in character and thus established an independent dynasty which ruled Sind for about 200 years. After them the Moguls of Babar came and ruled till 1762. During a short interval after the Moguls, Sind was again independent under its Amirs. The country finally fell before the English in 1843 A. D.



* The Sumras too appear to be converted Rajputs though like many people converted to Islam in the Panjab they also trace their origin to the Arabs. Sir D. Ibbetson in his Panjab castes says of the Sumras in the Panjab that they were Rajputs originally in 750 A. D. They expelled the first Rajput invaders from Multan and Sind and founded a dynasty." Tod describes them as one of the two great clans Umra and Sumra of the Sodha tribe of Punwar Rajputs the first giving their name to Umrakot and both giving the name Umra-Sumra to the Bakhar country. The Sodhi are probably the Sogdi of Alexander's historians.

CHAPTER IV

THE SHAHIS OF KABUL

(This history is chiefly taken from Raverty's Afghanistan wherein he has collected together very many material statements with dates from Arab historians about Kabul. I have also compared with this information such information as is derivable from Hiuen Tsang and the Rājataranginī and also Cunningham's "Coins of Mediæval India." It is unfortunate that no detailed account is possible but such facts as are known are very interesting especially a statement of Alberuni as given below).

Kabul has always been in ancient history a part of India. In the Vedas the river Kubhā and Kramu are mentioned along with the five rivers of the Panjab and form what is called the Sapta Sindhu of Vedic as also of Avestic literature. Kubhā is the river of Kabul and Kramu is the modern Kurrum both names being derived from these ancient Vedic names. The Gāndhāras of the Upnishads are the people who inhabited the level region to the west of the Indus and east of the hills. But Kabul which extended up to the Hindu Kush, a significant name, seems to have been separate from Gāndhāra, the capital of which was Purushapura or modern Peshawar.

In ancient Persian history Rustam (the Persian Bhīma) is said to have married a daughter of the king of Kabul and also an historical Persian Emperor married another king's daughter. Persian Empire often included Kābul and Zābul (modern Ghazni) and adjoining territory upto the Indus. The people of Kābul and its king were thus undoubtedly Aryans and had marriage relations with the Iranian Aryans as well as with the Indo-Aryans. Ethnologically the Afghans are shown by Risley as Turko-Iranians *i. e.* Aryans mixed with Turkish blood. But they are certainly mainly Aryans though their own beliefs in modern days point to a different origin. They claim descent from a Jewish ancestor a belief which can be easily explained. It is a remarkable fact observable even in

the Panjab that Indo-Aryans when converted to Mahomedanism turn by the stronger influence of religious zeal from the east to the west for the tradition of their descent. Many Rajputs, therefore, who plainly by appearance, customs and history are none but Indian Kshatriyas claim descent from members of the family of the Arabian prophet and thus pose as true Sayyads. The Afghans similarly, since their conversion, look for descent among the ancestors of the Arabs in the mythological history of Ebrahim and Musa (Abraham and Moses). But they are unquestionably Aryans by ethnology and by history. During the invasion of the Greeks too we find they are treated as Aryans and Indians. The country from Haraivati (Sarasvati) a name of the Persians is called Arachosia and Archosia is said by Isidorus to be also called by the Parthians "White India" (p. 319 Ancient India by Plotemý McCrindle). Kabul is not mentioned by Greek writers: perhaps it was not then important. But Kabul was treated as India by later Persians and also Arabs as appears from their maps. "In the map given in Masatch or Mamatch, the Hirmand (Helmund) is styled the river of Hind and Sind *i. e.*, its western boundary and east of it was Hind and Sind and Kabul was a province of Hind". Thus it continued to be down to its conquest by the Turks (p. 62 Raverty) about 1020 A. D.

We know very little of the ancient history of Kabul and we are in fact not concerned with it in our work. At the commencement of our history *i. e.* about the beginning of the 7th century A. D. it was certainly governed by a Kshatriya king who was a Buddhist. Hiuen Tsang who visited it in 630 A. D. (see his itinirery Appendix p. 563 Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India) states so and further adds that Lampāk, Nagar, (Jallalabad) and Gāndhāra were subject to it. It was thus an extensive kingdom. Its king undoubtedly bore the title of Shah, a title which it must have borrowed from the Persians under whose empire this country frequently was. The king was thus a Buddhist, a Kshatriya and a Shah, a combination

of three traditions and civilisations viz. Chinese, Indian and Persian. This title Shah of the Kabul king is frequently mentioned both by the Arabs and the Rājataranginī as we shall notice further on. The subjects of these kingdoms were generally Buddhists though in Lampāka and Gāndhāra, the majority were of the Hindu faith (Hiuen Tsang). The inhabitants of Lampāka, the Chinese traveller states, were ignorant and ugly and thus do not appear to be fair Aryans like the rest of the Aryans whose fair complexion, not blackened by the fierce heat of the Indian plains but rather preserved by the cold climate of the land, had given the country the title of "White India." What race the people belonged to and what family of Kshatriyas the kings claimed to be born in is not yet traceable. The Arab writers who hereafter came into contact with Kabul call the king Kabul Shah Zantbil which Raverty says may have been really Ranapāl, the Persian letters r and j and b and p being undistinguishable. It is indeed impossible to guess what this name really was though some support may be found for this guess in the references in the Taran-ginī, very meagre though they are. The Arab historical references are continuous from 640 A. D. down to the Turkish conquest about the 11th century. It is probable that during these three hundred years or more there must have been more than one dynasty. But the Arabs use the same word Kabul Shah Zantbil throughout.

The Arabs conquered Mekran in 640 A. D. and Herat in 650 A. D. and thus came to the frontiers of Kabul. Their first invasion of the country was however in 663 A.D. (43 A. H.) under Abdul Rahman who laid siege to Kabul for one year and eventually took it. As in Sind, the Arabs massacred the warriors, enslaved the women and children and spared the Kabul Shah only on his consenting to be a Mahomedan. The Arabs retired leaving him a king paying tribute. But unlike Sind, Kabul was intractable and the people again asserted their independence. The same Hajjaj Viceroy of Iran who sent Mahomed Kasim to conquer Sind sent one Abeiddulla to again

reduce Kabul. The Shah retired into the mountains much like what the Afghans did in later history and cut off the invader by seizing the passes by which he had followed him into mountainous country. He was reduced to submission by starvation and allowed to return on payment of 7 lakhs of dīnāras (697 A. D.). The implacable and energetic Hajjaj sent another expedition under Abdul Rahman and Kabul Shah again retired into the mountains (700 A. D.). This time also the expedition failed because Abdul Rahman himself rebelled against the haughty Hajjaj, a conduct which is certainly strange and inconsistent with the strong discipline of the early Arabs (compare the conduct of Kasim). Abdul Rahman made peace with the Kabul Shah. Indeed he was supported by the latter when he was invested by the force of Hajjaj, and rescued. Hajjaj died in 713 A. D. and Kabul remained unmolested for several years thereafter. Under the Khalifa Haroun-Al-Rashid in 786 an expedition under Abbas invaded Kabul. He seized and plundered a great Vihāra outside Kabul called Shah Bihār, a place still known. It appears the king and the people were still Buddhists. But the Shah and the country escaped subjugation by retiring as usual into the mountains. For two centuries more the kingdom of Kabul and the Hindu Shahi dynasty flourished. Ghazni meanwhile fell and was taken possession of by a Samanī dynasty of Arab Mahomedan kings and they conquered Kabul also. But the Hindu dynasty was still allowed to rule in subjection to Ghazni for nearly a century more.

The Turks now began to invade the country and in 934 A. D. took possession of Ghazni under Alf Tegin (these are two words which are often wrongly combined). The Shah of Kabul assisted his suzerain of Samanī dynasty to fight against the Turks. Kabul became now independent for a few years. But Sabak Tegin conquered it probably in 975 A. D. and Kabul again became dependent on the Turkish rule at Ghazni and we find a Kabul king (see Alberuni) offering his aid to Sabak Tegin to fight against his enemies. But the kingdom of Kabul could not last

before the growing ambition of Mahmud and after a final terrible conflict (A. D. 1021) as we shall presently relate Kabul was finally conquered by him and completely blotted out as an Aryan kingdom, so much so that not even the memory of Kabul being once a Hindu kingdom remains. The people were forcibly converted. Alberuni mentions an interesting story of this conversion (Vol. II p. 157). The Ispahadad (governor) of Kabul consented to be a Mahomedan on two conditions viz: that he would not eat cow's flesh and that he would not follow another repugnant practice. The people, however, were soon so completely changed in sentiment that they too soon forgot not only these conditions but the very fact that they were once Indian Aryans.

We now go on to notice the few important glimpses which we get of the Shahi kings from the *Rājataranginī*. King Śankaravarman who ruled between 884 and 902 A. D. conquered the Shahi king Lalliya and seized the kingdom when Lalliya fled from it and took refuge with Ālakhāna Gurjara. This must have been in the time of the Samani Mahomedan kings of Ghazni who were overlords of Kabul, as stated above, about that time. Then again Prabhākara-deva after Śankaravarman's death during the regency of his widow, queen Sugandha for her minor son Gopālavarman is said to have conquered the Shahi kingdom* (it must have rebelled against Kashmir sovereignty) and placed on the throne Toramāna son of Lalliya. ‡ This indicates that for some time Kabul was under the direct government of Kashmir during the period 884-904 A. D. Thereafter we read that a grand daughter of a Shahi king and a daughter of a king named Sinharāja of Lohara, by name Diddā was married to Kshemagupta king of Kashmir who reigned from 26 to 34 Laukika era (Rāj. VI, 187) i. e. between 951 to 959 A. D. This Shahi king's name is available as he built in Kashmir in honour of his grand daughter a temple of Vishnu called by his own name Bhimakeśava. † The

* तदनाण्डपुरे तेन शाहिराज्यं व्यजयित 232 पं.

‡ अजगतेक्रामिणः शाहेः कृत्वा कमलुकामिधाम । तोरभाणाय सम्प्रादाद्राज्यं ललियसूनुवे V. 233.

† मानामहेन भूमर्हवधवास्तस्या व्यधीयत । श्रीभामशाहिनोदात्तप्रासादो भीमकेशवः ॥ VII, 78.

name of the king was thus apparently Bhimashah and he was a Vaishnava and not a Buddhist. It shows how in the tenth century Buddhism in India was generally dead and was changed into Vaishnavism by Buddha being admitted into the Indian godhead as an Avatāra of Vishnu as we shall have to show later on.

Lastly we have a graphic description of the fall of Kabul in the 7th Taranga or chapter of the Rājataranginī. It was in the reign of Sangrāma who succeeded. Anantadeva and who was a member of the Lohara royal family, that Trilochanapāla, Shah of Kabul, implored the aid of Kashmir against the Turks (under Mahmud). Sangrāma sent Tunga a famous minister with a large army. He was advised by Trilochana to follow the usual Kabul tactics of retiring into and taking support of the mountainous country. But Tunga declined the advice and fought a battle in the plains. A terrible conflict took place between Hamir (Amir) of the Turks and the combined army of Kashmir and Kabul. Several Kashmir chiefs named in the Rājataranginī distinguished themselves and fell in the battle and Trilochanpāla only retired when the struggle became hopeless. There was frightful massacre then of the remainder of the army and the kingdom of Kabul was finally lost to the Hindus. The patriotic poet-historian could not but shed a tear over the final fall of Kabul. "The very name of the splendour of Shahi kings has vanished. What is not seen in dream, what even our imagination cannot conceive that destiny accomplishes with ease" (VII 67). The complete separation of Kabul from India has however to be attributed to the forcible conversion of the whole populace a measure which Mahomedans did not adopt beyond the Indus. The reason of this we shall have to discuss later on.

Trilochanpāla sought shelter in foreign countries never to return. His sons are again mentioned in Kashmir history as refugees in Kashmir and as receiving splendid allowances from the state. Their names are Rudrapāla and others. Even in Kashmīr the family appears to have

finally been extinguished. These family names ending in Pāla give support to the theory that the Arabic name Zantabil might have originated in Ranapāla, a possible ancestor of one of the kings of the Shahi family of Kabul finally overthrown by the Turks. This was probably not the same family of Kshatriyas as Hieun Tsang saw in 630 A. D. Sangrāma ruled Kashmir from 1003-28 A. D. and the fall of Kabul during his reign must have been somewhere about 1010 or 1021 in which year Alberuni places it.

Sir V. Smith observes in his history, 'During his reign (Śankaravarman's 883-902 A. D.) the last of the Turki Shahi kings, descendants of Kanishka was overthrown by the Brahmin Lalliya (p. 373 V. S. 3rd Edn.) Lalliya undoubtedly founded a dynasty but the dynasty he supplanted was not a Turki dynasty founded by Kanishka. (The Pālas appear to be the descendants of Toramāna son of Lalliya. They seem to be Brahmins from the Rājataranginī also, but their daughters were indiscriminately given. One grand daughter Diddā was married to Kshemagupta ; another was married to Tunga's son, and another to the Lohara king). For the Kshatriya dynasty noticed by Hiuen Tsang was not descended from Kanishka as Sir V. Smith holds. The Kanishka family no doubt reigned in Gāndhāra at Purushapura or Peshawar where his famous Stūpa existed for a long time. But this family was overthrown already in Hiuen Tsang's time as mentioned by him, Gāndhāra being stated by him as reduced to subjection by the Kshatriya king of Kabul. It may be surmised that this Kshatriya dynasty of Kabul terminated sometime before 883 and a Brahmin dynasty came into its place of which Lalliya was probably the founder and which had marriage relations with Kashmir kings. We will discuss the question whether the dynasty overthrown by Lalliya was Turki as Alberuni thinks or Kshatriya as Hiuen Tsang describes in a separate note.

Lastly, we have to collate the information derivable from coins information which, though in the absence of dates it is often imperfect, is so far as it goes unchallenge-

able. Cunningham gives this informatton in his valuable work "Coins in Mediæval India" and formulates some theories also two of which are in our opinion not tenable. One great fact which appears from the so-called Gāndhāra coins is that the king is called Spalapati on the coins. Now Cunningham explains that Spalapati in Persian means war-lord and is the equivalent of Sanskrit Samarapati. Kallar the Brahmin minister who according to Alberuni (see note) seized the throne like Chacha must therefore have been the commander of forces and his Persian title (as the king's also was Shah) was Spalapati which he may well have retained afterwards. This Kallar may be equated with Lalliya of the Rājataranginī, Lalliya being the correct word and Kallar being misread for it in Arabic letters or Lalliya (Prakrit of this is the modern Lālā) was his favourite nickname. The coins of Spalapati Deva have a humped bull with Śiva's trident on them on one side and a horseman on the other with lance in the right hand. Now this type of coin remained long current in Kabul and even the Panjab and was so far popular that even Mahmud (and after him Mahamad Gori) issued similar coins with the name of Mahmud in Sanskrit above the horseman.

The coins found belong to and mention kings Spalapati Deva, Sāmanta Deva, Kharmarayaka and Bhimadeva and these coins are assigned by Cunningham properly enough to Kallara, Sāmanta, Kamalu, and Bhima, mentioned in succession by Alberuni in the Brahmin dynasty. We may also add that in the Taranginī we find the names of Lalliya for the first, Kamaluka for the third (alias Toramāṇa) and Bhīma. No coins are found of Jaipala, Ānandapala and Trilochanapāla. Cunningham surmises that these Pālas formed a different dynasty and belonged to the old Turkish Rajput dynasty supplanted by Lalliya. But this would be against the evidence of Alberuni who living about the same time as Trilochanapāla must certainly have known the fact. He calls them all of the same Brahmin dynasty. Deva is certainly indicative of

a Brahmin; but it may mean king also. And as we have said before, Brahmin kingly dynasties of those days by marriage with Kshātriya princesses became in time Kshatriyas to all practical purposes. The name-ending Pāla is not therefore strange and need not indicate a second dynasty. A third guess made by Cunningham from the Jhūsi copperplate is also not well founded. For this grant inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII) on inspection will show that it does not belong to Trilochanpāla of Kabul at all. There the *Shahi* dynasty is not mentioned. The copperplate again has been found at Allahabad and belongs to that province. The father of Trilochana is further given as Rājya-pāla and the grand father Vijayapāla. It grants a village *near Allahabad probably* to all Brahmins at Pratisthāna, a thing which Trilochana of Kabul could scarcely do. And lastly the grant is dated 1027 A. D. when Trilochana was no longer a king and when probably he was not even alive. This Trilochana of the Jhūsi grant is plainly and entirely a different person, the names Pāla and Trilochana being very common all over Northern India. We do not think the *Shahi* dynasty as kingly dynasty survived Trilochana as it was extinguished with him in about 1021 A. D.

NOTE

WAS THE FIRST SHAHI DYNASTY OF KABUL, TURKI IN ORIGIN?

Sir V. Smith observes at page 373-4 of his *Early history of India* (3rd Edn.) under Kashmir "during his (Śaṅkarwarma's) reign, the list of the Turki Shahiya kings, the descendants of Kanishka, was overthrown by the Brahmin Lalliya. The Turki Shahiya kings had ruled in Kabul until the capture of that city by the Arab general Yakub-i-Lai, in A. D. 870." We have already shown that the last dynasty overthrown by Mahmud of Ghazni at Kabul was a Brahmin dynasty, the mention of whose king Trilochanpāla has already come in Kashmir history. We have here to inquire: was the first dynasty Turki in origin and descended from Kanishka? Smith's observations are plainly based on Alberuni as interpreted by Stein in his *Rājataranginī*, Note I, Vol. II p. 336 "Shahi of Udabhānda." Let us first see what Alberuni states (Vol. II, p. 10 trans. by Sachau).

"The Hindus had kings residing in Kabul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin. The first of them Barahatakin came into the country and entered a cave. (Here is given a strange legend which we omit). He became a king under the title of Shahiya of Kabul. The rule remained in his family for 60 generations. *Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to historical order of things, and they are very careless in relating the chronological order of their kings etc., and when pressed for information they not knowing what to say, invariably take to tale-telling.* One of this dynasty was Kanik (another strange story is here given of Kanishka of the Buddhists and we omit his history). The last king of this race was Lagaturman and his Vazier was Kallar a Brahmin. Lagaturman had bad manners and worse behaviour and people complained of him. So the Vazier put him in chains and occupied the royal throne. After him ruled Brahmin kings named Samand, Kamalu, Bhim, Jaipal, Anandpal and Tarojanpal. The latter was killed in A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021) and his son Bhimpāla 5 years later." We cannot finish this quotation without giving a few further observations of Alberuni in which he like Kalhana sheds a tear over the downfall of the Brahmin kings of Kabul.

"The Hindu Shahiya dynasty is extinct and of the whole house there is not the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing. I admire the following passage in the letter of Ānandapāla which he wrote to Prince Mahmud. "I learned the Turks have rebelled against you. If you wish I shall come to you or send my son with

500 horse, 1000 soldiers and 100 elephants. I have been conquered by you and therefore wish that another man should not conquer you". The true Rajput valourous and generous character appears here plain. Destiny was adverse and the Kabul Shahi Brahmin dynasty was extirpated as we shall have to relate later on.

To return, we are concerned here with the question was the first dynasty which the Brahmin minister supplanted Turki in origin? Alberuni's information is plainly based on vulgar tradition which he himself remarked was clearly absurd. Now Hiuen Tsang distinctly says that the king of Kabul was a Kshatriya (this was in 630 A.D.). Hiuen Tsang knew well enough what a Turk was for he had come to Kabul through their country and he knew the difference between a Turk and a Kshatriya. As against the contemporary evidence of Hiuen Tsang, therefore, an absurd tradition related by Alberuni after 400 years and with evident reluctance and disbelief in it cannot be taken for history. And we can very easily show the absurdity of the tradition. Firstly, a dynasty cannot last in history for 60 generations or 1200 years. Secondly, Kanishka may have been a Turk but he lived nearly a thousand or 900 years before Alberuni. His descendants cannot have ruled in Kabul so long. We know that Kanishka ruled not in Kabul but in Peshawar or Purushapura of Gāndhāra. Thirdly, history tells that after Kanishka several incursions of foreigners occurred notably that of the Huns under Mihirakula. If any descendants of Kanishka had remained, they must have been swept off by the Huns. The Huns themselves were overthrown in India and in Persia and hence we believe that in 630 A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited Kabul there was an Aryan Kshatriya king ruling there. The kings called themselves Shahis because they copied the title from the Persians as the most powerful of their neighbours. After 630 A. D. down to Mahmud's time, the Turan people, Turks or Huns, did not invade India as we know it from history and Kabul had a tranquil rule for about 400 years. They were no doubt threatened by the Arabs in the beginning; but the internal dissensions of the Arabs soon stopped their progress beyond Sind. In short we do not believe there was any Turki dynasty of Kanik ruling in Kabul in 630 A. D. Kabul according to Hiuen Tsang had just conquered Gāndhāra where some Huna king must have been supplanted. Udabhāndapura so frequently mentioned in Kashmir history was hence under Kabul. Stein has rightly identified this town with Wahind of the Mahomedan historians. The Prakrit of Udabhānda would be properly (da being dropped and bha being changed to ha) Uahind; but it does not appear that Kabul was given up and the latter made their capital by the Brahmin Shāhi kings.

We, however, obtain some information of the Brahmin dynasty which supplanted the Kshatriya dynasty of Hiuen Tsang from Alberuni, information which being near his time is more reliable. The supplanting of an effete declining dynasty by a Brahmin minister is an ordinary

event in Indian history (we have the example of Chacha of Sind and others), and the taking of Kabul by Yakub Saffavi about A. D. 878 must have assisted this event as stated above. Alberuni mentions six kings as noted in the margin, and their dates may be taken approximately

1 Kallar	...	880—900 A. D.	as in the margin, at the average rate
2 Sāmanta	...	900—920 ..	of 20 years for each king. Now we
3 Kamalu	...	920—940 ..	have the mention of three of these
4 Bhīma	...	940—960 ..	kings in Kashmir history with defi-
5 Jayapāla	...	960—980 ..	nite dates. These practically tally
6 Anandapāla	...	980—1000 ..	with their probable dates here given.
7 Trilochanapāla uprooted by Mahmud of Ghazni	...	1000—1021 ..	First going backwards Sangrāmarāja assisted Trilochanpāla in his last

struggle with Mahmud. This Sangrāma died in 1828. Secondly, Bhīma-pāla's grand-daughter the notorious Diddā was married to Kshemagupta and Bhīma himself erected a temple in Kashmir to commemorate his name. Kshemagupta died in 958 A. D. Bhīma can certainly be his contemporary. Thirdly and lastly, Śankaravarman is said to have conquered Lalliya Shahi king. This Śankaravarman came to the throne of Kashmir in 885 A. D. and died in 902. His conquest of Lalliya was about the beginning of his reign. From the above Lalliya may be taken to have seized the kingdom of Kabul in 880 A. D. Śankarvarman very soon after this must have uprooted him. The verses in the Tarangiṇī are here somewhat obscure and I take them differently from Stein's Trans. (V. 15-5). It seems to me that Lalliya took refuge with Ālakhāna king of the Gurjaras of the Panjab. And Kashmir retained possession of Kabul for some time. It was restored after Śankaravarman's death by Prabhākaradeva minister of Sankara's widow, Sugandhā, to Toramāṇa son of Lalliya. This happened after Lalliya's death which equally with that of Śankara took place about 902 A.D. Alberuni gives the second king as Sāmanta. Now this word Sāmanta indicates that he was more a subordinate than independent king and as we have shown elsewhere Kabul remained subordinate to Kashmir for some time. The Kabul Aryans however in ancient as in modern times were greatly addicted to independence, for even the Arab historians say that "the people loved their own king and recognised none who was not crowned in Kabul." The people therefore rebelled after Sankaravarman's death during his son's minority and the minister Prabhākaradeva went and conquered them but like the English in later Kabul history thought it prudent to give the kingdom back to Toramāṇa son of Lalliya. From the Rājatarangiṇī śloka it appears that this king was given another name Kamaluka (see the verse already quoted). Thus we have every corroboration of Alberuni from Kalhaṇa and the first three Brahmin kings were 1 Lalliya 2 Sāmanta (some relative of Lalliya) and 3 Kamaluka (originally called Toramāṇa). Coins of all the three have also been found as shown in the body of the book.

CHAPTER V

THE KARKOTAKAS OF KASHMIR.

(For the history of Kashmir we have, as for Sind, a reliable history, not indeed written by outsiders, but by a native historian in Sanskrit. Kalhana wrote the well-known *Rājataranginī* in Śaka 1070 or A. D. 1148. He mentions in the introduction many previous authors on the same subject as Suvrata, Kshemendra, Nīlamata Chhavillākara and Helarāja. Unfortunately their works are unavailable at present probably because the *Rājataranginī* supplanted them. But as Kalhana has given up their versions in several places it would have been most useful for us to see what their version was and how far that version corresponds with other facts and with modern views. However, regret is of no avail and we have to rely upon Kalhana unless it is impossible to do so. Stein who has studied the work most carefully opines that Kalhana's history from our period onward is reliable. Kalhana says he has got his statements verified by grants, inscriptions and other records. He appears to have been a state officer himself. We may, therefore, safely follow him assisted by Hiuen Tsang, Chacha-nāma and such historical data as may elsewhere be available.)

We know from Kalhana that the mediæval period of Indian history actually commenced in Kashmir in the very beginning of the 7th century A. D. by the establishment of a new dynasty of kings. The ancient mythical Gonardīya dynasty came to end in Laukika era 3677. This era commenced 25 or 26 years after Kaliyuga which in the opinion of all begins in 3101 B. C. Thus the Laukika era which obtained in Kashmir down to Kalhana's days begins with 3075 B. C. This Gonardīya ancient dynansty accordingly ended in (3677-3075) 602 A. D. The last king Bālāditya had no son, nor probably any other male heir. In order to preserve the kingdom in his own line through a female, he gave his sole daughter in marriage, not as usual to a king ruling elsewhere in India but to an officer of his own named Durlabhavardhana. After the death of Bālāditya, Durlabhavardhana ascended the throne in 602 A. D. His dynasty is called the Karkotaka dynasty, inasmuch as it was protected by the mythical serpent

Karkotaka mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Probably of obscure origin, Durlabhavardhana allowed court poets to create the myth of his descent from the Karkotaka serpent. Or perhaps he was born in a Nāga or aboriginal family and hence this natural myth. Whatever the explanation, this belief did obtain in his time as Hiuen Tsang also notices it and says that the kings of Kashmir crowed over other kings, because they were protected by a dragon. The Taranginī represents Durlabhavardhana as a Kāyastha. It is difficult to believe that Bālāditya would condescend to give his daughter to a Kāyastha. He was probably a local chief of Nāga descent and his name-ending, Vardhana, clearly indicates that he was a Vaiśya and not a Kāyastha and a supplier of grass to the state cavalry. He was certainly a discreet and careful man and governed his kingdom successfully for 36 years. He founded a line of kings capable and energetic, called by the name of the Karkota dynasty which according to the Taranginī ruled for 254 years i. e. from 602 to 856 A. D. through 17 kings.

It may be noted here that the kings of this line were, like the Vardhanas of Thanesar, worshippers of Śiva. That was the usual worship among the Hindus at that time. They were also in addition worshippers of Vishnu and Āditya. The Buddhistic religion had already fallen into disfavour in Kashmir. The days of Meghavāhana were long gone by. Slaughter of animals was no longer prohibited by the state nor "were the butchers by profession compensated for their loss of work by grants from the state treasury" as in his days. The penalty of the profession of a religion of non-slaughter had already been paid dearly by Kashmir when the Huns under Mihirakula had enslaved the people for a time. Pravarasena a remnant of the Gonardiya line had established Hindu sovereignty again in Kashmir with Śiva worship about a hundred years or so before Durlabhavardhana. The kings of this dynasty were therefore powerful owing to the revival of the orthodox sacrificial religion. They built temples chiefly to Śiva and

often to Vishnu and to Āditya which are mentioned in detail in each reign by Kalhana but which we may pass over as not being of much importance to the general history of India.

Hiuen Tsang visited the country in the reign of this king and notices the downfall or rather decline of his religion in Kashmir. There were still many monasteries then and the Chinese traveller resided in one of them while in Kashmir. Vihāras are doubtless often mentioned by Kalhana as built by queens of the Karkota dynasty. But these were probably not Buddhist Vihāras, though the name sounds Buddhistic. Śaivas and Vaishnavas also had Vihāras of their own in which their Sanyāsis or recluses dwelt as is evidenced by Hiuen Tsang himself. It seems therefore that Buddhism was not only not the state religion during this dynasty but also was not much professed by the people. The kings and even the queens were rigidly orthodox and were devoted to Śiva or Vishnu or Āditya. The religion of pure sacrifice also flourished but apparently the bloody sacrifices of the Vedas had fallen into desuetude. For none of the powerful kings of this dynasty performed the much-honoured Aśvamedha performed by ancient Kashmir kings and even by kings of the Gupta line. Probably Hindu orthodox sentiment had changed. For the non-performance of Aśvamedha even in the case of Lalitāditya who made a digvijaya throughout India like Samudra Gupta as we shall have to relate further on, cannot be explained on the ground that the Karkota kings were not Kshatriyas. The Guptas indeed were most probably not Kshatriyas but Vaiśyas and yet they performed the Aśvamedha. Surely the Brahmins of Lalitāditya would have found ways to enable him to perform a horse sacrifice if he had wished it. But it seems general sentiment amongst the orthodox Hindus had by this time set in against the more horrid animal sacrifices of the Vedic ritual and thus the Buddhistic religion professed by Kashmir so long had by that time triumphed at least in Kashmir and put a period to these bloody sacrifices.

The people of Kashmir appear to have been, in the lower strata, aboriginies. They were called Dāmaras a name which still survives. The upper layers of the population were the three Aryan castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas with the mixed castes Kayasthas and others. The Brahmins were of course ministers of religion as also the conservers of learning sacred and profane, i. e. Vaidikas and Pandits, but they were also generally as a class, government servants even as now. From the ministers downwards to the revenue collectors and accountants the public servants were Brahmins in Kashmir as in Sind where as we have already seen in the last chapter even Mahomed Kasim had to retain their services for revenue administration. The ministers were indeed usually Brahmins (as in Sind and elsewhere, witness Chacha himself). The Kshatriyas were usually in the military service but the same was open to Brahmins and to Vaisyas also like the warlike Guptas. Unlike Sind and the, Panjab, however, agriculture was in the hands of the Śūdras or the aboriginal Dāmaras. In Sind and the Panjab the Jats and the Gujars were the true Vaisyas of the Aryan ancient social arrangement, the persons in charge of kṛishi and gorakshyā of the Bhagavadgita. The Panjab was par excellence the land of the Aryans and Sind followed it closely. Kashmir was half non-Aryan. We have already described the Kashmir Aryans as they appeared to Hiuen Tsang in those days viz: handsome, learned, yet deceitful.

Having described the social and religious condition of Kashmir at this time we may return to its political condition in the 7th century A. D. A new dynasty, as usual strong, energetic and as yet not depraved had begun to rule. Durlabhavardhana appears to have extended the sway of the kingdom, chiefly by conquering smaller kingdoms in the Panjab such as Taxilā (which Hiuen Tsang expressly declares to have come under Kashmir), Sinhapura and Uraśa. Various hill states such as Punach and Rajaouri are also mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as under the rule of

Kashmir. The sub-montane part of the Panjab down to the Salt Range was thus reduced to subjection by Durlabhavardhana. The modern Panjab in its east and south parts only was under a separate line of kings by the name of Tekka but the rest was either under Kashmir or under Sind, the boundaries of which, as the Chacha-nāma relates, were then conterminous. Harsha was the Emperor of Northern India at this time and he is said to have defeated Kashmir, which perhaps nominally acknowledged his supremacy. Bāna says Harsha exacted trilute while Hiuen Tsang relates that Harsha obtained by force a valuable relic viz. a tooth of Buddha which was triumphantly conveyed to Kanauj. Durlabhavardhana not a Buddhist himself was probably not very averse to part with that precious relic.

Durlabhavardhana died in 637 A. D. having ruled for 36 years. He was succeeded by *Durlabhaka* or the younger Durlabha. As grandson of the old dynasty king Bālāditya, he assumed the name of Pratāpāditya. He is said to have reigned for 50 years which coming after a long reign is not quite probable. He was a most meritorious king and many stories of his justice and solicitude for the welfare of his people are related by Kalhana. He established a *Maṭha* called *Nona Maṭha* for Brahmins of the Rohitaka country. When he built the temple of Tribhuvana Svāmi a shoemaker refused to give up his hut which stood in the way of the building. Durlabhaka declined to oust him by force whereon the tanner, moved by the king's high sense of justice, delivered up the land of his own free will. His queen Prakāśadevi built a Vihāra called Prakāśikā Vihāra, perhaps a Buddhist monastery. She was a Vaiśya lady and Vaiśyas have throughout Indian history usually shown a predilection for the religion of mercy and non-slaughter, that is to say Buddhism and Jainism as we shall see further on. The king's guru by name Mihiradatta (a Brahmin) built a temple to Śiva (Vishnu probably) by name Gambhira Svāmi. We mention these temples as typical of the practice of these

kings, their queens and their ministers to build temples to their favourite deities. Thus the king enjoyed a long rule endeared to his people by his religiousness and justice.

Durlabhaka had three sons, Chandrāpīda, Tārāpīda and Mukṭāpīda. Perhaps Bāṇa's Kadambarī had already become popular and names ending in Āpīda had begun to be liked by kings. Chandrāpīda succeeded his father necessarily at an advanced age and reigned for 8 years and 8 months only. He was like his father a very good ruler but his ambitious brother Tārāpīda had him killed by Abhichāra or magic, belief in which in those days was universal. Perhaps Chandrāpīda died of some sudden illness and people attributed it to the incantations of his base brother Tārāpīda. The latter next ruled but for a short time only viz. 4 years and one month, less by six days (such exact statements show that we are entering upon history based on records). Cruel and tyrannical as he was, he fell a prey to his own instrument and some one of his oppressed subjects had *him* also killed by incantations or Abhichāra. He was succeeded by the third and youngest son of Durlabhaka named Mukṭāpīda alias Lalitāditya who turned out to be, if not the most, one of the most illustrious kings of Kashmir.

The most attractive greatness of a king has always been his extensive conquests. Universal dominion has been the constant ambition of capable rulers in past and present history. What Cæsar and Augustus desired, what Charlemagne fought for, what Charles V and Louis XIV attempted, what Napoleon aspired to and what the last German Emperor Kaiser William III has sacrificed millions of lives for, is the same goal of universal dominion. It has attracted in all times great sovereigns in the East and in India, like Aśoka and Samudragupta, Akbar and Aurangzeb. The vivid example of Samudragupta was before Lalitāditya and of Harsha also. The Rājataranginī describes in detail the *digvijaya* of Lalitāditya i. e. his conquest of the four quarters, East, South, West and North an achievement which is not much remembered nor much;

described by modern historians. Perhaps like the panegyric of Yasodharman of Mandsaur, famous in ancient Indian history, by his court poet who recorded a glowing description of his greatness on his Jayastambha, this description in the Rājataranginī may at first appear fulsome and imaginary. But we have found a peculiarly strange confirmation of this event in the Chachanāma, a contemporary foreign account of the conquest of Sind. In a letter addressed by Dāhar to Mahomed Kasim (p. 87) occurs the following passage: "If I had sent against you the king of Kashmir, on whose royal threshold the other rulers of Hind had placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind, even the countries of Makran and Turan, whose chains a great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees, and against whom no human being can stand etc." This passage occurring so unexpectedly and without necessity and without any temptation for addition or interpolation is of great value as corroborating the account given in the Rājataranginī of the extensive conquests of Lalitāditya. His achievements are therefore historical and stand on a par with those of Samudragupta and Harsha, and we will without hesitation, place them before readers of ancient Indian history, on the combined testimony of the Rājataranginī and the Chacha-nāma.

The above quoted passage occurs in the Chacha-nāma in a letter written in 712 A. D. The conquests of Lalitāditya must therefore be placed a few years only before this, as they appear to be fresh in Dāhar's mind. They must have occupied Lalitāditya for half a dozen years at least. The date assigned by Kalhana to his accession is therefore correct and reliable. Durlabha ruled for 36 years, Durlabhaka for 50, Chandrāpīda 8, and Tārāpīda 4. Thus Muktāpīda alias Lalitāditya came to the throne in $602 + 36 + 50 + 8 + 4 = 700$ A. D. which is not at all inconsistent. Like Harsha and others Lalitāditya must have started immediately after accession on his world-conquering expedition. Of course he had at his back the resources of

a large kingdom well-governed for 100 years besides his own valour and engrossing ambition. His first enemy was Yaśovarman of Kanauj who as we shall relate in the history of Kanauj had at this time attained to nearly the sovereignty of the whole of Northern India by his conquest of the king of Gauda or Bengal. The conflict consequently between Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman was severe; but Lalitāditya was victorious and Yaśovarman fled the field of battle or as the poetical historian relates served the rising and resplendent sun with his back. It is not quite clear whether Yaśovarman was deprived of his kingdom. For in one verse Kalhana says that Yaśovarman was totally uprooted (*samūlam udapātayat*) but in another following verse he says that Yaśovarman who had such famous court poets as Vākpatiraya and Bhavabhūti, himself turned a court poet of Lalitāditya. The services of Mitra-Śarma, Peace and War Minister of Kashmir were duly rewarded by his being made a prince entitled to the five royal instruments of sounding (*pancha-mahā-śabdabhāk*). He also obtained the title of Shah, a Persian title about which we shall speak later on. He also appointed five new officers with the same title Shah for his new imperial concerns, viz. the great Chamberlain Mahā Pratihāra, the great foreign minister Mahā Sāndhivigrahika, the great cavalry commander Mahāśvaśāla, the great treasurer Mahābhāndāgāra and the great commissariat minister Mahāsāadhanika. It appears that Lalitāditya's chief arm of offence was cavalry and not the elephant force as with Harsha, and naturally enough, for the countries of Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkestan supply more horses than elephants. But he had elephants also no doubt and he is said by Kalhana to have compelled the Gauda king to give him his whole elephant force for his further progress.

Who this Gauda king was whom he next conquered the Taranginī does not tell us nor the name of the king of Kalinga nor of the king of Karnāta, nor of the Kaveri region, nor of the seven Konkanas, nor of Saurāshtra or Dvārakā, nor of Avantī or Malwa which countries he

successively traversed and conquered. The absence of the mention of the kings of these countries may perhaps be looked upon as suspicious and imaginary (Stein). But we think there is no reason to disbelieve this march of Lalitāditya resembling the march of Samudragupta through the then known countries in India. For the kingdoms mentioned were assuredly the most prominent ones in north and south India at that time viz. Kanauj, Bengal (or Gauda) Kalinga, Karnāta or the country under the Eastern Chālukyas, the Kaveri or Kanchī country of the Pallavas and the seven Konkanas belonging most probably to the Gangas. In Saurāshtra we had the Valabhi kingdom and in Malwa there was the kingdom of Avanti or Ujjain where the famous temple of Mahākāla was situated. Curiously enough in Karnāta we have the particular mention of a Ratta queen who proferred submission willingly. Who was this queen? The Chālukya Vallabha king at this time i. e. about 700 A. D. in the Deccan or Dakshināpatha was Vijayaditya whose rule is assigned as we shall see later on from 696 to 736 A. D. He was undoubtedly a Ratta or Maratha. He was for some time in captivity at Kānchī and hence his queen might have proferred submission. But we think Lalitāditya did not go to Vātāpi at all. He moved along the coast and hence he conquered the Eastern Chālukyas. The mention of Vindhya here is therefore proper and of course refers to the eastern Ghāts. Here were also the same Rattas. The queen, as we shall show later on in Vengi history, must have been Jayasinha's widow with her son Kokkili after whom there was some family dispute as described in that history.

We have no mention of the conquest of Sind and probably Lalitāditya did not go to Sind. Dāhar must have proferred submission when the latter was in Dwarka on the southern frontier of his kingdom. His letter above quoted clearly admits his submission to the suzerainty of Kashmir. Having returned to Kashmir after conquering east, south and west, Lalitāditya undertook the most difficult task of conquering the north which in the case of Kashmir

meant the conquering of Tibet and Turkestan, an apparently difficult task. He is said to have conquered the Daradas and Kambojas (Tibet) which was easy enough, but he conquered the Turks also and their king Mummuni is said to have been thrice defeated. This is perhaps the first and the last mention in Indian history of an Indian king going out of India into the country of the fierce and warlike barbarians of Turan. But there is no doubt of the truth of this conquest or rather success in battle. For we have not only the mention of Mummuni their king but the extract above given from the Chacha-nāma also states that the king of Kashmir had conquered *Mekran* (Baluchistan) and *Turan* (Turkestan). India has always been conquered by hordes coming from Turan but this singular exploit of Lalitāditya in going out of India and conquering Turan deserves a prominent record in the mediæval history of the country. Turan seems to have offered stubborn resistance and Mummuni had to be thrice vanquished. In fact, Lalitāditya subsequently led many expeditions to the north of Kashmir and is said to have even crossed the Gobi desert. And he is said to have lost his life eventually in these regions, historians of Kashmir did not know how. Of northern barbarians Tukkhara and Bhauttas are mentioned. Prāgyotishapura and Strirājya are also mentioned probably to fill up the usual Mahābhārata story (they are evidently Assam and Burma or Manipur). And the mythical Uttarakurus finally come in to finish his Digvijaya. The partial poet declares in the end that in order to emphasise his conquest of the north and the south, Lalitāditya compelled the Turushkas in the north to half shave their heads and to hold up their hands in token of their being prisoners and he compelled the Dākshinātyas of the south (the Deccanese) to wear long kachhas reaching the ground like tails in token of their being beasts !!! It is really wonderful how poets represent already existing local customs as contributing to the praise of their favourite king. It seems however certain that the practice of half shaving their heads is very old among the Turks and

did not originate with Mahomedanism. And the practice of having long kachha among the Deccanese (Marathas) is also very ancient, Northerners putting on tight kachha (the Kashmiris too doing the same). The modern practice of wearing payajamas prevalent in Kashmir is not thus as old as Kalhana but is of still recent date being borrowed, very clearly, from the Mahomedans.

The internal administration of Lalitāditya was also remarkable. From his foreign conquests immense wealth and treasure came into Kashmir and it was naturally spent on the building of temples and Vihāras. He gave 11 crores of golden money to the temple of Bhūteśa (Siva). He built a Mārtanda temple (Sun) with a great uncut stone-wall which is still famous. He built a bridge over the Vitastā at Chhatrapur. He built a town outside Srinagar and at some distance and called it Parihāsapura and built there a famous temple to Vishṇu called Parihāsa Keshava where he placed a Garuda image on a one-stone pillar 54 cubits long. Many gold and silver images of Vishṇu, Varāha etc. are also spoken of. The Parihāsa Keshava image was of silver adorned with valuable jewels. Gold and jewels began thus to accumulate in temples, a necessary evil of idol worship, an evil which in consequence created a counter religion of idol-breaking and the jewelled golden idols of India added the temptation of greed to the promptings of religious zeal among the Mahomedans. We shall have to speak of this strange infatuation of kings and grandees to stuff temples with immense portable riches in gold and silver and in diamonds and rubies. The practice was older than Lalitāditya. but here we have a sure mention of it, Kalhana observing that " the wealth offered and dedicated in temples could not be counted ". The queens also as usual built temples to their favourite deities. Chankuṇa, a Tukkhār minister gave two magical stones to the king and purchased from him an idol of Buddha which had been brought from his conquest of Magadha. He placed it in a Vihāra which he dedicated to the Buddhists. It seems clear from this as is

also otherwise well-known that before Mahomedanism, Buddhism was the prevailing religion among Turks, Tukkhars and other barbarians of Turan.

These temples to Śiva, Vishṇu, Āditya and Buddha of course satisfied the religious cravings of those times. To the modern historian it is interesting to note that Lalitāditya had many halls established in his kingdom for the feeding of the hungry and for giving water to the thirsty. These chhatras and prapās testify to his humane disposition and his care for his subjects. He is also said to have excavated wells and springs in the northern sandy regions of the Turks where for many miles water is often unobtainable. These, the historian says are still visible and supply water to the thirsty traveller of these inhospitable regions. Thus Lalitāditya appears to have been a true Kṛitayuga or golden age king in the otherwise not very happy history of Kashmir.

But there is one bad act of this famous king which Kalhana says was prompted by the Kali or iron age. He had the Gauda king killed in spite of his promise not to harm his life given on oath of his favourite god Parihāsa Keshava of his favourite town. Who this Gauda king was and why Lalitāditya did this horrible deed so unlike himself, Kalhana does not describe. He however relates that when the most loyal servants of the Gauda king heard of this slaughter, they started at once for Kashmir and having got entrance to the kingdom on pretext of visiting the Sāradā temple they came to Parihāsapura. The king was fortunately absent on an expedition to the north. The exasperated men in their mad zeal went to the temple of Parihāsa Keshava to take vengeance on the god who had allowed his oath to be broken. Finding the temple of Rāmasvāmi* open they mistook that god for Parihāsakeshava threw down the silver idol, broke it into pieces and even atoms and strew them on the road as they went back.

* This idol was believed to have been made by Rāma himself and was found in a tank. The names of idols in Kashmir often end in Svāmi which means of course 'Lord' Lord of Rāma and so on.

Such is the strange story of the slaughter of the Gauda king and the religious frenzy of his loyal servants.

The end of this wonderful king was alike wonderful. Where and when he died is not known to Kashmir historians. He certainly did not die in Kashmir. A messenger arrived from his camp somewhere among the Northern barbarians announcing that the king could not return and that the ministers should proclaim his son king. He is said to have ruled for 36 years and thus his reign came to end in 736 A. D. Comparing this account with the account derivable from foreign sources as related by Smith we may say that an embassy from China in 733 A. D. may have been received, investing Lalitāditya with the title of king. Of course it must be taken subject to Chinese misrepresentation in that the Chinese Emperor was believed to be the ruler of the whole world. Lalitāditya also looked upon himself as Emperor and the embassy must have been nothing more than greetings between rival emperors claiming sovereignty over Turkestan. As for the date of his victory over Yaśovarman, Smith on the authority of Levi and Chauvanes places it in 740 A. D. But this does not seem to be correct. It is against the authority of the Taranginī which places his death in 736 and also against the evidence of the Chacha-nāma which seems clearly to place this victory before the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in 712 A. D. This date will be further discussed in a note.

Lalitāditya was succeeded by his son Kuvalayāpīda a very sensitive man. When a minister disobeyed his order he was so incensed that he passed a sleepless night, but reflecting in the morning in the opposite strain he resigned sovereignty as full of difficulties and disquiet and retired to a forest. He ruled for one year only and 15 days. He was succeeded by his brother Vajrāditya a man of an exactly opposite temperament. He immediately threw himself headlong into the pleasures of kingly power and naturally succumbed after a bad reign of 7 years and some days. He was succeeded by his elder

son Sangrāmapīda who too died after a short reign of 7 years. His brother Jayāpīda and a grandson of Lalitāditya now came to the throne of Kashmir. His goodness and greatness had already been marked and foretold by his grandfather and we come to the reign of another brilliant king as illustrious as Lalitāditya and only next to him in foreign conquests.

Jayāpīda like his grandfather commenced his reign by issuing out for world conquest a favourite game with powerful Indian kings. His first enemy was of course the king of Kanauj name not mentioned. Conquering him he proceeded as far as Prayāga where he made liberal gifts to Brahmins. His army, however, afraid of long journeys into the south as in the days of Lalitāditya, returned to its native country. Nothing daunted Jayāpīda is said to have gone into Bengal single-handed. He came to Paundra Vardhana town ruled by one Jayanta. Having killed a tiger which had become a terror to the town he came to the notice of Jayanta who gave him his daughter Kamalādevi in marriage. This story sounds more as fable than as history. Jayāpīda then subdued five Gauda princes in Bengal in behalf of his father-in-law and then returned in triumph to Kashmir with his bride. On his way back he seized the precious throne of Kanauj and took it to Kashmir. In his absence his brother-in-law, one called Jajja, had seized the Kashmir throne. Jajja was overthrown and killed in a battle and the country was proud and glad to be again under the rule of its rightful king Jayāpīda.

But Jayāpīda became more famous than his grandfather Lalitāditya as a patron of letters. He himself was a great pandit; and the poet historian says that he was as jealous of a rival in the field of arms as in the field of letters. He revived the study of the Mahābhāshya (the great work on grammar by Patanjali) and appointed Kshirasvāmi as teacher of grammar. The head of the council of pandits was Udbhata the well-known author of Udbhatāṭalankāra on poetics and paid him as pay one lakh of Dināras per day (most certainly a hyperbole of the poet

historian even if like Mahmud of Ghazni Jayāpīda gave copper Dīnāras instead of silver or gold ones). Other famous literary names are Manoratha, Śankhadanta, Chātaka and Sandhimān poets, Vāmana (writer on both grammar and Alankāra), Damodargupta author of Kuttinīnata (mathematics) and Thakkiya who was originally superintendent of granary in the service of a minister of his. The best men in the whole land of Indīa were called and patronised by Jayāpīda, so much so that Kashmir became famous as the land of learning and as the poet historian remarks, there was a famine of learned men in other countries of India. Though a conqueror he assumed the title of Vinayāditya or the sun of education. The poet historian observes, "Equally divided between valour and learning, as if placed between two reflecting mirrors, the king seemed not doubled only, but made hundred fold."

He renewed his foreign expeditions many times, accompanied by many subordinate kings among whom is mentioned strangely enough Mummuni. But in Nepal he had a reverse unlike his grandfather and fell a prisoner into the hands of the king of Nepal, named Artundi. In this misfortune he was saved by his minister who brought another army into Nepal and by a stratagem enabling Jayāpīda to escape from the castle where he was imprisoned, by the sacrifice of his own life placed him in possession of new forces. Nepal was defeated and Jayāpīda returned triumphant to Kashmir, mourning, however, for the death of his faithful minister Devaśarmā son of Mitraśarmā the famous minister of his grandfather.

It is unfortunate that this valiant and learned king became in his later days a tyrant and an oppressor of Brahmins. Perhaps his misfortunes in spite of his victories left him poor. It is said that a *serpent* having promised to reveal to him a mountain of gold revealed in the end, owing to his mistake, only a mountain of copper situated in the Kramarājya (a province of Kashmir) and he had 99 crores of copper dīnāras struck. But he had a

dirt of gold and for the sake of gold he began to oppress his subjects through his Kāyastha officers. We must speak here of the Kāyasthas, a caste to whom Kalhana always refers with contempt and disapprobation. The Kāyasthas are found in the history of Kashmir onward, always assisting oppressive kings with their bad counsel and are generally associated with a rapacious administration. Kāyasthas did not meet us in the history of Sind. They are in fact (even now) not found in large numbers either in Sind or in the Panjab, where their place is taken by the Khatris who like the Kāyasthas were the competitors of Brahmins in the ranks of government servants. Even now Kāyasthas are to be found predominant in Kashmir, in the U. P. and in Bengal both in the population and in government service. They are not found to the south of the Nerbuda except in the Konkan. In the Deccan and in the south they are not to be seen. Undoubtedly the Kāyastha claim to Kshatriya origin is correct though there is admittedly a mixture of blood. The mixed caste of Kāyasthas is not mentioned in the earlier Smritis and finds mention only in one or two later ones. They are mixed Kshatriyas whose caste occupation is writing and government service as we find even in the Mṛichhakatika. By intelligence and energy they are undoubtedly Aryans and Kshatriyas. But strangely enough Kāyastha public servants are, though efficient, generally unpopular and oppressive. In the Panjab, government service is almost monopolised by Khatris. They are clearly Kshatriyas who have given up the sword for the pen and their intelligence as certainly indicates their Aryan origin as their physique, but they are not specially mentioned in ancient history like the Kāyasthas. To return to our history from this digression; Jayāpīda through his Kāyastha officers began to oppress his subjects by various exactions. He was opposed by the Brahmins who are usually a fearless out-spoken people (सर्वकालं ब्राह्मणानामहो धैर्यमकुण्ठितम् । निस्त्रिंशस्य बभूवुर्ये तस्यापि परिपन्थिनः ॥) Jayāpīda now became unpopular even among the pandits who at once turned their wit against him. The following verses are typical and well worth quotation. They are of

course based on pun of words. Jayāpīda who prided himself upon his learning is said to be not inferior to Pānini the grammarian. “नितान्तकृतकृत्यस्य गुणवृद्धिविधायिनः । श्रीजयार्पाडदेवस्य पाणिनेश्च किमन्तरम् ॥ कृतविप्रोपसर्गस्य भूतनिष्ठाविधायिनः । श्रीजयार्पाडदेवस्य पाणिनेश्च किमन्तरम् ॥.” The king, however, was incorrigible and ill-treated and despised the Brahmins the more till at last by the curse of a Brahmin, so the poet relates, the golden pole of his tent fell upon him and he died of the wound received. He is said to have ruled for 31 years. Thus his reign may be said to have ended in $736 + 1 + 7 + 7 + 31 = 782$ A. D. the kings intervening between him and Lalitāditya ruling for one, seven and seven years only.

We may close this chapter with a short account of the remaining kings of the Karkota dynasty which coming to a decline was now represented by incompetent men. The same spectacle of worthless sovereigns set up and deposed by ambitious and unscrupulous officers as is witnessed at the end of Mogul or Abbaside Khalifa or other kingly dynasties appears. Lalitāpīda son of Jayāpīda ruled for 12 years and squandered the riches unjustly amassed by his father on courtezans and sycophants. His brother Sangrāmāpīda ruled after him for seven years and was succeeded by a minor king named Chippata (the lesser) Jayāpīda son of Lalitāpīda son of the elder Jayāpīda. His maternal uncles Utpala and Mamma ministers fought for power. Now Utpala to secure power in his own hands set up another minor Ajitāpīda in place of the now major Jayāpīda while Mamma set up another. The two ministers fought a battle between themselves and Utpala was successful. The last minor king hereafter set up was Anangāpīda who was eventually set aside by Avantivarman grandson of the powerful Utpala and he founded the Utpala dynasty in about 855 A. D.

Kashmir during the reign of the Karkota dynasty enjoyed great power politically being twice the overlord of the whole of Northern India. Within the empire it had several provinces or rather districts of the Panjab under it and the territory of Kashmir itself is shown to be divided

into several divisions called Rājyas in the Rājataranginī (Kramarājya, Madavarājya etc. appear to be divisions of Kashmir). The kings were usually worshippers of Śiva and also often of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu temples being styled by names ending in Svāmi and Śiva temples in Īśa or Īśvara—a distinction which is clearly apparent in the Rājataranginī). The people were both Śaivites and Vaishnavites but there were also some who were Buddhists, especially among lower orders and foreigners. Under this dynasty Kashmir not only maintained but even increased its renown for learning and many noted names in Sanskrit literature belong to this period. We can thus understand why it was an ambition with Indian pandits to conquer the pandits of Kashmir as is apparent from Śankara's visit to the temple of Śāradā in that country to which we shall have to refer in our next volume.

CHAPTER

II LATER HISTORY OF KASHMIR.

Though not connected with the period treated of in this volume, we shall go on to relate succinctly the later history of Kashmir down to the end of the Hindu period, as Kashmir in the next portions of that period seems to be practically cut off from India. This history has not much importance for the general history of India, but it has an importance of its own. It exhibits on a smaller scale how despotic kingly government always tends to abuse after a period of glorious exhibition of justice and valour, how degenerate and debaucherous kings succeed highly vigorous and conscientious kings in the same line, how while kingly power is borne with a great weight of conscience by some kings, in the hands of others it becomes the instrument of oppression and opportunity for licentiousness, how for some time able ministers under the firm guidance of able rulers achieve great progress in administration, and how during another period unscrupulous ministers keep the country under their heel by bribery and terrorizing under incapable masters, how while under some kings an organised army is the means of securing peace at home and respect abroad, under others it becomes the *de facto* master of the state raising to the throne puppet after puppet, and how lastly the love of kingship sets father against son and son against father, not to speak of brother against brother and even mother against son and wife against husband. These and similar regular tendencies of despotic rule are as fully exhibited in this history of Kashmir as they were at Rome or at Baghdad, at Delhi or at Cairo. We will, therefore, describe this history in some detail and show how after all, a form of government combined of king and people is the best for securing continuous good government and progress.

When the Karkota dynasty came to an end, as usual by becoming old and rotten, Avantivarman came to the throne by his own power and founded the Utpala dynasty, Utpala being his grandfather and the first minister of the tottering Karkotakas who tried to seize the kingly status. Avantivarman as usual with founders of dynasties was a most capable and conscientious sovereign. Tales of his extreme sense of justice are related in the *Taranginī*, which we may pass over. But his revenue administration was equally most successful. With the help of an able and imaginative minister named Suyya, he executed various works of irrigation by damming the Vitastā and other rivers of Kashmir. Hundreds of new villages sprang into existence and thousands of acres of land came under cultivation. The poet historian relates that whereas from the most ancient times a Khāri (Khandi) of grain (rice) sold in the most prosperous days for 200 dīnāras, the same Khāri in the same Kashmir land began to be sold for 36 dīnāras (V. 117).

The king was highly religious and of course built several temples to Śiva and Viṣṇu and so also his ministers and queens. But he was also so liberal to the Brahmins and held riches of so little count that he finally gave away all his wealth to Brahmins except as the poet says his sceptre and umbrella. He also appears to have been a perfect Vaiṣṇava and an upholder of the tenet of Ahimsā (the mantle of Buddhism had in this respect now fallen upon Vaiṣṇavism). He, therefore, prohibited totally the slaughter of animals and the historian records that for ten years as in the days of Meghavāhana no animal was killed throughout the kingdom (V. 64). The poet remarks that "tortoises leaving the cold waters of rivers in winter securely basked in sun-shine on the banks". Bhatta Kallata it is further on said, and other sages were born in the days of Avantivarman 'for the salvation of the country'. Who this Śrikallata was we have not been able to find; but he must have been some Vaiṣṇava writer. The king died as religiously as he had lived, hearing during his

last moments the Bhagavadgīta recited. (This is the first mention in history of the Bhagvadgīta as a book of religious recitation). He died in 59 in the month of Āshādha Shukla 3. (This according to Kashmir reckoning which omits hundreds means 3959 Laukika era i. e. deducting 3075, 884 A. D.) V. 123. He thus ruled for 29 years from 855 to 884 A. D.

His son Sankarvarman succeeded him. But it appears there was a faction among the ministers and a party appointed a cousin of his as Yuvaraja. He and his cousin both being strong men, fought for power and many faithful adherents on both sides lost their lives in this civil war. Sankarvarman eventually got the upper hand and ruled singly. He now led his forces in Digvijaya most probably with a view to lead the fighting spirits of the people into other channels. The names of the countries and kings he conquered are important historically. He subjugated a king of Dārvābhisāra and imprisoned a king named Harigana. While yet fighting with the Gurjara king he put to flight Prithvīchandra king of Tri-garta and gave his kingdom to his son Bhuvanachandra who had already submitted to him. He is said to have 9 lakhs of foot-soldiers and 300 elephants (the infantry number is plainly exaggerated). With this immense force he defeated Ālakhāna king of the Gurjaras (Ālakhāna appears to be the name of a king and not of a place). The Gurjara king handed over to him the Takkadesa "giving up his own body in fact". He reinstated the descendant of Thakkiya who had been ousted by Bhoja. "He lay unconquerable between the Daradas and the Turushkas like the country of Āryāvarta lying between the Himalayas and Vindhya". He remained firm in Udabhāndapura (perhaps a battle was fought here with the Northerners.) "The Shahi king Lalliya was not reinstated owing to his anger and took refuge with Ālakhāna."

The above account requires to be co-ordinated with the history of other countries and we shall try to do so. Here it may be noted that a gloss in the commentary of Rājata-

raṅginī, says Trigarta meant Nagarakota and Takka country meant अद्रकीनर्दातटे शकरदो नाम and on गूर्जरदेश the remark is लघुगूर्ज्याराटदेशः. These remarks show that Śankaravarman's *Digvijaya* was confined to the countries about Kashmir, to the Gujar king in the Panjab and the Shahi king in Kabul. He conquered the Daradas on the east and the Turushkas on the west and the north only nominally. Who Thakkiya was is not clear but he must have been king of Rājapur overthrown by *Bhoja*, Pratihāra king of Kanauj who ruled about that time. The Shahi king Lalliya seems to have taken refuge with the Gujar king and his country remained under Kashmir not being returned as usual to the subjugated monarch. This was eventually done, for the country seems to have again risen after Śankaravarman's death. His minister Prabhākaradeva suppressed the rebellion but restored the Shahi dynasty by placing Toramāna son of Lalliya on the Shahi throne at Kabul (V, 233.)

Śankaravarman was a valiant king but unlike his father he turned out an oppressor of his people. We will notice the ways of his oppression separately, but the poet says that fifty sons of his died in youth without disease by the curse of his subjects. This is probably an exaggeration as we shall presently see. While returning from an expedition, he encamped in Uraśa (Hazara country) of Hiuen Tsang and in a sudden quarrel with its people a random arrow pierced his throat. The army proceeded on its way back to Kashmir under the guidance of discreet commanders; but Śankaravarman died on the way as the arrow was being extracted. The body was burnt in Kashmir territory and three of his queens, two of his servants and one faithful minister burnt themselves on the same pyre. This fact shows that he was not quite unpopular. It also shows that the practice of servants and ministers, faithful and affectionate, killing themselves on the funeral pyre of kings described by Bāṇa also in *Harsha Charita* was still prevalent. (In fact it obtains in Japan even at this day.) Śankaravarman died in 77 in Fālguna (V. 222) i. e. in 902 A. D. after a rule of 8 years.

Before passing on we may state that this greedy king was not a friend of poets and Bhattata and other learned men followed other professions. Only one poet called Lavata was in the pay of the king.

Sugandhā widowed queen carried on government during the minority of his son Gopālavarman. He died a minor and so too his brother Sankata. The dowager queen now herself ruled with the help of soldiers called Tantris who held somewhat the same position at Śrinagar as the Janizaries did at Constantinople or the Prætorian Guards at Rome or the Turks at Baghdad or the Marāthas at Delhi. A ten year old prince of a collateral branch was placed on the throne. The exactions of the Tantris were unparalleled. In 93 there was a terrible famine (399? - 3075 = 918 A. D.) and the *Hundikū* or tribute of the Tantris had to be made up by the ministers by selling young people. "Thus" observes the poet, "the people protected by prosperous kings like Tujjina and Chandrāpīda were led to destruction by these demons of ministers." The Tantris now raised another scion of the family by name Chakravarman and the government went from bad to worse owing to the corruption of ministers and the oppression of the Tantris. Chakravarman, however, proved a capable king. In order to get rid of the Tantris he once sought the help of one Sangrāma Dāmara. The Dāmaras were a warlike aboriginal people inhabiting the country and cultivating the land. The Dāmara said that if Chakravarman could assert himself the Tantris were of no account. Accordingly Chakravarman rose against the Tantris, and with the help of the Dāmaras killed or drove them away.

As predicted by Sangrāma Dāmara, however, Chakravarman turned out an oppressor. He oppressed the Dāmaras themselves and led a licentious life. The same misrule continued under his successor Pārtha. The poet observes (V. 439) " The country was plundered by Dāmaras when Chakravarman died and his successor (Pārtha) again oppressed it by raising the wicked Kāyasthas " (government servants). It is unnecessary to describe the many heart-

less acts of this king. He died in the summer of 15 (4015 = 939 A. D.). At the same time one Kamalavardhana leader of Tantris and other disaffected people surrounded the capital and defeating the Dāmaras entered the city. Pārtha's widow fearing misfortune hid herself with her infant son.

Here the poet historian describes a remarkable scene. The tactless Kamalavardhana instead of seizing the throne left vacant asked the Brahmins to elect a king, hoping in his heart that they would elect him. The Brahmins assembled in the Goshālā of the palace and wrangled over the election for five days. "With beards besmeared with the smoke of sacrifices, these Brahmins or bullocks without horns fought among themselves for want of unanimity. Instead of sprinkling a fit person with the water of sovereignty, they wetted their beards only with their own spit thrown out in wrangling." It is strange that Kalhana, himself a Brahmin, thus rails at these deliberations of Brahmins "who will never be unanimous." That is their great bane throughout their history. But it must be noted here that Brahmins always enjoyed a great power politically and had the election of a king to a vacant throne in their hands. Thus it appears in the Purāṇas for when Vena the oppressor was killed, the Brahmins created a successor to the kingly power by creating Prithu from his thighs. Whatever the old theory, the election of a king to a vacant throne was this time at least in Kashmir left to the Brahmins. By a sudden freak of fortune, one Yaśaskara, a Brahmin himself, son of Prabhākaradeva, the powerful minister of Sugandhā who had left the country owing to misfortune, accidentally came back at this time and was hailed by the Brahmins as king on the sixth day. Kamalavardhana and the people acquiesced and Yaśaskara was anointed king amidst public acclamations.

Yaśaskara as usual with the founder of a new dynasty proved a capable, energetic and conscientious king. He of course sent back the Brahmins to their sacrifices and

ruled with regour and scrupulousness. The poet's remarks here are worth quoting: "In his days people slept in their houses with open doors and travellers moved without peril on their paths owing to the destruction of thieves. Villagers were engrossed in cultivation and had no occasion to visit the court and Brahmins remained engrossed in their studies and had no occasion to take up arms. Brahmin sages on pretext of reciting Sāmas did not drink liquor nor did ascetics tend sons, wives, cattle or fields. Nor did religious men with fools for their teachers sacrifice with fish and Apupa or cakes, disputing with their own compositions based on Tarka or guess the principles of Veda. Nor did house-wives, worshipping false 'gurus', with shakes of their heads transgress their husbands. And lastly no astrologer, physician, juryman, teacher, counsellor, preceptor (purohita), herald, judge, and writer was uneducated in his days". This gives a very vivid picture of the social and political condition of the country under good and bad rulers. Yaśaskara, however, had only a short reign of 9 years and he was succeeded by his son Sangrāmadeva in 24 ($4024 - 3076 = 948$ A. D.) He was a minor and the forces of disorder, oppression and licentiousness soon took possession of the land. Parvagupta, a leader of Ekāngas, Sāmantas, Kāyasthas and Tantris seized the throne. After a short rule he was succeeded by his son Kshemagupta (either a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya) who married the notorious Diddā daughter of a king of Lohara named Sinharāja and grand-daughter of a Shāhi king of Kabul named Bhīmapāla. This Diddā had a long reign after Kshemgupta who died in 34 (see VI, 187) *i. e.* in $4034 - 3076 = 958$ A. D. During the minority of her son Abhīmanyu and after his death in 44 in minority, during that of her grandson Nandigupta and after his death, during a similar minority of his brother Bhīmagupta and when he died or was killed she herself in her own name, ruled by the aid of Tantris and a minister-lover named Tunga a Khaśa by race. She eventually elected her brother's son Sangrāmarāja of the Lohara family as her successor and thus began the Lohara dynasty in Kashmir.

This heartless queen noted for her great oppression of the people enhanced by the machinations of unscrupulous ministers ranging themselves on one side or another died in 79 after a disreputable rule of 45 years from 34 to 79 i.e. 958 to 1003 A. D.

The Lohara dynasty being near Kalhana's time is circumstantially described in the *Rājataranginī* but we may summarise the events in its time, as to us it is long gone by. The first king Sangrāmarāja was as usual a good and a prosperous king. In his reign began the final overthrow of India by the Mahomedans. Kalhana gives a graphic description of the battle fought by Trilochanapāla Shahi king of Kabul, assisted by Tunga sent by the Kashmir king Sangrāmarāja, to help him against the Turks under Hamir (Amir, name not given). Trilochanpāla was defeated and fled to Kashmir and Kabul was finally lost to India. The poet mournfully observes, "We have described the prosperity of the Shahi country during the days of Śankaravarman. Now we think in our minds with great grief, where is that Shahi dynasty with its ministers, its kings, its great grandeur? Did it exist really or did it not? Tunga returned to his own country Kashmir, totally defeated and left the whole Bhārata-land open to the descent of the Turushkas." Tunga was in Kalhana's view the cause of India's misfortune. Sangrāmarāja was already weary of this paramour of Diddā and he was murdered in open court by dissatisfied courtiers. Many men of his party fell and the country was cleared of the Tungas. After a reign of 24 years Sangrāma died in 4 (i.e. 4104 = 1028 A.D. Harirāja succeeded him; he too was a good king but died early. His minor son Ananta succeeded him. His friends were the sons of the dispossessed Shahi king, named Rudrapāla, Diddapala, Kshemapāla and Anangapāla who had ample allowances settled on them by Sangrāma and who yet were so spendthrift that they were always in need of money. They therefore by bribes oppressed the people, "So they too in a short time came to an end." (अन्येऽपि शाहितनयाः क्षिप्रमेव भ्रयं ययुः । रुद्रपालेततो लूतामयेन प्रमये गते । VII

178). But they were a valourous set of warriors and were of great use to Anantarāja in his fight with the Turks. For in the usual manner of the Indian people a disaffected sardar of Kashmir brought in the conquering Turks to overthrow Ananta. This was a formidable combination of seven Mlechha chiefs, Dāmaras, the king of Darada and the disaffected sardar Brahmarāja. But Anantarāja was a valiant warrior. The conflict was of course terrible. The poet observes "There was that day the marriage festivity of heavenly nymphs marked by the fire kindled out of the clashing of weapons. The Darada king was killed by Rudrapāla whose fame spread higher. The Mlechha chiefs got slaughter and imprisonment while the king of Kashmir got gold and jewels." This clearly shows that the Turks were totally defeated. Smith says in his Early History "In the reign of her nephew, Sangrāma, the kingdom suffered an attack from Mahmud of Ghazni and although its troops were defeated by the invader, preserved its independence which was protected by the inaccessibility of the mountain barriers " (3rd Edn. p. 375) This is against the testimony of the Rājataranginī. As we understand it, it relates the defeat of Sangrāma's forces not in Kashmir, but in Kabul where they had been sent to assist the Shahi king. Kashmir was not invaded in the days of Sangrāma at all. There was this expedition of seven Mlechha chiefs brought in by a traitor in the reign of Anantarāja and it was a signal failure.

Anantarāja married a daughter of the king of Jālandhara by name Sūryamatī. The king and his queen were both very religious persons. They built, as usual, several temples to Śiva to commemorate their name and they gave 108 agrahāras to Brahmins to enable them to study unmolested. King Bhoja of Malwa is said to have constructed a *kunda* in his days to commemorate his own name in Kashmir which shows the amicable relations existing between these two contemporaneous sovereigns. The queen Sūryamatī often assisted the king in the government of the country and sometimes took sole responsibility upon herself, the king merely executing her commands and

devoting himself solely to a religious life.* This happy royal couple, so rare in Indian history, was however extremely unhappy in later life. For Ananta by the advice of his queen in old age placed on the throne their son Kalaśa and retired. Kalaśa turned out a vagabond and when taken to task by his father for his licentiousness attempted to take Ananta's life. The aged king and queen in their retirement were surrounded and their place of residence set on fire. They with their followers issued out and wished to leave the kingdom, but they were implored by their subjects to stay. Kalaśa's son Harsha was called by them to their side and he left his father and went to his grandparents and comforted them. Still persecuted by his heartless son, king Kalaśa, Anantadeva one day killed himself. The queen was a most partial mother and every time espoused her son's cause. But the son did not even go to comfort his bereaved mother. She immolated herself on her husband's pyre like a true Hindu Satī cursing the ministers of Kalaśa who had taken her son away from her.

Kalaśa now induced his son Harsha to return to him and all the wealth of the aged king Ananta was kept separate and sealed as his separate portion. Kalaśa turned a good king after Ananta's death and he too had a long reign. Harsha lived quietly at his court and attained great renown, as Kalhana records, throughout India by his great accomplishments. He was a master of learning like his namesake Harsha of the 7th century. He was also a master of music and his musical compositions were greatly appreciated even by his father. But unlike his namesake, Harsha was unfortunate. Unscrupulous courtiers tried to set the son against the father and succeeded after a time. Harsha unfortunately rebelled and being overpowered he was placed in confinement. Some jealous queens and ministers tried even to poison him through food sent to him daily in prison. Coming to know of it, Harsha refused to take food and for a long time

* भवभक्तिव्रतस्नानत्यागशीलादिभिर्गुणैः । कृतिनानन्तदेवेन मुनयोऽपि विनिर्जिताः ॥ VII 20

fasted. Kalaśa like his father died mourning for his disloyal son and wishing even to name Harsha his successor. But Nonaka the inimical minister intervened and Utkarsha another son of Kalaśa ascended the throne. Kalaśa is said to have died in 49 Mārgashīrsha (4149 Lauk. = 1073 A. D.) The people generally were in favour of Harsha, but Utkarsha ruled cruelly in spite of them for a time. Vijayamalla, a third son of Kalaśa, however, made efforts to release Harsha and in this attempt he was joined by many. A battle was fought and Utkarsha was defeated and killed. Harsha was set at liberty and was crowned king of Kashmir.

Harsha ruled for a time justly and with great love and gratefulness to his brother and liberator Vijayamalla. Of course Nonaka and other ministers, partisans of Utkarsha, were sent to prison, but after a time even they were pardoned and appointed to offices.

Harsha's court now became the resort of learned men and he patronised them so much that Bilhana, the poet-historian observes, who had left Kashmir in the days of Kalaśa and who had been patronised by Parmādi Vikramāditya of Karnāṭaka so liberally that Bilhana's elephant rode in front of his army, regretted he had left his native land. The accomplishments and the learning of the king himself were past all description. "His time was passed in singing and hearing music, in composing musical pieces. He slept three hours by day and waked the whole night. In halls lighted by a thousand lights his nights passed in learned conversations or in singing and dancing. In his court both Kubera and Yama were constantly present and gifts and punishments flew about equally." (VII, 948). Yet his reign in the end was terribly unfortunate and his death resembles that of the unfortunate Dārā Śikoh of Mogul history.

For unscrupulous persons again triumphed and poisoned the amicable relations between Harsha and Vijayamalla. In fact under a despotic form of government, where any body can become king if he had only the auda-

city, the unscrupulousness, the power and the good luck necessary, irrespective of the consent of the people, such things will always happen. It was represented to Vijayamalla that he had almost got the throne himself and had wrongly allowed Harsha to reap the fruit of his own victory. Vijayamalla was influenced and after a time rebelled. He was, however, defeated and compelled to fly the country. It appears that the reign of Harsha hereafter was one unending series of persecutions of Vijayamalla's partisans and oppression of the ryots also. Even Harsha's own son Bhoja was mistrusted by him and he too fled. Eventually, Harsha was overthrown in a rebellion by Ucchala, a collateral of the same Lohara dynasty. His army was defeated and the capital was taken possession of by Ucchala. Harsha's queens burnt themselves to death and Harsha attended by one faithful servant fled and concealed himself in a Matha where he was found out and surrounded by Ucchala's men. Then, says the poet, Harsha remembered the śloka of the Rishis.* "The fire born of the exasperation caused by the oppression of subjects does not stop until it has burnt the prosperity, the family and even the life of the king." He even heard that his son had turned back to avenge him but had been killed in a battle. Thus bereft of every blessing in life, Harsha threw himself upon those who had surrounded the house and was killed. With Ucchala's permission unwillingly granted, a merciful person burnt the dead body of Harsha like that of a beggar and that of his faithful servant Prayāga who had also been killed in the conflict.

Harsha is said to have had the same astrological conjunctions at birth as Duryodhana and other destroyers of their own family.† He died in the Bhādra month of 77 (4177 Lauk. = 1101 A. D.) and was 42 years and 8 months old (One would have expected him to be older). With him, the first Lohara line came to end and the Śata-vāhana line of Ucchala commenced. This line was still reigning when Kalhana wrote his Rājataranginī in Śaka

* प्रजापीडनसन्तापात्समुद्भूतो हुताशनः ! राज्ञः श्रियं कुलं प्राणान्नादग्ध्वा विनिवर्तते ॥

† चन्द्रदैत्येज्यपापेषु स्वमदात्मजगतेषु च । आहुः सुसंहिताकाराः कौरवार्हान् कुलान्तकान् ॥

1070 or 1148 A. D. Uchhala ruled from 1101 to 1111 A. D. and was succeeded by his brother Sussala who reigned till 1128. Sussala had a strong reign but he was for a time dispossessed by Bhikshu a grandson of Harsha who had taken refuge at Dhārā. He, however, regained the throne and reigned securely till his death. His son by name Jayasinha a good and virtuous king succeeded him and was on the throne when Kalhana wrote. Kalhana has given such a detailed account of the reigns of this last dynasty that it covers nearly one-half of his work (47 years' history as compared with about 3000 years' history), but to the ordinary reader and student of general Indian history of the present day, the details of the intrigues and revolutions and counter-revolutions in this period are not of importance.

The history of Kashmir subsequent to Kalhana may be finally given, before proceeding, in a few words. It remained a petty Hindu kingdom torn by internal dissensions while the whole of northern India came gradually under Mahomedan rule. At last a Mahomedan adventurer from the south named Shah Mir deposed Queen Kota widow of the last Hindu ruler and founded a Mahomedan dynasty (1339 A. D.). Islam hereafter made its way among the population not by forcible conversion but by natural mutation. But the Brahmins though still sticking to their old religion retained the ascendant power in the land by their learning and their employment as government servants. Strangely enough till Akbar's final conquest of Kashmir in 1586 A. D. and its reduction to the status of a province of the Mogul Empire, Sanskrit remained the official language of the country, no doubt with many words borrowed from Persian and Arabic (Stein's Raj. Vol. I).

NOTES

1—POLITICAL CONDITION OF KASHMIR

The political condition of Kashmir was not very different from that of the rest of India but there are certain peculiarities which appear from the Rājataranginī and which are worth noticing separately. It is to be pitied that no inscriptions or copperplate grants have been found in Kashmir to assist us in this work, notwithstanding the fact that numerous temples were built and Agrahāras to Brahmins given by almost every king and queen and minister. Invaluable *contemporaneous* records are thus not available. But the Rājataranginī itself is based on many previous histories and the author says he has consulted grants and inscriptions also, as he could probably very easily do, being a government officer himself. His work, therefore, as we have before observed, is reliable to a great extent from the Karkota dynasty onwards i.e. during our period and we give below such information as can be gathered from it relating to the form of government in Kashmir.

The government was of course as usual despotic, the powers of the king who was anointed by the Brahmins and who sat on a consecrated throne, being unlimited. His power was thus derived from the religious ceremony, in other words from God and was attested to by the Brahmins. These kings belonged to the Kshatriya, Vaiśya or Brahmin castes; but whatever their original caste they married into royal families of India and became Kshatriyas for all practical purposes. They were usually both valiant and learned men. No cowardly or ignorant man appears in the list of Kashmir kings. They usually dispensed justice impartially but were tyrannical in their exactions. In their private life they appear to have been very licentious. In fact it was then believed that kingly power was granted by God for earthly enjoyment to one who had in his previous life performed the most torturesome austerities. They, therefore, in this life went to the opposite extreme and threw themselves headlong into sexual enjoyment. Even the best Kashmir kings appear to have had several nay hundreds of queens, wives and concubines for carnal pleasure (with probably the single exception of Anantarāja who was satisfied with one wife only.) This conduct is singular and is not reflected in the history of other kingdoms. (Perhaps we have no veracious and outspoken historian like Kalhana for them). It resembles rather the Mahomedan and Roman practices than Indian. In the Christian history of the west, however, the beneficial influence of christianity with its principle of monogamy cannot but be admired. Copying the conduct of kings, queens whether wives or widows were often as licentious, but examples of noble women are not wanting. The wonder is that both ill-behaved and well-behaved queens immolated

themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Such is the force of custom and the intense power of the human desire for the good opinion of the world.

The king was assisted in the administration by ministers appointed at will who were usually both able as well as unscrupulous. The names of ministers are somewhat different from those in other countries. There does not appear to be any chief minister (indeed as in the polity of other countries in India.). But the minister called *Dvārādhīpa* or master of the royal door in Kashmir seems to be the most important person. He was so to speak the High Chamberlain and had the control of the access to the king (VIII 576). Then there was the *Kampanādhīśa* which office cannot be well understood. He was probably the head of the army (579 ditto), and there was the *Nagarādhīśa* or head of the capital city (580). There was also the head of the treasury and the foreign minister *Sāndhivigrahika* is also mentioned (these two are general names and not special to Kashmir like the first three). There was again an officer of *Ganjas* which may be taken to be markets. Now markets are often said to be opened by kings, queens and ministers in their names. These places are places of barter and commerce and the head officer of them had the revenue collection of *Sāyar* or custom duties and also the regulation of trade under him and was thus a great power. The king had over these officials absolute power of appointment and dismissal. There was also an *Akshapatalādhyaṅksha* or chief of land revenue records. None of these officers was hereditary but sons of ministers usually became ministers in one or another department.

Very great opprobrium attached to the name of the *Kāyasthas*. It is not quite clear if this was a separate caste in Kashmir. The greater ministers were usually Brahmins or Kshatriyas or of families belonging to the royal caste or clan. But the *Kāyasthas* in Kashmir appear to include all revenue collection officers. Probably they formed a class among themselves. They were always the most willing instruments in the hands of oppressive kings on whom, however, the blame for oppression must really rest. These officers and officers of armies and the soldiers called *Tantris* were also very corrupt and *Utkocha* or bribe is a word that constantly occurs in the *Rājataranginī*.

There is one department mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* which it is difficult to understand. It is called *Karmasthāna* and its officer was also an important officer. Perhaps it meant the public works department. All construction of buildings, temples, mathas etc. must have been in his charge and as head of a great spending department the officer must have had splendid opportunities for embezzlement.

The king's *darbar* was, as in oldest times, the court of justice and kings are described as most zealously hearing every morning the complaints of *Arthis* or plaintiffs. The *vivādas* or cases were inquired into with the assistance of fixed jurors who are called *stheya* and sometimes

even these stheyas were partial and just kings by curious artifices found out the truth. In a case of treasure deposited with a person one king is said to have detected misappropriation by the defendent by inspecting the sealed deposit and finding therein rupees stamped with the name of kings who had not even come to the throne at the time of the deposit. This also shows that each king struck coins in his own name when he came to the throne as in these days. The coins are called Dinnāras (with a double n). And these were of gold and silver as well as of copper. The servants of government were paid so many copper Dinnāras a day, a court poet as already stated being described (of course by exaggeration), as receiving one lakh of Dinnāras every day.

The king could not have always presided in the court of justice and there was always a Rājasthānīya or deputy of the king appointed. (Stein also translates Rājasthānīya by Chief Justice VII 573). There was again a Dandanāyaka for the state who was probably the chief police officer with the jails in his charge and thus he was the master of punishments. Both these officers and others previously mentioned such as the Dvārādhīpati, Ganjadhīpa etc. were persons expected to lead military expeditions and were in fact generals and warriors also. For the king sent any one of them according to his pleasure to chastise rebels. Of course kings usually led armies in person on all important occasions.

The kingdom seems to have been divided into districts which were called Rājyas. The Madavarājya and Kramarājya so often mentioned in the Taranganī were clearly divisions of Kashmir and their chief officers were usually king's relatives for they are often called Rājas also. There were no Tehsils or Parganas as are now called below the Rājya but the usual revenue unit was the village. Village officers are not mentioned, but there must have been the usual ones. The heads of villages appear to be generally Dāmaras, a warlike and turbulent race which required often to be kept in check by severe punishments such as impalement or śūlāropaṇa. But they often also supplied peasant voluntary armies to the king. The revenue of the state must have been derived in kind.

There were certain other officers called Diviras; who they were it is difficult to find. Stein translates Divira by writer or secretary. It may be stated that these secretaries of the king (Diviras) are mentioned even in Valabhi grants. Then again the military officers or men called Tantris and Ekāngas are also understandable. These names are not found elsewhere. Are the Ekāngas equivalent of the Ekāndas of the Maratha armies? Or do we recognise in them the *Yekangbaj* of Ahmednagar Mahomedan warriors who fought with one weapon only, mentioned by Fehrīsta? "They made both offence and defence with the same sword."

The kingdom of Kashmir had a few subordinate feudatory states always dependent upon it and these appear to be Lohara, Uraśa and Rājapuri (kingdoms mentioned even by Hiuen Tsang as subject to Kashmir in 630 A. D.) In the time of Kalaśa in 63 (4163 Lauk.=1087 A. D.) eight kings came together to pay respects to him and there were great celebrations. (The minister Vāmana is described as having so successfully made arrangements for their reception and entertainment that nothing was left to be desired). These were Kirtini king of Abbapura, Āsata king of Champa, Kalaśa son of Tukka king of Ballāpura, Saṅgrāmapāla king of Rajapuri. Utkarsha king

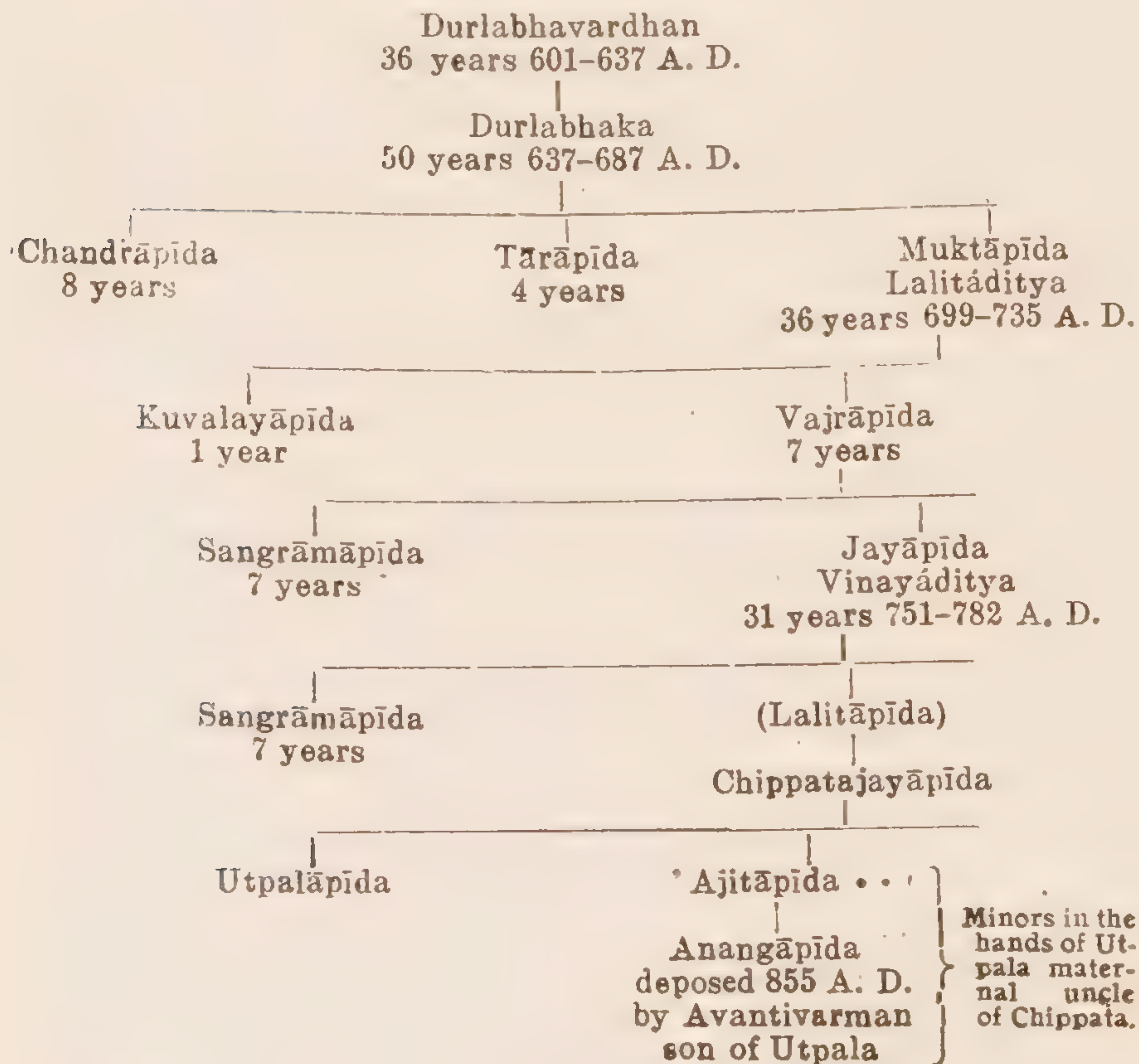
of Lohara. Munja king of Uraśa *Gambhīraśinha* of Kāndeśa and Uttamarāja king of Kāshthavāta. These appear to be small kinddoms on the frontier of Kashmir. They had usually marriage relations with the Kashmir royal families. Where these states were situate we cannot clearly determine.

The surrounding independent states were Gurjara in the south, Shahi or Kabul in the west, Turushka in the north and the Darada in the east. The Daradas (also sometimes spelt Darad) seem to have had constant conflicts with the Kashmiris.

Kashmir was always famous for its learned men and the kings usually were patrons of learning. King Harsha was a great pandit himself; so also Jayāpīda. The settlements of Brahmins were numerous and had Agrahāras or inam villages assigned to them. These were in fact learned Universities well endowed by kings. The Kashmir pandits were famous throughout India. Their names have a peculiar turn worthy to be mentioned. They always ended in *ta.* or *na.* such as Udbhata, Mammata, Lavata and so on or Salhana, Kalhana, Bilhana and so on. Kashmir names generally strike us as peculiar in these days, but they are not of Turkish origin.

II—CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF KASHMIR KINGS 601 A. D.—1148 A. D.

1st Dynasty (Karkota)



2nd Dynasty (Utpala)

Avantivarman
29 years 855-884 A. D.

Śankarvarman
18 years 884-902 A. D.

Gopālavarman
minor

Sankatavarman
minor

mother Sugandhā regent
902-906-914.

Minor kings of a collateral branch like Pangu, Chakrāvarman,
Pārtha ruled from 915 to 939 A. D.

3rd Dynasty (Viradeva)

Yaśaskaradeva
8 years 940-948 A. D.

Sangrāmadeva 949

4th Dynasty (Divira)

Parvagupta
8 years 950-958

Kshemagupta—m. Diddā.
958-972 grand daughter of Shahis

Abhimanyu 973 d.

Regent and
for herself
980-1003 d.

Nandigupta
975 d.

Tribhuvana
980 d.

Bhīma

5th Dynasty (Lohara)

1st Branch

2nd Branch

Sangrāmarāja Didda's brother's son 1004-1029 A.D. (Malla)

Anantarāja 1059 A. D.

Kalaśa 1073 A. D.

Ucchala
1111 A. D.

Sussala
1128 A. D.

Harsha
1101 d.

Utkarsha
1089 d.

Bhoja
killed in battle

Bhikshu
1130

Jayasinha
ruling when Kalhana
wrote in 1148 A. D.

III SOME NOTABLE FACTS ABOUT KASHMIR

1. Kashmir is a large valley between two extensive ranges, almost impassable, of the Himalaya mountains. The river Vitastā passes through this valley and comes out into the plains of the Panjab through a narrow gorge, at which is placed the principal gateway into Kashmir. This has enabled Kashmir to shut entrance to it to foreigners, to such an extent that Kashmir may be shut like a castle. And Kashmir has always, unlike other Indian kingdoms, taken care to shut out foreigners. We read that the Gauda people who wished to take revenge on Lalitāditya, obtained entrance to Kashmir only on the pretext that they were going on a pilgrimage to the Śārādā temple. The three or four minor passages into Kashmir besides this chief one at Varāhamula (modern Baramulla) were also always shut and guarded.

2. The river Vitastā is joined by another river in the centre of the valley. This river is called Sindhu (different from the chief Sindhu or Indus) and is looked upon as the Ganges of Kashmir and the confluence of Vitastā and Sindhu is considered sacred like the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Prayāga. In fact वितस्तासिन्धुसङ्गम is a great Tīrtha in Kashmir and is also called Prayāga. Near this Tīrtha Lalitāditya founded his city Parihāsapura (no longer existing). The third important river of Kashmir is called the Krishnā (modern Kishenganga) which joins the Vitastā lower down at the end of the valley.

3. Śrinagar the capital is an ancient town. An older city exists said to be founded by Aśoka. The modern city was founded by Pravara-sena about 553 A. D. at the latest (some years before Hiuen Tsang's visit in 630) and was also called Pravarapura. It is situated upon the Vitastā higher up than Parihāsapura and is laid on both banks of the river, there being many bridges of boats for communication.

4. The chief product of the valley besides saffron (called Kāshmir in Sanskrit for this reason) is rice. In ancient times rice was also the chief article of barter. Government due was of course paid in kind and hence there was a large quantity of rice collected for government and government gave rice naturally to its servants as pay. Other people also usually gave rice in payment for services and in exchange for other things purchased. This state of things may remind any old inhabitant of Konkan of what happened there before the advent of the British. Kashmir was in fact a counterpart of Konkan in this respect.

5. In another respect also Kashmir resembles Konkan. The people whether higher or lower subsist on rice and hence are very intelligent. The lower people in both are aboriginal and not Aryan. The higher viz. the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Kāyasthas are Aryan and are found in both. The Brahmins are equally orthodox and religious in both. The Kashmiris have overspread Northern India and equally the Konkan Brahmins Southern. Strangely enough in Northern

India the title of Pandit is even now given only to Kashmir Brahmins and Konkan (and other Maratha) Brahmins, testifying to the reputation of both as learned men.

6. Kashmir coin was Dinnāra. It is the Roman coin Denaris. It originally must have been the Indo-Scythian coin. There were however gold, silver and copper Dinnaras. The word was the same for all and it appears even that the lowest value was also called Dinnāra. European scholars whose indefatigable labours cannot but be always acknowledged have collected many coins of Kashmir kings and tested their metal and weight. The incredible number of coins mentioned by Kalhana as the daily pay of poets like Udbhata or princes like Rudrapāla are well explained by Stein. It appears that the Kashmirians devised lowest divisions of value and introduced a system of counting by hundreds and thousands. The modern words still current in Kashmir viz: Pachisa, Hatha and Sisnu are evidently 25 (sk. Panchavimsati) 100 (sk. Śata) and 1000 (sk. Sahasra). Thus the credit of first introducing a decimal notation in coins belongs to intelligent Kashmir. In this way though rice often may in actuality be given in pay, the amount could be expressed in thousands of the lowest coin value.

7. The number of villages in Kashmir is given by Stein as 66,063. Every country in ancient India had traditionally a fixed number of villages; e. g. the three Mahārāshtras had 99000. The number for Kashmir looking to its extent seems exaggerated. But we may state here that this traditional number is also given by the Skanda Purāṇa in which in Chapter 39 Māheshvara Khanda, the names of countries with their numbers of villages is given. Therein the number for Kashmir is given as 66000. All towns etc. are included in these and perhaps towns must have been counted as more than one village.

8. We have said the Kashmiris resemble the Konkanasthas and their countries also resemble as they both produce rice. But in two respects the two people differ. The Kashmiris are eaters of flesh from ancient times and have not given up flesh-eating even now. The Konkanasthas appear to have been vegetarians from ancient days. The former again usually wear the beard but the latter do not. Beards in Kashmir are ancient and pre-Mahomedan as we have already seen from Kalhana's description of Brahmins collected for the election of a king.

IV. CHRONOLOGY OF THE KARKOTA DYNASTY.

Stein divides Kashmir history by Kalhana into three portions : I history of legendary kings down to Karkota dynasty. II. history of this dynasty and III history of later dynasties. The chronology of the first is distorted and unreliable while that of the last two given by Kalhana is correct. The chronology, however, of the Karkota dynasty though generally reliable requires a correction of 25 years according to Stein and others. This opinion has been propounded by

scholars on a comparison with dates in Chinese history which contain references to Kashmir kings. Thus Chandrāpīda is assigned by Kalhaṇa to 686—695 A. D. But Chinese history says that Chandrāpīda sent an embassy in 713 A. D. to China and was recognised as king by China in 720 A. D. Then again: Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīda who according to Kalhaṇa ruled from 699 to 735 sent an embassy to China after 736-7 (Stein Vol. I p. 67). There seems to be a reference also to the first king Durlabha (602-635) as Dulope is said in Chinese history to have been asked to give safe conduct to Kipisi (Kabul) envoys between 627-649. Lastly a poet, Ratnākara, wrote during the reign of “the young Brihaspati last king of the Karkotakas; but he is also said by Kalhaṇa himself to be a poet in the court of the next king Avantivarman who ruled correctly enough from 855 to 883 A. D. How can Brihaspati's date be 814, scholars ask, as assigned by Kalhaṇa to his death? Such are the arguments on which Stein and other European scholars bring Kalhaṇa's dates for Karkotakas down by 25 years. These corrected dates are of course followed by Sir V. Smith, who has accordingly placed the conquest of Kanouj by Lalitāditya after 736 A. D. (also on other authorities of Chinese historians).

But we have followed Kalhaṇa's dates and not these in our summary of Kashmir history given here. For the dates of Kalhaṇa are supported by the Chacha-nāma wherein the conquests of Lalitāditya are dated before the Mahomedan conquest of Sind in 712 A. D. as we have stated here. We may, therefore, accept Kalhaṇa supported by the foreign Arabs as against the Chinese who were always impressed by their own greatness. They even represent Lalitāditya to be a subordinate king of the Chinese emperors which is absurd. The difficulties pointed out above are not insuperable. Durlabhaka was the name of the first king's son and successor and the Chinese dates 636 to 649 may refer to his reign. Chandrāpīda and Mukṭāpīda may have been moved 25 years later by Chinese historians to suit their history; and lastly Ratnākara may have written his poem Haravijaya in his youth under Brihaspati alias Chippata Jayāpīda in 813 A.D. and yet may have been a court-poet of Avantivarman in 855. This instance of an active life of 50 years is not at all strange nor is a life of 80 or 90 years in Kashmir an absurdity. Ratnākara may be 30 years old in 813 and 70 or 80 years old in 855-60 under Avantivarman.

V—EXACTIONS OF ŚANKARAVARMAN (883-902 A. D.)

We have already stated that the exactions of this king were most oppressive and that they will be noticed separately. They are described by Kalhaṇa in V. 167-183. The translation of the śloka concerned is as follows (Stein Vol. II page 298-9).

167—This robber of the temples possessed in villages and other property two new officers called Attapatibhāga (share of the lord of the market) and Grihakṛitya (domestic affairs)

168—He took from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandal-wood, and other articles of worship under the pretext that they were the king's legal share of the price.

169—Then again he plundered straightway 64 temples through special officers placed under pretence of supervision.

170—The king resumed the villages belonging to the temples against compensatory assignments (*pratikara*) and then cultivated the land himself as if he was an agriculturist.

171—He reduced the weight in the scales by one-third and still made out that he gave more to the temple corporation (*parishad*) than the due annual allowance, pretending that the deductions were due to food-supply, price of woollen clothes and the like.

172—When he was in another region he fined those villagers who did not come and carry their loads for one year by the value of the load according to higher prices.

173—In the next year he fined without any fault all villagers in the respective villages by the value of the load according to the same calculation.

174—Thus he introduced that well-known system of forced carriage of loads which is the harbinger of misery for the villagers and which is of thirteen kinds.

175—By levying contributions for the monthly pay of the *skandha* *kas*, village clerks (*grāmakāyasthas*) and the like and by other exactions he drove the villagers into poverty.

176—Thus by deducting or adding to the weights, by fines on the villagers and similar imposts, he amassed revenue for *Gṛihakṛitya*.

177—He appointed in this special office five secretaries (*divira*) and the sixth the treasurer (*Ganjāvara Śakana* who was also called *Lavata* ?)

178—Thus this foolish ruler accepted hell for himself in order to benefit by his acts future kings or functionaries.

The above description will give an idea of the many imposts introduced by Śankaravarman. The *Rūdhabhārodhi* or *begār* of villages has, Stein says, remained to this day. The ways of plundering temples and villagers are, however, usually the same with all rapacious kings in India.

CHAPTER VII

THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI

(Before taking up the history of the Panjab, Rājputana and Mid-India which constitute India par excellence, we shall first relate the history of the surrounding kingdoms and first those in the west which are of importance. These are of course Valabhi and Broach mentioned by Hieun Tsang. For the history of Valabhi we have only inscriptional records to rely upon, in fact copperplate grants only; but these are numerous enough and they supply very valuable information which has already been collated and given at length in the Bombay Gazetteer Volume on Gujarat. We shall rely mostly on this and give the history of Valabhi or Eastern Saurashtra. The only question in dispute is about the origin of this dynasty and we shall have to insist upon our own opinion in contradiction to the almost unanimous voice of Western antiquarian scholars supported by that of many Indian).

The kingdom of Valabhi was situated in Eastern Kathiawar or ancient Saurashtra. The old town of Valabhi has been discovered recently, a few miles to the north-west of Bhavnagar. The kingdom, though small, was important enough to be visited by Hiuen Tsang in 640 A. D. Nov. 1. (see itinery in Cunningham). He states two facts in connection with it viz. that the king was a Kshatriya his name being Dhruvasena, and that he was son-in-law to Harsha the Emperor of India and king of Kanauj. These particulars tally well with what we find in the inscriptions and copper-plate grants themselves; as also with the tradition about the origin of the Valabhi kings as current among the Śesodias of Udepur who trace their origin to them and who are by common consent of India, considered to be the best and most ancient Kshatriyas being the direct descendants of Rama of the premiersolar race of Ayodhya.

Now European Scholars impelled by a strange bias have tried latterly to show that the Valabhi kings belonged to the Gujar race and were therefore foreigners who are alleged to have come with the Huns in about 500 A. D. and founded this kingdom on the

ruins of the Gupta empire. But there are no grounds whatever for this strange opinion. The Valabhi grants usually begin with the words* quoted below which show that Valabhi kings were descended from one Batārka of the Maitraka family. Now what is meant by the word Maitraka? Western scholars seem to say that Mitra is the sun and therefore is equivalent of Mihira and therefore Maitrakas were Mihiras!!! A strange theory indeed. The simple explanation is that Maitraka was the name of the family like Maukhari, Chalukya etc. and that it must be left untranslated, and no conjectures should be hazarded about its meaning. But if any are to be made, why not say that Maitrakameans Mitra-born or solar? It would be best, however, to leave these scholars to their biassed opinions and to explain our theory. The Valabhi kings were certainly known to be the best Kshatriyas in Harsha's time i. e. about 620 A. D. Hiuen Tsang calls him straightly so while he distinctly declares that Harsha was a Vaiśya. That he was of the best family of Kshatriyas may be believed in from the fact that Harsha gave him his only daughter in marriage. We have already seen that Kshatriyas in those days married Vaiśya girls especially if they were daughters of kings. It must have been an ambition with Vaiśya kings to give their daughters to the best Kshatriya princes in marriage. We have seen how Rājyaśrī, Harsha's sister, was for this reason given to Grahavarman Maukari of Kanauj. We have already quoted Bāṇa's words in this connection† "Wise men look for noble descent only in the bride-groom among his other qualifications." We may, therefore, well believe that Harsha gave his daughter to Dhruvasena because in his days (in the 7th century) Valabhi kings were looked upon as best Kshatriyas. It seems also perfectly certain that kingly families in the days of Harsha sought to assign themselves to the ancient solar or lunar races

* स्वास्ति श्री प्रसन्नप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणां अतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहार शतलब्धप्रतापात् प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागात् अदुरक्तभौलमृतश्रेणीबलावानराज्याश्रितः परममहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कात् (Epi. Ind. VIII p. 190.)

सत्स्वापि अन्येषु वरगुणेषु अभिजनमेवाभिरुध्यन्ते धीमन्तः

described in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata. We have quoted Bāṇa's evidence on this point also. "Show me if you find such a resplendent king (like Harsha) in your vaunted solar and lunar lines." It is clear, therefore, that the belief that certain families of Kshatriyas were solar and certain others lunar in descent is as old as Bāṇa and Harsha of 620 A. D. It is on the other hand impossible to believe that foreigners or mlechhas who came to India about 500 A. D. could have, within a hundred years, so palmed themselves off upon the people as to be looked upon as the best Kshatriyas in India. Powerful kings in India like Pratāpavardhana and others were very careful to prevent mixture of Varnas and such an event was therefore, impossible. They might have succeeded in getting into Kshatriya fold with Kshatriya names. But as Hindu society always did, they would be looked upon as one more branch of Vrātya Kshatriyas added to the hundred and one Kshatriya sub-castes guarded by marriage restriction.

Nor does the history of Valabhi kings as given by tradition seem inconsistent with the natural course of events and require a conquest by foreigners. Their tradition is that one Kanakasena of the solar family from Ayodhya came first to Lohakot which need not be Lahore, and from thence to Birnagar in Saurashtra. There he took possession of it from a local prince in A. D. 144. Four generations later, Vijayasena founded Vijayapur (now Dholka) and subsequently the family founded Valabhipur (Todd). Now this tradition does not contradict known history or the inscriptions. Kshatriya adventurers were always ready to go where they could found a kingdom and Kanakasena might have found opportunity to become a Thakur under the Śaka kings of Kathiawar of A. D. 144. Later on when the Guptas conquered the country the Senas might have been the sub-lords of the Guptas. Now Bhatārka is styled Senāpati in early copperplates. He was probably a general of the Gupta forces in Saurashtra and must have fought their battles with invaders either in Saurashtra or in the Panjab and elsewhere. When the Gupta empire fell, he

must have become independent in his own small state of Valabhi, still preserving the title Senāpati as one of honour. Such things have constantly happened in Indian history from the most ancient times to the modern. When empires fall, the governors of provinces become independent and still preserve their former titles of honour, witness the Vazier of Oudh or the Nizam of the Deccan. These titles are of those offices which they actually filled under the Moghals, and when they became independent they still kept them as honourable ones. This will suffice to explain the title Senāpati, and others taken by Bhatārka of the Maitraka family. (The word Maitrakāṇām had wrongly been interpreted previously as applying to his enemies. It has been rightly now explained as belonging to Bhatārka; but it is indicative of his family and as we have shown above it does not make him a meher.) The epithet अनुरक्त-मौलमृतश्रेणी-वल्लभराज्यश्री shows that Bhatārka was born in a kingly family and had many Kshatriya followers who were servants of the state for many generations. This proves that it was not Bhatārka who first rose to royal dignity.*

Having thus dispelled the clouds that have gathered about Bhatārka's family and race, we proceed to sketch in short the history of the family onwards which can be gathered from the inscriptions in a continuous stream down to about the middle of the 8th century. This history is undisputed and we copy it from the Bombay

* It is curious to note that this theory of ours turns out to be not a new one and that it was propounded years ago by Major Watson and accepted by Cunningham. It seems that it has been left out in later histories in consequence of the new theory started that the Valabhi kings were Gujars by race. This is what Cunningham writes in Arch. S. R. Vol. XIX Central Provinces p. 28 "I am willing to accept Major Watson's traditional account that he (Senapati Bhatārta) was the governor of Surashtra under Skandagupta. As his son Dharasena takes only the same simple title I conclude he remained tributary to Budhagupta. His second son however not only bears the title Mahārāja but records that he was installed by the king of the whole world. As I have pointed out, this was probably the last act of supreme sovereignty performed by Budhagupta." "The coins which I now notice also confirm the same state of things. No. 23 Rev. Legend in modified Gupta character "Mahārājno Mahākshatra parama Sāmanta Mahā Sri Bhāṭṭarakasa" One of Mr Newton's coins and several of my own read "Rājno Mahākshatra, Paramāditya Rājno Sāmanta Mahāsri Bhattarakasa. No. 24 Rev. Legend in modified Gupta character "Mahārājno, Mahākshatra Sāmanta Mahesha Paramaditya Dhara senasa" The word Mahākshatra on these coins distinctly proves that these Senas prided themselves on being true Kshatriyas.

Gazetteer Gujarat Volume. It may be added that the Valabhi copperplate grants use invariably the Gupta era, so much so, that it has come to be called also the Valabhi era (see Alberuni). They were originally subjects of the Guptas or they use this era because it was then prevalent in Saurāshtra. Secondly the seal of all these grants is the same, viz. a bull with the legend under it Śri Bhatārka (in Prakrit) showing that the family never lost its respect for its founder Bhatārka.

No copperplate comes from his time but we have one from his son Dhruvasena. Bhatārka is therein styled Senāpati. He had four sons who seem to have successively ruled viz. 1 Dharasena. 2 Dronasinha 3 Dhruvasena and 5 Dharapatta. Dharasena is called Senāpati like his father, and Dronasinha is styled Mahārāja "invested with royal authority by the great Lord of the whole world." The Gazetteer looks upon this as ambiguous but this is plain enough as it shows that the kingship was formally acknowledged by the declining Gupta Emperors. The Valabhi family appears during the first reigns to have also recognised the Guptas as their overlords, and when that line was extinct then only they styled themselves Mahārājādhirāja. They till then also took the title of Mahasāmanta as Dhruvasena's grants still declare. Dharasena probably ruled from 526 A. D. to 535 A. D. His two brothers ruled before him and probably Dharapatta younger brother ruled after him: Gūhasena a son of the last, (539-569 A. D.) has left three copperplate grants and an inscription. He seems to have become the first independent sovereign and later grants mention his name first after Bhatārka. Indeed we find the last Gupta Emperor Kumāraguptā II ruled about 535 A. D. V. S. E. H. p. 312. Gūhasena is also called Gohila and according to Rajput fashion his descendents in collateral branches called themselves Gehlots (Gohila putra, Prakrit Gehlot).

Gūhasena was succeeded by his son Dhruvasena II. Five of his grants have been found. In two he is called Mahasāmanta; this may be by habit or the Gupta Empire

still survived in a moribund condition like the Mogul empire. He may be supposed to have ruled from 569 to 589 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Śiladitya I. His grants have also been found. He is as usual Parama Māheśvara or great devotee of Śiva though he gives donations to Buddhists also. He may be placed between 590 and 609. A. D. He was succeeded by his brother Kharagraha (610-615). He has left no grants. He was succeeded by his son, Dharasena III (615-620). His successor was his brother Dhruvasena (620-640). He is the famous son-in-law of Harsha who accompanied him on his many expeditions and was present at his great alms-giving ceremony at Prayāga as described by Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang gives his name as Dhruvapotta which is the same as Dhruvabhata. From a Broach grant it appears that this king had been defeated by Harsha and had sought refuge with the Brōach king Dadda. This must have been before his marriage. (He may have refused to marry Harsha's daughter but in Rajput fashion consented after defeat). He was latterly entirely Buddhist perhaps for his father-in-law's sake.

He was succeeded by his son Dharasena IV "perhaps the most powerful of the Valabhi kings." His copperplate grant dated Gupta 330 or 649 A. D. shows that he assumed even the title of Chakravarti along with other high sounding titles. This may be a reality for his successors omit this title for themselves and use only Maharajādhirāja. It was during the reign of this king that Bhatti composed his Bhattikāvya at Valabhi as is stated at the end of the poem.

Dharasena IV had no son and therefore a son of a collateral and chief of some district in Khaira near the Vindhya mountains succeeded him as Dhruvasena III (650-656). A copperplate grant of his has been found recording the grant of Pedhapadra in Vanthali (the modern

Vanthali in Navanagar). He was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha who has also left one grant. He was succeeded by his son Śiladitya III (666-675). His titles are Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśa which are now always taken by his successors as also the name Śiladitya which is henceforth like Vallabha of the Chālukyas the nick-name of the Valabhi kings. We have thus in succession Śiladitya IV and V and VI and VII the last being also called Dhruvabhata. One grant of his dated 766 A. D. has been found.

The story of the destruction of Valabhi which probably occurred during this king's reign is told by Alberuni. Ranka a disaffected subject of Valabhi called the Arabs of Mansura, the new capital of Sind founded by Mahamad Kasim's son (now not in existence). They sailed in ships down the Indus and came by sea suddenly into the estuary of Bhavnagar and made a night attack on Valabhi which was not then far from the head of the estuary. The town was sacked and destroyed. The king was killed and the population dispersed. Thus was the usual cause viz. treachery, responsible for the destruction of a flourishing kingdom. Valabhi town continued for some centuries more, in a dilapidated condition and is mentioned by Arab writers of the 10th century even. But the kingdom no longer existed and the town too disappeared finally, to be discovered quite recently in ruins near Bhavnagar which in modern history has taken the place of Valabhi.

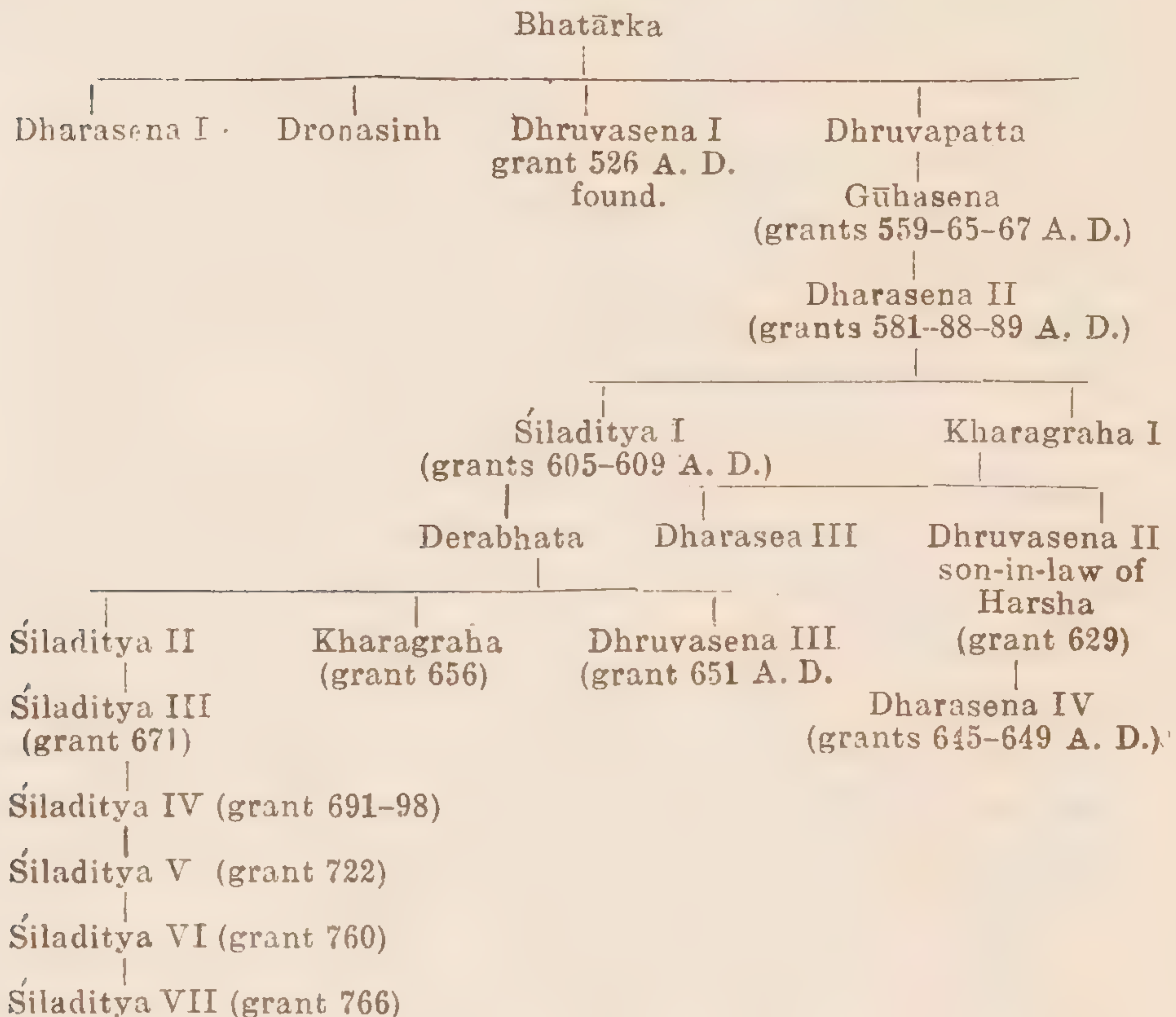
Thus the Valabhi dynasty lasted from about 509 to 775 A. D. in which year this event is usually placed. For 275 years thus, Northern Gujarat and Eastern Kathiawar were in a prosperous and happy condition. This was due both to the people and the ruling dynasty. The people of Gujarat appear to have been then as now peaceful, industrious and thrifty. The kings appear to have been simple, straightforward and unavaricious. They tried to please the people

as a king ought to do (see *ranjanad rāja* of Kālidāsa and the grant quoted at the end, of these Valabhi kings.) The administration seems to have been most orderly and systematic. We have already noted the names of officers which appear from the grants of these kings viz. Āyuktaka, Drānghika, (Dranga-town), Mahattara, Chātabhata (Policeman), Dhruva (hereditary accountant of the village, a name still current in Gujarat), Ādhikaranika (Judicial officer), Dandapāsika, Chaurodharanika, Rājasthāniya, Amātya, Shaulkika (toll officer), Bhogika (revenue collector), Vartmapāla, Pratisāraka, Vishayapati (Mamlatdar), Rāshtrapati and so on. (Bombay Gazetteer Gujarat p. 182). The land was fully cultivated, every field being measured and named. The collection of revenue was in kind and called Bhoga as everywhere else a word still surviving in Gujarat. The kings have signed the grants with their own hand being usually learned men. And the kings do not appear to have been licentious or oppressive as in Kashmir. In fact it may be said that they were not unmindful of their duties as descendants of Rāma, the ideal good king of ancient India.

The extent of the dominion of Valabhi was not wide. It included, however, a great part of Kathiawar and of Gujarat, Kaira district and some portion of Western Malwa also, as is apparent from some of their grants. The smallness of the kingdom may explain to some extent why Valabhi fell so easily before the Arabs. Of course the immediate explanation is the treachery of Ranka. But we may also add a third explanation viz. the unwarlike character of the people and even the rulers which must have resulted from the wide spread of the Buddhistic principles, chiefly the principle of Ahimsa of which Gujarat is even now the stronghold. Gujarat appears to have imbibed this principle during the rule of many kings including the Śilāditya of Molapo described by Hiuen Tsang.

GENEALOGY OF THE VALABHI DYNASTY

(A. D. 509-766)

(*Bombay Gazetteer Gujarat p. 93.*)

CHAPTER VIII

THE GURJARS OF BROACH

(For this history we have the evidence of copperplate grants of this dynasty found and the history is well collected in the Gujarat Gazetteer. We may also take the help of other inscriptions and Purāṇas, specially Skanda Purāṇa).

Valabhi may practically be looked upon as Saurashtra, or modern Kathiawar while Broach may be looked upon as modern Gujarat. The grants of the Gurjara kingdom of Broach disclose that there were six kings of this family with authentic dates as given in the margin. They seem

Dada A. D. 580

Jayabhata I 605

Dada II 633

Jayabhata II 655

Dada III 680

Jayabhata III 706-734.

to have ruled in Broach and Nandipur (modern Nandori in the Rajpipla state) from the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the 8th. They call themselves Gurjara and in

the last two kings' grants they claim to be descended from one Mahārāja Karna. It does not appear who this Karna is. Most take it to be the Karna of the Mahābhārata. But this does not seem correct, for Karna would never be called Mahārāja and Karna was only 'a Suta or mixed breed and not a Kshatriya. If a false genealogical descent is to be concocted why should a bastard Kshatriya be chosen? Karna seems to be some famous king of the Gurjaras themselves whose history has been lost to us. How the Gurjaras came so far south it is difficult to know but they must have come from Bhinmal which according to Hiuen Tsang was the Gurjara kingdom pre-eminently so called in his days. The kings of Broach call themselves in their grants Sāmantas and not fully independent kings. They must have been dependent upon the Gurjaras of Bhinmal as no other kingdom can be assigned as their overlord.

Gujarat is a border state between north and south; it is in fact a meeting ground for both. The Gurjaras them-

selves are admittedly northern people; but the Gurjaras of Broach use in their grants the Traikutaka otherwise called the Kalachuri era (starting point 249 A. D.) Their grants are also written in the Gujarati style of the southern Indian character while the royal signature at the end is northern (Bombay Gaz. Gujarat p. 114), thus showing that while the kings were northerners the people were southerners. It is clear that the rule previous to that of the Gurjaras was that of the Traikūtakas who claimed to be Haihayas by descent and whose capital Trikota not yet well identified is mentioned even in the Rāmāyana and in Kalidāsa's Raghuvansā.

We may note here that Gujarat may be divided into three parts (the chief rivers of modern Gujarat being the Tapi, the Nerbudda, the Mahi and the Sabarmati in their later courses as they join the sea). South Gujarat may be taken to extend upto the Nerbudda; middle Gujarat upto the Mahi and north Gujarat beyond the Mahi. In ancient times south Gujarat was first called Parānta as we see in the Mahābhārata and thereafter Lāta, as we see in many grants and in Varāhamihira. Middle Gujarat was called Ānarta. This name has disappeared finally. It was first substituted by Bharukachha while northern Gujarat is called Ānandapura by Hiuen Tsang. Now south and middle Gujarat were formerly under the Traikutakas who came from the Deccan and hence they gave their characters and their era to the grants of the Broach Gurjaras. These latter sometimes held sway over south Gujarat also; but the Chālukyas of the Deccan soon conquered this part and established at Navasari a Gujarat Chālukya branch. A copperplate grant of these Chālukyas (also using the Traikutaka era) is very important. It shows that the Arabs having conquered Sind in 712 A. D. made several attempts, as may be expected, to conquer the adjoining kingdoms in succession. And one attempt of this kind was frustrated in a hard fought battle by these Chālukyas near Navasari. This grant of the Gujarat Chālukya branch of Pulakeshin date A. D. 739

(Tr. 390) is interesting for the general history of India.* The Arabs were called Tajikas by the Indians. They are said in this grant to have assailed Sind, Kachhella, Saurāshtra (Valabhi) Chāvotaka and Maurya (to be noticed hereafter) and Gurjara and then come to Navasari country “with the object of attacking the Deccan through it and conquering all the Deccan kings.” We have here the kingdoms existing in 738. A. D. between Sind and Navasari. Gujarat in this grant represents very probably the kingdom of Broach including that of the Gurjaras of the north. Middle Gujarat was generally subject to the Broach line of Dadda though parts were sometimes under Valabhi; but Ānandapura and Kachha even were in the time of Hiuen Tsang under Malwa. The rule of the Gurjaras lasted, as we have said, about 200 years and the Broach line disappeared, like Valabhi, somewhere about the middle of the 8th century; how we have no mention yet in historical records. It was certainly not destroyed by the Arabs. It may have been destroyed by the Chālukyas or by the Chāvotakas. It is, however, a mere guess and we find the Gurjara kingdom of Broach finally disappear, leaving its name ineffaceably attached to the country.

The names of countries are sometimes inexplicable. England is called after the Angles, though they are an insignificant part of its people, the Britons, the Saxons, the Normans, the Danes being all ignored. India is known now by all its inhabitants as Hindustan and yet this name is not the one which the people gave it. It is a name given by foreigners. The people themselves called it originally Bharata Khanda a name now not used or only rarely used. Panjab again is a foreign name, the original name being Panchanada which remains now only in the Vedas and the Mahābhārata. So it seems that Gujarat is a name given by foreigners and then adopted by the people as Gurjaratrā. But the Gurjaras have left nothing in

* दारितोदितसैन्धवकच्छेलसौराष्ट्रचावोटकमौयेगुर्जरादिराज्ये निःशेषदाक्षिणात्याक्षितिपतिजिर्गाषयक्षिणापथप्रवेश.....प्रथममेव नवसारिकोविषयप्रसाधानायागते समरशिरसि विजिते ताजिकानांके etc. (Bombay Gaz. Guj. p.)

Gujarat. The common people are not Gurjara by descent, being totally different in character and features from the Gurjaras of the north. The Brahmins are not Gurjaras. The Nāgars are not Gurjaras, though antiquarians tell them that they are Gurjaras and foreigners. The Bhārgavas are also not Gurjaras, nor are the Audichyas Gurjaras for they are declared late-comers and northerners. The Gujarat Brahmins both Nāgars and Bhārgavas are treated as southern Brahmins by themselves. The Kshatriyas too of Gujarat are not Gurjaras. Neither the Valas nor Chāvadas, neither Guhelots nor Jadejas, neither Solankhis nor Chudāsamas call themselves, or believe that they are, Gurjaras. Of course Indian savants call all these people Gurjaras and foreigners in spite of their repudiation, their traditions and history. But their own traditions, as we shall show hereafter, are correct and historical. In fine neither the Kshatriyas nor the Brahmins are or believe themselves to be of Gurjara origin; nor are the common people Gurjaras by ethnology or history. And yet this country has received the name of Gujarat simply because a Gurjara dynasty which in its grants declared itself to be Gurjaras ruled in this part of the country for 200 years from about 550 to 720 A. D. They have left their name supplanting older names viz: Ānarta and Lāta. Their administration seems to have been successful and their rule happy like that of the Valabhis. In fact the very circumstance that there are no details in their history to be recorded shows the happy uneventful character of their rule and hence perhaps the continuous remembrance of their rule as enshrined in the name of the country.

But Gurjaras have probably also left their language impressed on the people and hence their name. The language is undoubtedly northern, Gujarati being more akin to Śauraseni than to Mahārāshtri. Yet originally the Mahārāshtri language seems to have been once predominant in Gujarat. Under the Traikutaka rule that language must have impressed itself on the people; the

written characters and the era were certainly theirs. In Kathiawar and in Gujarat the Jains used the Mahārāshtri for their sacred writings and they still use it. This fact can only be explained by believing that the language of the common people was then Mahārāshtri or some form akin to it. Or the Deccan Jainas seem in centuries older than the sixth to be the chief and prominent Jains in India and Gujarat may have got its Jainism from them and therefore taken up Mahārāshtri for their sacred literature. Whatever the reason may be, the sacred writings of the Jains are in Mahārāshtri as those of the Buddhists are in Pāli. We will leave this question of the ancient language of Gujarat unsolved and merely observe that the modern Gujarati must have been formed from a language used by the Gurjara kings, brought from the north and hence it is akin to the Śauraseni. The name and the language of Gujarat thus date from the 8th century A. D. though this is a point which is disputed by many Gujarati scholars.

The Gurjaras appear to be worshippers of the sun from their grants. This is not strange. There was a temple of the sun in Bhinmal also. But this worship of the sun need not indicate the foreign origin of the Gurjaras. In fact sun-worship in India is as old as the Vedas and the most sacred prayer of the Brahmins, the Gāyatri, is addressed to the sun. In later times the worship of Śiva and Vishṇu no doubt became predominant, but sun-worship was never entirely supplanted. As early as 400 B. C. Ktesias mentions that there was a place fifteen days' journey from mount Abu where the people worshipped the sun and the moon. (This place must apparently be somewhere in Marwar. Bombay Gaz. Guj. p. 532). Thus we have a mention of sun-worship even before there was any conquest of India by Persians. The temple of the sun in Marwar probably at Bhinmal we may thus look upon as very old. (The worship of the moon at Prabhāsa is also very old). Kings, therefore, are often described to be great worshipers of the sun, and such kings are found in the Var-

dhana family at Thanesar and the Valabhi family in Kathiawar. Sometimes this family worship is changed in individual kings and some are hence described as Māheśvaras or Bhāgavatas. Sun-worship is even now recognised as a part of the orthodox worship in the Panchāyatana. That the Magas were specially respected appears simply due to the fact that they were worshippers of the sun *only* and in a peculiar way and hence they have gained an access to and a position in the Hindu society. But this does not indicate that every sun-worshipper in India is a Maga or foreigner from Persia. The Gurjaras were, as we have shown before, the ancient Aryans of the second horde of invaders *i.e.* of the moon race and were mostly Vaiśyas *i.e.* those whose avocation was agriculture and cow-breeding the Kṛishi and Gorakshya of the Gīta. How they moved from the Panjāb their original home to Bhinmal we shall discuss when speaking of that country.

In the Skanda Purāṇa (which we assign to the 8th century A. D.) three or four famous holy places in Gujarat and Kathiawar are mentioned and there-in many ingenious and imaginary stories about the origin of Tirthas are given. We shall notice them in our next volume. But we may say that Bharukachha on the Nerbudda (the hermitage of Bhṛṛigu) the Mahi-Sāgara-Sangama, and Kumārī Tritha at Stambhapura (Khambayat in Gujarati and Cambay in English), Ānandpura of the Nāgara Brahmins and Prabhāsa near the confluence of the (supposed) Sarasvati with the sea, with the temple of Somanatha or the lord of the moon were very famous in those days and highly venerated.

It would be interesting to close this chapter with the mention of the maritime trade carried on at the important seaports of Gujarat viz. Broach, Cambay and Prabhāsa (as noticed by the Gazetteer) even from the most ancient times. The Periplus mentions the following exports and imports of Broach; imports:—wine, bronze, tin and lead, coral and gold stone, cloth of all sorts, variegated sashes, storax, sweet clover, gum, stibium for the eyes, gold and silver coins and unguents; for the kings specially, musical

instruments, handsome girls for the harem (Yavanis), high class wine and apparel. The exports of Barygaza were spikenard, costus, odalbium, ivory, onyxes, porcelain, cotton, silk, silk thread, long pepper (chillies) and other wares. This was in about 100 A. D. Let us compare with this what the Arabs say in the 8th century. Gold and silver mines are said to be worked in Gujarat. In spite of India's having plenty of gold and even silver, coins were formerly imported because of their good appearance. For Dinaras were used in Gujarat, a name which is not Indian. Then again teak wood and bamboo of Sindan (Sanjan) were largely exported. Broach lance shafts were famous and prized abroad as also shoes of Cambay (still famous). Emeralds were also exported. (Formerly Yavanis were *imported* and now Tavan fair girls were *exported* for the Arab chiefs, a strange vicissitude.) Import of horses must lastly be noticed. They came from Persia and Arabia. Of course, Broach cotton and cottons were famous still as in the days of the Mahābhārata and must have been exported though cloth of other sorts is mentioned among the imported articles.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

(For this history we have excellent materials viz. copperplate grants and inscriptions and this history has already been compiled by Dr. Bhandarkar. We have added certain observations of our own drawn from the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana and from a study of the inscriptions themselves in the original)

The chief kingdoms in the south noticed and visited by Hiuen Tsang were Mahārāshtra, Kānchi, and Konkana, the first having, however, subdued almost all others and established an empire over the peninsula. We shall now go on to describe the history of these kingdoms as far as it is traceable from inscriptions.

The kingly families in all these kingdoms according to our view were what are now called Marathas. It may seem strange but it is a fact which cannot be denied. The modern representatives of these families are found among the Marathas alone. The Chālukyas are Chālke or Solankhi. The Pallavas of Kanchi are now represented by the family surname of Pālave and the Kadambas of Konkana-pura or Banavāsi are represented by the Kadams. Thus all the three important kingdoms in the south in the beginning of the 7th century were *Mahārattis* or Marathas or in other words mixed Aryans speaking the Prakrit language Mahārāshtri and originally inhabiting the country round the Godaverī.

This is a fact which has not been seen by many. Some think that the Chālukyas of Bādāmi were Kanarese, in other words Dravidians. Pallavas according to most are a riddle, while the Kadambas are supposed to be a Brahmin family probably of Dravidian origin. But this is not correct. All these three families were by origin Aryan and having mixed themselves with the local sovereign Dravidian families of the Deccan they may be said to have become mixed Aryans. But they still preserved their

Aryan characteristics, Aryan religion and Aryan language as we shall notice further on. To understand their history properly we must take a short resumé of the ancient history of the south beginning with the very advent of the Indo-Aryans into the southern peninsula.

That the Aryans invaded and settled in the Deccan nobody now denies. This event is placed by Dr. Bhandarkar between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana ; i. e. approximately between the 9th and 4th centuries B. C. But it is possible even to go earlier. For Pāṇini explains in a sūtra that Aśmaki is the name of the king as well as the king's son and this Aśmaka in Pāṇini is probably the country about Paithana though Aśmaka as a northern country or people does find a mention in ancient books. The first settlement was Vidarbha or modern Berar. And the next settlement was Paithana or Pratishtāna on the Godavery. The region of the Godavery pleased the invading Aryans so much that this land is praised in many Purāṇas as the best in the world. The river struck the Aryans forcibly and was at once likened by them to the Ganges of their old country. The town too was named Pratishtāna after its namesake on the Ganges namely modern Prayāga. Thereafter the new-comers settled in many parts further south and the different countries or districts settled were called by the name of Rāshtras. Their names occur in the Mahābhārata list of kingdoms in the Bhīshma Parva chapter 9, namely Pāṇdu Rāshtra, Gopa Rāshtra and Malla Rāshtra which together with Aśmaka form the modern Mahārāshtra. We shall show further on that Rāshtra was a favourite name with the Mahārāshtras for a district or a small kingdom. Then there was the Kuntala country on the upper course of the Krishna. This country is strangely included both among the countries of the north and the south in the Mahābhārata list i. e. among Aryan countries or countries which had come under Aryan influence and were mixed Aryans in the language of the Mahābhārata as also among the southern mlechchha kingdoms. It was most probably the meeting ground between the Aryans and non-Aryans. The Aryan advance and settlement received a check pro-

babiy at the lower Krishnā and the Tungabhadra beyond which the country was more thickly populated by the Dravidians. The Mahābhārata gives all the countries and people to their south, in a separate list and this list is headed as usual by the noted Dravida peoples Chola, Pāndya, Kerala and so on. These were undoubtedly aboriginal peoples and aboriginal kingdoms i. e. kingdoms which in the beginning did not claim to be Aryans.

Now the question naturally occurs why was the large tract of the country to the north sparsely populated compared with the tract to the south, of the Tungabhadra? Answer to this natural question is supplied by the story of the Rāmāyana interpreted historically. The whole of this tract was certainly covered with forest and was called Dandakāraṇya. From Chitrakūta down to Rishyamūka in the Malaya mountains (i. e. from Rewa down to Mysore) was Dandakāraṇya clearly enough. For Rāma could not have taken his abode on Chitrakūta if it was not in Dandakāraṇya. Now it is possible that the hilly portion of this country was covered with forest in those ancient days down to about 1000 B.C. For it was still covered with forests at the beginning of the British rule; the Vindhya, the Satapuda and the Mahendra mountainous tracts were under forest even so late as 1858 A.D. But why should the level country in Berar or about Paithana and in the Deccan be under forest? It should have been and still is an open country. The explanation is that it was infested by Rākshasas or in historical language by cannibals. Sociology tells us that the man-eating tribes do not prosper and hence this country was only sparsely populated. The Mahārs and the Māngs who subsist on carrion, appear also to be other old inhabitants of this land. The invading and settling Aryans felled the jungle and brought the land under cultivation, retaining the Mahārs and the Māngs (Sanskrit Mātangas) as an out-cast people. It may, therefore, be said that the Aryans did not so much conquer the Deccan as settle it. They killed the few cannibals, cleared the forests and founded towns and villages compelling the Māngs to live as out-casts outside each village. It is

thus that the cultivating population of the Deccan is Aryan. The significance of this fact we shall notice elsewhere. They were not perhaps pure Aryans but mixed Aryans or Yaduvāṁsi Aryans of the second race of invaders called the Lunar race which first settled in Kurukshetra, and then in Śūrasena, Surāshtra etc. These had already taken Nāga women to wife and were therefore mixed to a large extent.

A second cause of this difference in populousness which may also be noticed here is that the seaboard of a country is usually more fertile though less healthy than the inner tableland and that it is also more prosperous on account of trade. The Dravidian population therefore on the sea-coast of the Madras Presidency was thriving and denser and more advanced than the population of the tableland of the Deccan and it is hence that we find the real Dravidian peoples (treated as Mlechha even in the Mahābhārata) settled all along the coast viz. Chola, Dravida, Pāndya and Kerala, (Kalabhra?) on the eastern and western coast upto Malabar. There were Kalinga and Andhra on the eastern coast and Konkana on the western higher up. But the former two had come before the Mahābhārata under Aryan influence though not completely settled by the Aryans and they are included in the list of northern kingdoms or peoples in the Mahābhārata, while Konkana was not yet in the days of the Mahābhārata under Aryan influence and hence is given in the southern list, only a part viz. Aparānta or modern Northern Konkana being mentioned in the north.

Such was the condition then about 300 B. C. the date of the Mahābhārata in its last form. The same thing appears to be true of later centuries. The Rāshtrikas Peithanikas and Assakas mentioned in Aśoka's edicts are all Deccan Aryan people now being called Mahārāthis or Mahārattis as can be seen from the Nasik cave inscriptions. The Periplus and Ptolemy also call this country Ariake or the country of the Aryans and mention three parts of it viz. the western coast, now come under Aryan

influence and Aryan speech and the Mahārāshtra and Kuntala presumably, as they are called in later Sanskrit with Paithan and Kolhapur or Karahāta as their chief towns. The kings through all these days i. e. from the earliest settlements down to Aśoka's time were of course Aryans and Mahārāthis. But we come now to the Śātavāhanas or Andhrabhṛityas from the first century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D. as overlords of all this vast country including Konkan, Mahārāshtra, Kuntala and even further south as far as Banavāsi.

Who were these Śātavāhanas? Were they mixed Aryans or non-Aryans. Marathas or Dravidas? That is the next question, difficult yet important, which has not yet been answered. As we solved the first question by the aid of the Rāmāyaṇa, we will try to solve this question by the aid of inscriptions and the Purāṇas. The latter call them Śudras. The popular tradition which of course is usually absurd with some truth behind it tells us that Śātavāhana or Śalivahana was born of a Brahmin girl from Śesha or the sacred Serpent. The Āndhras appear to be distinct from the other Dravidians. They came under Aryan influence very early and their country is mentioned (as we have seen) in the Mahābhārata among the northern i. e. Aryan or mixed Aryan peoples and not among the southern mlechchhas. Were the Āndhras Nāgas? Apparently the Nāga population is still predominant in the Nagpur division which is contiguous to the Āndhra or Telagu country. The Telagu Brahmins are unquestionably Aryans and have still marriage relations with the Mahārāshtra Brahmins. The Telagu Kshatriyas so to speak have however no marriage relations with the Maratha Kshatriyas*. It may be surmised that the Śātavahana family was a family belonging to the Nāga race which became predominant in the middle country by conquering Pātaliputra about the middle of the 1st century B. C.—and conquered Mahārāshtra also. They made Pratishthāna or Paithana their capital as it

* The Āndhra Kshatriyas however were probably the descendants of the same mixed Aryans from whom the Marathas are descended. See note on Aryan Advance in the South added further on.

must have been the capital already of Mahārāshtra during the times of Aśoka and earlier kings and thus made it the centre of an extensive empire. They called themselves Āndhrabhṛityas because they still owed allegiance to the Āndhra original seat of power at Dhanakataka. But Paithana was their favourite seat. Being the capital of a vast empire extending from the north to the south of India (from Patna to Mysore) Paithana became famous and a centre of commerce and of rich manufactures. Hence its fame in the days of Ptolemy and hence the name Paithani in Marathi designating a silk gold bordered cloth. The Śātavāhanas also appear to have been learned men themselves and patrons of learned men. And Paithana became the chief seat of learning in India next only to Benares. Paithana retained this predominance throughout the succeeding centuries down even to the end of the Mahomedan power. Maratha kingdoms after the Śātavāhanas never ruled in Paithana. But their new capitals Vātāpi or Mānkhed, Kalyān or Devagiri never rose to the importance of Paithana which still remained the chief place in Mahārāshtra for learning and for rich manufactures. Strangely enough, its pre-eminence remained so far recognised that even during Mahomedan and Maratha times complicated cases were settled at Paithana under the Panchayats of its learned men. All this pre-eminence is of course due to its being the capital of the extensive empire of the Śātavāhanas who therefore must have been thoroughly orthodox Hindus although some kings of the family may have extended patronage to Buddhists also.

They were, as we have said, originally of the Nāga race but they appear to have married Kshatriya wives. The Śakas of Ujjain a foreign people, yet perfectly Hinduised, were predominant beyond the Nerbudda, and it appears from inscriptions that Rudradāman's daughter was married to a Śātavāhana king. That is not strange. For Chandragupta married a daughter of a Yavana king. Śūdra, nay even Kshatriya kings may take Mlechha girls in marriage. But it is strange that the Śātavāhana Nāga kings were

given Kshatriya daughters, as appears quite clear. For what is the significance of the name Gautamīputra and Vaishthiputra which appear so conspicuously in their inscriptions? The epithets admittedly mean son of a queen born of the Gotama or Vasishtha gotra. Was the name of the gotra of the queen mother of importance? They were certainly not Brahmin women for their mention would not be of importance. It therefore seems that they were daughters of well-known Kshatriya kingly families in the Deccan. And the Śātavāhanas lower as they themselves were in the social scale deemed it honourable to mention the gotra of their Kshatriya mothers. The mention of the gotra of the mother was not a new thing to Aryans. We find in the Bṛihadāraṇya Upanishad in the Vamśas so many names given by the gotra of the mother e. g. मांजरीपुत्र, गौतमीपुत्र, पाराशरपुत्र and so on. (See बृहदारण्यक वेद VIII 5) And even in modern times Rajput kings call their queens by their honoured father's families such as Rāthodani, Chohāni and so on. A queen born of a royal family would insist on her gotra being mentioned and hence we surmise that these Śātavāhanas married Maratha Kshatriya daughters, and honourably mentioned their gotras. It also follows that these Maratha Kshatriya royal families had particular gotras which they then carefully remembered and proclaimed. The Śātavāhana marriage relations thus give a historical basis of very old standing to the generally accepted three Vamśas among the Maratha Kshatriyas viz: Sūrya, Soma and Nāga. There were Nāga-vamśi Maratha Kshatriyas in later history of the seventh century also as we shall notice hereafter.

We now come to the history of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. How the Śātavāhana rule came to an end we do not know. By the usual decrepitude which, from history, overtakes every royal family after two or three hundred years, these Śātavāhanas from the 1st century B. C. to the end of the 2nd century A. D. flourished at Paithana and then declined. Before 500 A. D. i. e. during a period of 300 years we do not definitely know what happened in Mahā-

rāshtra. Dr. Bhandarkar has held that there must have been petty Marātha kingdoms among whom the Rāshtrakūṭa family was one. Of this family we shall speak later on.

But we can make another surmise.* We believe that the heart of Mahārāshtra at least, viz. Paithāna and the country around came under the sway of the Vākātakas. This was a Brahmin family ruling in the present Nāgpur division as appears from their many inscriptions found. Their founder Vindhyaśakti is mentioned in an inscription in the Ajanta caves which Dr. Bhau Daji had the honour to first decipher, though Dr. Bhau Daji's surmise that this Vindhyaśakti was the same as is mentioned in Vishṇu Purāṇa is not correct as we shall show in the chapter on Āndhra history. These Vākātakas held extensive sway over the northern part of Mahārāshtra and Āsmaka was under their suzerainty, a subordinate king of Āsmaka being also mentioned in these cave inscriptions. The original founder of the Vākātaka family and his immediate successors were certainly orthodox Aryans who performed the Āśvamedha and other Vedic sacrifices. But the people of the Vākātaka country and some ministers of the family were Buddhists and these built many caves at Ajanta. This Buddhist tendency of the ministers and the people naturally led to the reassertion of the orthodox religion under Rāshtrakūṭas and Chālukyas in the sixth century A. D. For as usual these Chālukyas signalise their rising power by performing the Āśvamedha and other Vedic sacrifices.

Coming to our period of Indian history and the Chālukyas in Mahārāshtra, we may first observe that it is difficult to decide whether the Chālukya family was founded by a Kshatriya warrior from Ayodhya as later inscriptions declare or whether it was a local Maratha family. The earliest grants give only the information that the Chālukya family was of the Mānavya gotra and were Hāritiputras. The importance of this latter epithet will appear clear from what we have said above about Gauta-

* The same surmise is made by G. Jouvean Dubreuil in his book *Ancient History of the Deccan* recently issued p. 71.

mīputra and Vasishtīputra. In fact this epithet Hārītīputra connects the Chālukya tradition with the Śatavāhana forms of titles. This family was certainly Kshatriya both on the father's side and on the mother's. The gotra of the founder of the family was Mānaya on the father's side and Harita on the mother's side and hence the family takes pride in calling itself Haritiputra as well as Mānaya-sagotra. It rose to power according to earlier grants by conquering Govinda a Rāshtrakūta king. Its greatest representative Pulakeśin the first performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice so characteristic of the Kshatriya race and power. It also indicates as we have said, that this family came to power by opposing Buddhistic tendencies and by establishing the ascendancy of the Vedic religion much in the same way as the rise of the Guptas in the north may be said to represent the ascendancy of the orthodox Vedic Aryans, against the Buddhists of the north. These Guptas, though Vaiśyas apparently, also performed the Aśvamedha. In the same way the first assertion of power by this Pulakeśin Kshatriya Maratha king was the celebration of the Aśvamedha a fact of which the family appears to have been proud and always made mention.

That these Chālukyas were not Dravidians or Kanarese as their capital Bādāmi would induce some to believe is quite clear from the fact that Hiuen Tsang states that Pulakeśin was a Kshatriya and that he reigned in Mahārāshtra. In fact, as stated before, when an empire falls the provinces are usually seized by great officers and feudatory chiefs and we may thus explain the rise of the Rāshtrakūtas, the Chālukyas, the Kadambas, and the Pallavas all Mahārāshtra or Marathi speaking Aryan Kshatriya families. The Kadambas were also of the same race as the Chālukyas. They claimed to be of the Mānavya gotra and sons of a Harita-gotra mother. They could have therefore no marriage relations with the Chālukyas, but with other Maratha kingly families. The later legends of both we shall presently discuss. The Kadambas had possession of Banavāsi and Konkanapura. The Pallavas simply

called themselves of the Bhāradvāja gotra and had possession of Vengi and other eastern districts of the Śātavāhanas. We shall speak of their rise in the next chapter. And now we may discuss the origin of the Chālukyas as given by their later documents and tradition.

This tradition is given in the grants of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi. The legend given by Bilhana in the Vikramāṅkadevacharita in the time of the later Chālukyas we may at once set aside as absurd and imaginary. Bilhana poetically changes the name Chālukya into Chaulukya and says that the first progenitor was born from the chuluka or handful of Brahmā who, as he was giving water-oblations, was approached by Indra and requested to create a warrior to punish irreligious men in the Kali age. The Eastern Chālukya tradition is not poetical but is genealogical and as mentioned in their inscriptions is as follows. (See e. g. Ranastute grant of Vimalāditya No. 36 p. 357 Ep. Ind. Vol VI). First we have the genealogy of the whole lunar vamsa given from the moon through the Pandavas down to Udayana (we will discuss this genealogy in a note) and then we are told :— “After 59 kings (Chakravartis) in unbroken line had ruled in Ayodhya, a descendant by name Vijayāditya came to the south with a desire to conquer the Deccan. He had a fight with Trilochana Pallava and was killed in battle. His queen being pregnant was received by one Vishṇubhatta Somayāji in a Brahmin Agrahāra. There she gave birth to a prince named Vishṇuvardhana. The priest performed all the ceremonies necessary on the birth of a Kshatriya of the मानव्यगोत्र and हारितीपुत्र* This prince having learnt everything of his family, performed austerities on the *chālukya mountain* and having propitiated the goddess Gauri and Kumāra and Nārāyaṇa got through their favour white umbrella, Eka-Śankha, the five great Śabda, Pāliketana, Pratidhakkā, Varāha Lāṅchhana, Panchakānta Sinhāsana, Makara Torana, Kanakadanda and Gangā Yamunā and other signs of royalty of his family and having conquered

* मानव्यसुगोत्रहारितीपुत्रस्वक्षत्रगोत्रक्रमोचितानि कर्माणि क गदित्वा तमवधंयत ।

Kadamba, Ganga and others ruled the whole of Dakshināpatha, from Setu to the Nerbudda, of 7½ lakhs. Vijayāditya was born of this Vishnuvardhana king from a Pallava princess. His son was Bollakeshi Vallabha. His son was Kirtivarman." Here curiously enough the newly added portion ends and the grant begins again with the traditional beginning of Chālukya grants स्वस्तिश्रीमतां सकलभुवन-संस्तूयमान-मानव्यसगोत्राणां etc to सत्याश्रयवल्हभस्य भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्धनोऽष्टादपावर्षाणि वेङ्गेदेशमपालयत् । Now in this added part at the beginning, the only credible part appears to be that Vijayāditya came from Ayodhyā after 59 generations from Udayana. If Udayana be placed in 600 B. C. we have 59 generations or 1180 years after him, thus assigning Vijayāditya to about 580 A. D. This is late by about a hundred years. Of course the average of 20 years for a king, over 59 generations cannot give us an exact date and hence we may say that Vijayāditya's coming to the Deccan is probable.

All else is fable. The early grants of the Chālukyas do not state whether they were of the Lunar race or Solar race. Eastern Chālukya tradition finally assigned them to the Lunar. But even this tradition as recorded in this grant of 933 Śaka or 1011 A. D. cannot explain the meaning of Haritiputra in the usual formula of the Chālukya kings. Then again the fight between Chālukya and Pallava kings being a hereditary fight in later years may be taken to be reflected back to the first king and so their also marriage relations. In fact Chālukyas and Pallavas like England and France in the middle ages were always fighting and always marrying one another's daughters. Lastly, the story of the founder of a dynasty being born fatherless of a mother in adversity and then gaining power by the favour of gods is the usual story in every dynasty and may therefore be treated as imaginary. It is not untrue that Kshatriya warriors often came from the north to seek fortune in the south and founded families like the forefather of Śivaji and others, yet as this theory is given in a later grant we will confine ourselves to the grants of the earlier Chālukyas themselves and give their history as it appears from them.

From these the Chālukyas appear to be a Maratha Kshatriya family of the Mānavya gotra. The founder was also a Haritīputra i. e. son of a Kshatriya princess born in the Harita gotra. The Aihole inscription of this family is very detailed. From it and other grant-inscriptions it appears that Jayasinha was the first king who made himself conspicuous by conquering the Rāshtrakūta family. His son was Ranarāga. His son was Pulakesin the first who founded the kingdom of Mahārāshtra and performed an Aśvamedha. He made Vātāpi his capital and conquering many provinces, established an overlordship. He assumed the title of Satyāśraya Prithvivallabha. This title Vallabha became the patronymic with all Mahārāshtra kings in later times and was also favourite with foreigners. They also called themselves Āśraya of something as Śryāśraya, Janāśraya and so on. The date of Pulakesin's death may be taken to be Śaka 489 or A. D. 567.

He was succeeded by his son Kirtivarman who conquered the Kadambas of North Kanara and the Mauryas of North Konkan. He was succeeded (in 591 A. D.) by his brother Mangaliśa. He conquered the Chedis of Tripura near Jubbulpur. He was lord of the country from sea to sea (Western to the Eastern). After him (in 610 A. D.) came Pulakesin the second, the greatest monarch of this line; he was the son of Kirtivarman. His exploits are extolled by the Aihole grant. He conquered the Pallavas of Kānchi and in fact became the lord of the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha i. e. from the Nerbudda to Cape Kamorin. He was the direct "lord of the three Mahārāshtras containing 99000 villages." And his greatest exploit was that he defeated Harsha Emperor of the North. He was visited by Hiuen Tsang whose most flattering description of him and his Marathas we have already quoted. In fact this was the most flourishing period of ancient Maratha history. He conquered many kings in the West, also, such as kings of Lāta, Gurjara and Mālava. He established his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhan in the Vengi country on the east

coast where these Eastern Chālukyas continued to rule for a long time. And he established his other brother Jayasinha in the Lāta country where the Gujarat Chālukya branch like the Gaikwads in modern Maratha history ruled for a long time. His eldest son Chandrāditya ruled in Sāwantwādi and Goa where the latter's queen made grants recorded on copperplates. Another son of his ruled in Karnatak between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. A grant of Pulakeśin II has been found made at the request of his maternal uncle Senānandarāja of the Sendraka family. This was a well-known family in these parts viz. Chiplun etc. and is probably the same as the modern Scindia family of Gwalior. In fact, the Pulakeśin Maratha empire of 736 A. D. was just a prototype of the Shahu Maratha Empire of 1736 A. D., a thousand years later, curiously illustrating the well-known maxim history repeats itself.

Pulakeśin II's reign has become memorable owing to two events of foreign importance. He received an embassy from Khushru II of Persia in reply to one sent by him. A painting in cave No. 1 at Ajantā represents the scene of the reception of this embassy by Pulakeshin (625 A. D.). The second event was the visit of Hiuen Tsang who has recorded a most flattering description of the Marathas and the power of this king who, as he says, "was obeyed with perfect submission by his many subjects" in (640 A. D.)

Sir V. Smith observes that this king was unfortunate in his end. He was conquered eventually by his enemy the Pallava of Kānchi "who took and plundered his capital and presumably put him to death." The authority for this is apparently a record of the Pallavas which may be of doubtful credit, and Dr. Bhandarkar does not relate this event in his history of the Deccan; for he merely states that Pulakeśin was succeeded by his son Vikramāditya I. This king Vikramāditya certainly inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallavas and took their capital Kānchi though he did not plunder it. He even built and repaired certain temples in Kānchi which is still famous for its

great temples. He was a valorous conqueror. "Seated on the back of his horse Chitrakantha and sword in hand he vanquished his enemies and established his power like his father between the three seas." He is rightly named Vikramāditya I.

He was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya in Śaka 602 or 680, A. D. He has left three grants dated 611, 613 and 616 Śaka in his 10th, 11th and 14th years of reign. Thus his date is certain. He was also a powerful king and a warrior. He had assisted his father in his famous fight with the Pallavas, who were assisted by Pāndya, Chola and Kerala. He in his own time vanquished these and Kalabhra, Haihaya, Nīla and Mālava,* and made them steadfast allies as also Ganga and Alūpa and even Sinhala. He defeated likewise a king of the north whose name is not given; (this event we shall try to explain later). These facts are mentioned in the records of his descendants and must have happened after Śaka 616 (694 A. D.) the date of his last grant found (Bhandarkar). He died in 696 A. D.

He (Vinayāditya) was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya who also has left many grants which give us an idea of his reign. In one conflict with the Pallavas he was taken prisoner by accident though he had defeated his enemies. He, however, contrived to escape and returning to his kingdom ruled vigorously for a long time. As we have said in the history of Kashmir, this must have happened a little before the *digvijaya* expedition into the south by Lalitāditya of Kashmir. Lalitāditya did not go to Vātāpi as Vātāpi and Mahārāshtra seem to have been then under the Pallavas during Vijayāditya's confinement. The two dates agree. Vijayāditya came to the throne in 696 A. D. and had a long reign of 36 years i. e. upto 732 A. D. Lalitāditya's expedition happened as we have shown from about 702 A. D. to 710 A. D. Vijayāditya built temples to Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva at Vātāpi in 621 Śaka (see inscriptions). His grants are dated 622, 627 and 651 Śaka in the 4th, 10th and 34th years of his reign.

* These Malavas appear to be some south Deccan people whose name survives in the modern Maratha surname 'Mālapa'.

Vijayāditya was succeeded in 733 A. D. by his son Vikramāditya II who was an equally successful king. He defeated his old enemies the Pallavas, their king being Nandipotavarman. Kānchī was again entered and again spared. The king restored on the contrary to the famous temples of Rājasinheśvara and other gods, gold, jewels and other property taken away by many. He married two sisters of the family of Haihayas and these two queens built two temples in their names at Vātāpi. He reigned for 14 years i. e. down to 747 A. D.

He was followed by his son Kīrtivarman II who was the last of the early Chālukya kings. He has left one grant dated 679 Śaka. He seems to have been an able prince and as usual defeated the Pallavas their hereditary enemies. But he was overthrown by one of his own vassals a Rāshtrakūta king named Dantigurga. As the Rāshtrakūtas did not hereafter reign in Vātāpi, it may be taken that they allowed the Chālukyas to remain as dependents in their own town. This event happened before 675 Śaka, as in a grant by Dantidurga dated 675 Śaka the Chālukyas are spoken of as overthrown. Thus the Chālukya overlordship lasted down to about 753 A. D. and they may be taken to have been supreme in the Deccan for about 200 years from 550 to 753 A. D. All the Chālukya kings appear to have been capable rulers, a fact which is creditable and perhaps singular and we need not wonder that lying dormant for about 200 years, they again gained ascendancy under the later Chālukyas. An explanation for this downfall of the early Chālukyas will be given in our next volume which we will speak of the rise of the Rāshtrakutas.

Dr. Bhandarkar has shown that during the rule of the early Chālukyas Buddhism does not seem to have been prosperous. It was alive no doubt, but it was not the religion of the kings nor generally of the people. In fact according to our view already expressed it was as a rise against Buddhism whose ascendancy is marked by the Ajantā caves under the Vākātakas that the Maratha

power under the Chālukyas was triumphant. Pulakeshin I signalled his reign and supremacy by the performance of the Aśvamedha. The sacrificial *lore* was also studied and developed under these kings by learned Brahmins and such learned persons, Dr. Bhandarkar thinks, were specially called Svāmins. Karkasvāmin and others were certainly commentators on sacrificial sutras. But Svāmin need not be a special name for such Brahmins. Dīkshita was a title specially given to the Brahmins learned in sacrificial lore and performers of Vedic sacrifices. It does not also appear that sacrificial literature was studied in the Deccan alone. The revival of sacrificial study can be marked all over the country, for Bāṇa himself states that his parents and uncles were great students of Mīmāṃsa. They were called Bhattas also. Śabarāsvāmin and Kumarilabhatta the well-known writers on Vedic sacrifice belong to the north. We shall have to speak of them later on. Undoubted orthodox Brahmins in the Deccan as elsewhere at this time employed their intelligence in the refutation of Buddhism and in the vindication of Vedic sacrifices, and under the sympathetic rule of the early Chālukyas they succeeded in supplanting Buddhism completely.

But the influence of the principle of non-sacrifice was again successful latterly in the spread of Jainism. It appears that the Jainas gained an upperhand among the people as well as in the favour of kings towards the end of the Chālukya rule. Jainism is even now prevalent in the population of the southern Maratha country. In the heart of Mahārāshtra, Jainism could not prosper, for the heredity and natural patriotism of a people tend towards the religion of their ancestors and hence among the Marathas generally the Vedic Aryan religion still prospered. But in the varied population of the south Jainism spread. Vikramāditya II was partial to the Jaina religion. He repaired a Jain temple and gave a grant of land to a successful Jain Pandit named Vijaya Pandita who was also called Ekavādi or the only disputant (Bhandarkar). The Jain Pandits of those days, drawn of course from renegade

Brahmins were very ingenious and learned disputants and they often scored success in religious disputes about the principle of Ahimsa. The modern Jains of the S. M. country are, however, not learned being usually cultivators and recruits from among the Brāhmins do not now join their ranks. But in the days of the early Chālukyas the case appears to have been different and Jainism gradually spread among the people and gained favour in royal courts. The religious tendencies of this period will be discussed in our next volume.

Along with the revival of the religion of Vedic sacrifices under the early Chālukyas there was also the revival of the Puranic religion viz. the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Surya, and the Goddess Devi and of Skanda and temples of these gods were built everywhere during the reign of the early Chālukyas. The rule of the next dynasty of the Rāshtrakūtas was to signalise the further progress of Hinduism as it may now be distinctly called.

Socially the Chālukyas appear to have been strict Kshatriyas marrying among the families of the Aryans and mixed Aryans. Their marriage relations were with the Haihayas, the Rāshtrakūtās, the Pallavas and Sendrakas or Sindas who belonged to the Nāgavamśa, perhaps of Satavahana. They do not appear to have married among the Dravidian families of Pāndya, Chola, Kerala, Kalabhra and others. So far as can be seen, the queens of the Chālukyas appear to come from Kshatriya families of Mahārāshtra and even North India and they ranked as true Kshatriyas as distinctly declared by Hiuen Tsang himself. They insisted on their being described as Mānavya-sagotra and Haritīputra and they clearly appear to have performed Vedic rites. In short nothing has been discovered which should dissuade us from treating them as Aryans and Kshatriyas and the equals of the northern Kshatriyas, the Rajputs. Why the northerners and the southerners stopped marriage relations hereafter, we shall have to discuss later on.

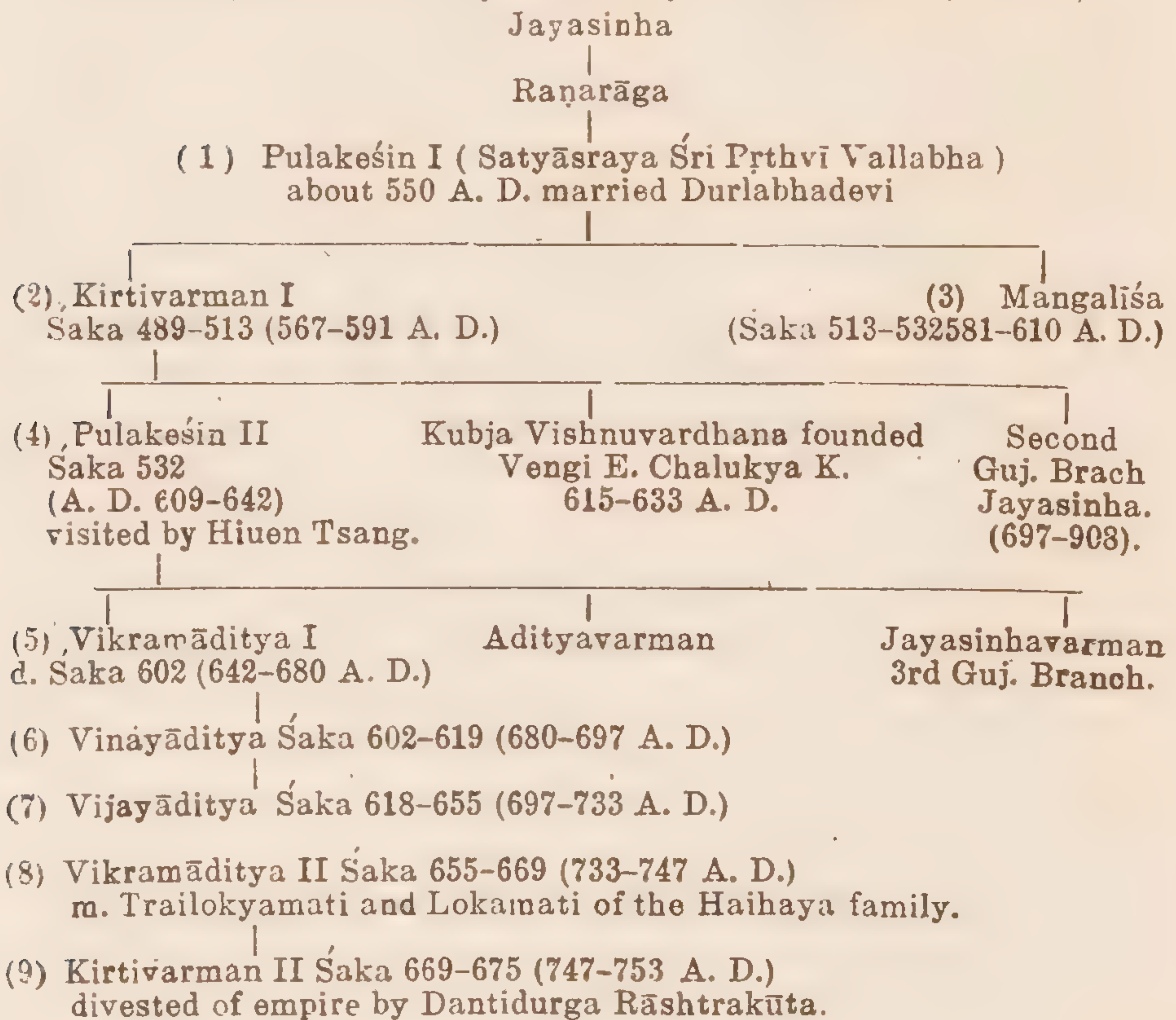
The Chālukyas ruled over the three Mahārāshtras viz. Vidarbha, Mahārāshtra and Kuntala. Their territory thus included Berar and the Marathi districts of C. P., Marathi districts of the Nizam's dominions and those of the Bombay Presidency and curiously enough also included the Kanarese districts of Bombay. These last have always been parts of the Mahārāshtra kingdom with whomsoever it may be and have therefore properly been called Southern Maratha country. Even under Vijapur these districts were with the Mahomedans and not with Vijayanagar. The Eastern coast was under the Vengi Chālukya branch and Āndhra perhaps was independent. Sometimes Āndhra too came under Mahārāshtra. The declared number of villages in the three Mahārāshtras was 99000 (see Aihole inscription) and Āndhra had 12000 villages. These numbers of villages were, as already stated, traditionally fixed and appear to have always been mentioned in records ranging from 600 to 1200 A. D. i. e. the period we are treating of. Pulakeshin II was, however, the master of the whole of the south from the Nerbudda to Cape Comorin, a country of $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs as stated in inscriptions. This number is inexplicable. For even adding the probable number of villages in Pallava, Pāndya, Chola, Kerala, Ganga, Kadamba and other kingdoms towards the south, the number cannot come up to $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. To what this figure applies is a mystery as shown in a previous note.

The Chālukyas used the Śaka era throughout their supremacy. In fact from 500 A. D. or 422 Śaka (the date of Varāha Mihira's Siddhānta) onwards roughly, the Śaka era is generally used in the south by most kingdoms. The reason probably is that the astronomers of India who propounded the Siddhāntas which are the basis of modern astronomical calculations in India adopted the Śaka era for calculation. According to our view, these Siddhāntas were the result of the study of astronomy at Ujjain with the help and guidance of Greek astronomy (which is plainly incorporated into Indian ancient astronomy) under the rule of the Śakas. Āryabhatta and Varāhamihira and later, Brahmagupta promulgated the new Siddhānta system.

It was adopted all over India, and the Śaka era became commonly recognised. The Chālukya rule began after these Siddhāntas and accepted the Śaka era without scruple. In the north the Gupta era had been established before the astronomical Siddhāntas, and as the Guptas destroyed the Śakas themselves, they did not take up the Śaka era but continued to use their own Gupta era. After the Guptas, Harsha's era came into use. These two eras, however, were gradually supplanted in the north by the Vikrama Samvat whose success we shall endeavour to explain when relating the later history of the north. In the south, Śaka era has remained supreme and the Aihole inscription uses both the Śaka and the Kaliyuga eras, a fact plainly indicating the ascendancy of the new astronomical Siddhāntas.

EARLY CHALUKYA DYNASTY.

(From Gazetteer Bombay Presidency-Deccan, Vol. I part II.)



NOTE

THE FLIGHT OF VIJAYĀDITYA

The line of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi does not appear to have been completely extinguished with Vikramāditya II's son Kirtivarman II. We have a very detailed and important grant of the latter (Vakkaleri grant published in Ind. Ant. Vol VIII. p. 23) which shows the kingdom still surviving and reigning over a large territory. This grant is dated in Śaka 679 and in the 11th year of Kirtivarman II's reign. Thus it is clear that he came to the throne in 668 Śaka or 746 or 747 A. D. and this is the year of the end of the reign of Vikramāditya II. It may therefore be taken as certain that it was not Vikramāditya II who was overthrown by the Rāshtrakūtas but his son Kirtivarman II. Vikramāditya II appears to have been a valiant king and can scarcely be believed to have been so unfortunate. If this grant is believed and we do not see why it should not be, we have a consistent and detailed account of the whole Chālukya family of Bādāmi. The grant begins with the usual formula of Chālukya grants (मानव्यमगोत्राणं etc.) and mentions first Pulakeśin I Prithivīvallabha. His great praise is that he performed the Āśvamedha. His son is next mentioned as Kirtivarman I and his chief exploit is given as the conquest of Banavāsi. His son was Pulakeśin II whose defeating Harsha of Kanauj gave him the title of Paramēśvara and obtained for him high renown. His son Vikramāditya I is mentioned as riding on his favourite horse Chitra-Kantha conquering Chola, Kerala, Pāndya, Kalabhra kings and humbling the Pallava who had thus bowed to none, adding the title Bhattāraka. Then his son Vinayāditya I is noticed who even as Yuvarāja conquered and made tributaries Kuvera, Pārasika, and Sinhala Dvīpa and who conquering the lord of the north acquired Pālidhvaja and other emblems of an emperor. Then follows Vijayāditya who even in his grandfather's time conquered many chiefs of the south and who assisted his father in his conflict with the kings of the north and obtained for him emblems of empire such as Gangā Yamunā, Pālidhvaja and Dhakkā as also Mānikya and Matangaja. And here we have a mention of a very interesting incident in the life of Vijayāditya. The words here are not properly translated and the importance of the story is lost. The words are परैः पलायमानैरामाद्य कथमपि विधिवशादपणीतो प्रतापादेव विषयकोप अगजकुसुमारयन् वत्सराज इवानपेक्षितापरसहायकस्तदवग्रहान्निर्गत्य स्वभुजावष्टम्भपरसाधिताशेषविश्रमः" This clearly shows that he was seized by his enemies though they had been put to flight, by some bad stroke of fortune and was confined but that like the famous Vatsarāja of the Kathāsaritsāgara (who escaped from Ujjain by a stratagem of his minister) he managed to escape from his confinement and prevented the distress of his country caused by there being no king.

It is to be regretted that we have no detailed account anywhere of this wonderful escapade like the account of the abovementioned Vatsarāja or the account given by Kalhana of the escape of Jayāpīda of Kashmir who later than Vijayāditya fell into a similar misfortune in Nepal. Where, when, and by whom he was confined we do not know, nor how he escaped. We have above recorded our guess that this event must have happened about the time of the Digvijaya of Lalitāditya into the south i. e. about 700 to 710 A. D. To proceed, however, the grant lastly refers to the greatness of his son Vikramāditya II who carrying out a long family enmity made a vigorous attempt to conquer Kānchi, defeated the Pallava Nandipotavarman, entered Kānchi, propitiated the Brahmins there by generous gifts, placed heaps of gold before the Rājasinheśvara idol in the great temple built by Narasinhavarman and defeated the traditional Pāndya, Chola, Kerala, Kalabhra kings of the south, even going further and raising a Jayastambha on the southern most sea-coast. His son the donor Kīrtivarman's exploit is related as having set out to conquer the family enemy the king of Kānchi who unable to withstand him in the plains took refuge in a stronghold he brought back many elephants and gems as booty. He gave a village while encamped on the banks of the Bhīmarathi (Bhima) to a learned Brahmin in the Pannagala vishaya (not identified). This grant thus is interesting and gives the principal event in each reign of the Chālukya line. As no later grants of his are found we may surmise that the line ended with Kīrtivarman II, to revive again after two centuries under the later Chālukyas.

CHAPTER X

THE PALLAVAS OF KĀNCHĪ

(For the materials of this history we have mainly to rely on south Indian inscriptions and grants which are numerous enough and which have been interpreted by great scholars like Hultsch, Venkayya and others, and especially by the French antiquarian Dubreuil of Pondichery. We have however to put forward our own theory on one important point based on these very ancient records.)

Along with the Chālukyas, the Pallavas were the most powerful people in the south who contended with them for the overlordship of the southern empire during the seventh and the eighth centuries A. D. They were settled at Kānchī (modern Conjeverum) in the midst of the traditional Dravidian peoples, the Chola, Pāndya, Kerala and Kalabhra whom they had subdued. But they were evidently not one of them. They were outsiders in the Madras Presidency, so to speak, of those days. They did not even speak the language of the Dravidian people. Hiuen Tsang who visited Kānchī in 639 A. D. distinctly states that the people of Kānchī spoke a language similar to that of Mid-India. The same position is supported by the fact that the records of these Pallavas are all of them in Sanskrit and not in any Dravidian language as those of the Chola, Pāndya and Kerala kings are. In fact the records of the early Pallavas are even in the Prakrit as we shall presently show. The Pallavas, therefore, were evidently out-siders in the Madras Presidency from the north. Who were they ?

The theory first propounded, though now given up, was that they were the Palhavas of the Purānas, the Pehlavas of the Parsis, the Palhavas who came to India with the Śakas of Kathiawar and others. It was suggested that when Gautamiputra Pulumāyi in the second century A. D. drove away Śaka, Yavana and Pahlava peoples from Mahārāshtra as recorded in the Nasik caves, the last instead of being driven back to the north succeeded in getting

further into the south and founded a kingdom at Kānchī. This theory based upon the similarity of names has now been given up and the Pallavas are now supposed to be some people between the Krishna and the Godāvari, while Sir V. Smith in his *Early History* 3rd Edn. simply says that they were an indigenous tribe, clan or caste (p. 469). Although it is not necessary, therefore, to state the reasons against the *Pahlava* theory, yet for the sake of completeness we may as well see what these reasons are. In the first place if Pulumāyi defeated the Pahlavas, he would not certainly allow them to push forward into his own dominions to the south, for we know that the Śātavāhana rule in those days extended far into the south even as far as Mysore. Secondly in Sanskrit orthography which is most perfect, Pahlava with an *h* cannot be confounded with Pallava. Even in *Manu* and the *Purāṇas* the name of these foreign mlechhas is given as Pahlava (*with an h*) and in Persian too it is clearly Pehlavi i. e. with *h* distinct. It may perhaps be supposed that in Prakrit the *h* may have been omitted. But it is not so. Even in the Prakrit inscription of Gautamīputra Pulumāyi the name given is spelt as Pahlava (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III Nasik cave Ins. p. 60). Thirdly if the Pahlavas on coming to India had taken up a mid-Indian language it must have been so only recently and hence when they established themselves at Kānchī, they could not have retained it. For even now the Dravidian languages round about Kānchī are too strong for any new language to withstand them. For these reasons the Pallavas are not the Pahlavas. They cannot also be some people between the Krishna and the Godavari for their language could not have been mid-Indian in that case also. They must have been people from the Aryan population of the north of India.

It seems that they were a branch of the same Aryan people who had settled in Mahārāshtra. In fact Pallava dominion in Kānchī in ancient times was just like Maratha dominion in Tanjore in modern history.* The Pallavas

* Even Sir Vincent Smith is struck with this similarity and gives expression to it see p. 470 (*S. E. H.*, 3rd Edn.)

were Mahārāshtra Aryans who spoke Mahārāshtri Prakrit for centuries and hence retained it even in Kānchī in the midst of surrounding Dravidian languages. They may even be said to be Marathas for their name is still preserved in the Maratha family name of Pālave (which is just the Prakrit form of Pallava). And a further corroboration is that the gotra of the Pālave Maratha family, as we have shown before, is Bhāradvāja, the same as the one which the Pallavas take to themselves in their records. And Hiuen Tsang calls Narasinha Varman a Kshstriya. The Pallavas, therefore, were certainly mid-Indian Aryans gradually passing into the south through Mahārāshtra.

We now go on to relate Pallava history as may be gathered from inscriptions and grants. Mr. Venkayya has rightly shown that this history must be divided into two parts the earlier and the later. In fact as this history extends from about 200 A. D. to 800 A. D. we cannot expect that the Pallava domination could have lasted so long. Like the Chālukyas the Pallavas may therefore be divided into two branches the earlier Pallavas and the later Pallavas. We are in our period concerned with the later Pallavas, the contemporaries of the earlier Chālukyas; but we will give here the history of the earlier Pallavas also (such as can be gathered,) for the sake of completeness especially as it has not yet been given any where and as in our opinion it connects the Pallavas with Mahārāshtra.

I—THE EARLIER PALLAVAS

Speaking first of the earlier Pallavas then, the first thing to be noticed about them is that they used the Prakrit language for their inscriptional records which in the south is really strange. Only three inscriptions or grants have been found as yet and we give one of them in extenso below* for

* The Mayida—volu. plates of Pallava Śiva Skandavarman. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI page 86.

[कां] चीपुरातो युवमहाराजो भारदायसगोत्तो पलवानं शिवस्कन्दवम्मा धनंकडे वापतं आनपयति अहोहि दानी अहोवेजयिके [श्वं] मात्युवलवधनिके य बह्मनानं अगिवेससगोत्तस एवकोडुजस अगिवेससगोत्तस गोन्दिजस अंध पति (थी) यगामो विरिपरं अहोहि उदकादि संपदतो एतस गामस विरिपरस सब बह्मदेयपरिहारो वितराम अलोम [खा] दकं अभडपवेस अकूरचोलकनिवासिखतासंवासं एत्तवी अनेहिच सब बह्मदेयमजादाय सबपरिहारोहि परिहारितो परिहरथ परिहरापेथ च जो अह्मसासनं आतिष्ठेतून पीला बाधेकरेजा [वात] कारापेजा वा तस अह्मो सारीरमासनं करेजामो सबट दसमं १० गिह्या पखो छटो ६ दिवसं पंचमी ५ आनति सयत्रि दत्ता पत्रिका.

sample. This record and the other two show that these are a continuation so to speak of inscriptions in Prakrit of the Sātavāhanas of Paiṭhan. Firstly, the language of both is Prakrit and it is also akin. Secondly, the dates are in both recorded in the Buddhist Aśoka fashion viz the month is never given. The season out of the three seasons of India is given and the fortnight (not dark and half as when months are named) is given by number, the number of fortnights in a season being eight. This sort of giving the season is clearly the Aśoka Buddhist method. Aśoka's empire had extended far down into the south and had undoubtedly included Mahārāshtra. The Āndhras succeeded to the Buddhist Aśoka rule and naturally followed the same system of mentioning the date.* Now the Pallava early Prakrit inscriptions contain this method of mentioning the date viz the season and the number of fortnight. It is thus clear that the early Pallavas are a continuation of the Āndhrabhṛitya rule at Paiṭhan.

We surmise that when the Āndhrabhṛitya Satavāhana rule came to end about 200 A. D. the early Pallavas were viceroys in the southern Deccan and as usual asserted themselves and became independent. The same surmise is given by Dubreuil in his valuable brochure "The Pallavas" He says "The Pallavas succeeded the Āndhras. Their plates mentioned the province of Sātāhani Raṭṭha a portion of the Bellary district. Thus the Pallava empire extended along the Coromandel coast upto the Krishna and westward in the Deccan upto the banks of the Tungabhadra" (p. 13). It may be added that the mention of the Rāshtra or Raṭṭha and Ahāra as the name of a district is indeed the Mahārāshtra fashion. The Mahārāshtras usually adopted the name Rāshtra as a designation for a province or district. Even in Aśoka's edicts they are called the Rāshtrikas, or the Raṭṭhas. Then again the name of Bappa is peculiarly Aryan and Mahārāshtriya. It is found in one of these Prakrit grants of the early Pallavas.

* It may be pertinent to point out that there are two inscriptions of the Śaka Uśa-vadāta, son-in-law of Nahapan among the inscriptions in Nasik caves. These alone are dated in Śaka era and give the month and the dark or bright fortnight. They are clearly thus foreign i. e. foreign to the custom then prevalent in Mahārāshtra.

Who was the first most important king of these early Pallavas ? He appears to be Virakūrcha who in one inscription is stated to have "simultaneously with the hand of the daughter of the chief of serpents grasped the complete insignia of royalty and became famous" (Dubreuil p. 23) This Nāga princess Dubreuil surmises to be a daughter of the Sātavāhanas. Whoever she may be, we have here again the mixture of the Aryan Pallava with local Nāga families. Like the Chālukya history Pallava history also gives an ancient basis to the Maratha modern tradition that there are three Vamśas among the Marathas viz Surya, Chandra and Nāga.

The Velurpalaiyam plate from which the above fact is taken is important in other respects also. On inspecting it carefully (Archealogical Survey Report part V) we find, besides the śloka about Virakūrcha (यः कर्णान्द्रमुतया सहाग्रहीद्रा जचिन्हमखिलं यशोधनः) the following about Kumāra-Vishṇu son of Skandaśishya, son of this Virakūrcha:—गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरस्ततोऽभूत्। कुमारविष्णुः समरेषु जिष्णुः This shows that Virakrūcha's grandson Kumāra Vishṇu took the city of Kānchī and founded the Kānchī power. This statement tallies with probable dates also. In the long list of Pallava ancestors given in the Vāyalūr inscription described by Dubreuil (p. 20) we have 36 kings. Of these Vishṇugopa No. 19 appears to be the Vishṇugopa whom Samudragupta conquered and who is mentioned in his famous Allahabad stone inscription of 338 A. D. And we have Narasimhavarman No. 34 contemporary of Hiuen Tsang and Chālukya Pulakeśin II of 640 A. D. Now from no. 19 to 34 there count 15 generations or 300 years at an average of 20. And this distance in time between Vishṇugopa and Narasinhavarman, exactly tallies with their historical dates as given above viz. 338 A. D. and 640 A. D. Now let us go back from Vishṇugopa no. 19 of 338 A. D. to Virakūrcha no. 11 in the list of Vāyalūr plate. We have a difference of 8 generations or 160 years which gives for Virakūrcha a date about 178 A. D. and brings him within the Sātavāhana rule. His grandson Kumāra Vishṇu, also given in

the Vāyalūr list, thus seems to have become the king of Kānchī about 200 A.D. The Mayadavollu grant in Prakrit which we have quoted in a foot-note may be taken to have been made by the grandson (no. 15) of this Kumāra Vishnu (no. 13) about 240 A. D.

The consistent history of the early Pallavas therefore may be put as follows from the available inscriptions and grants. A Pallava-surnamed chief (Maratha or from northern India) named Vīrakūrcha gained royal distinction about 178 A. D. by marrying a Nāga princess (presumably of Śātavāhana family), in the south of the Deccan. On the fall of the Śātavahānas the family became powerful and independent and Kumāra Vishnu grandson of Vīrakūrcha conquered Kānchī and founded the Kānchī kingdom about 200 A. D. In 338 A. D. it was conquered by Samudragupta of Patna. This shock threw the Pallava power into shade for some time. But it rose again into splendour under the later Pallavas beginning with Sinhavishnu as we shall presently relate.

We may add that this early Pallava family was undoubtedly Kshatriya. As we have said one great proof of it is that the records of both the early and late Pallavas always mention that they were of the Bhāradvāja gotra. The mention of gotra was always deemed particularly important by Kshatriya kings. We have already seen that the Chālukyas similarly insisted on being called Mānavya-sagotra. They also gave the gotra of the mother to show their descent from a Kshatriya mother also. We have already alluded to the meaning of the epithets Gautamiputra and Vasishthīputra recorded in the mention of Śātavāhana kings. They clearly show that the Kshatriyas took pride in mentioning their gotra. We may add one more instance of this from the same Nasik cave inscriptions. Bhavagopa Senāpati is in one mentioned as of the Kauśika gotra. It is here alone that we have the mention of the gotra and the name-ending "gopa" makes it similar to Vishnugopa and shows that the Senāpati was a Kshatriya. These name-endings

(gopa = protector of the earth) usually taken for indicating caste are of great importance and the gotra mention is still more important. An inscription in Prakrit about this very time, king and place not yet recognised, mentions the gotra of the king as Brihatphalāyana (see inscription of Jayavarman for grant of a village in Kindurāhāra Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 316. In this grant also we have Āhāra, northern Sanskrit name for a Taluka and not "nādu" the Dravidian name). As the earliest grants of the Pallavas insist on mentioning their gotra as Bhāradvāja we conclude that the Pallavas were really Kshatriyas as Hiuen Tsang describes them.

We may further add that the legend about the origin of the Pallavas as given in the records of the later Pallavas is not reliable and as usual was concocted afterwards to connect them with a Mahābhārata hero. In fact it appears that in later centuries it was an ambition with all kingly families to connect themselves with some hero of the great national epic (just as in the west Greek and Roman families delighted to connect themselves with the heroes of Homer). The Chālukya later legend we have already discussed. We may note here the Pallava legend. It gives the genealogy as follows. १ ब्रह्मा २ अंगिरस् ३ बृहस्पति ४ शंयु ५ भरद्वाज ६ द्रोण ७ अश्वत्थामा and ८ पल्लव born of an Apsaras or heavenly nymph from Ashvatthāmā and placed on a bed made of soft leaves and hence called Pallava. Even Vedic poets loved to play with names, witness the fanciful derivations assigned to Agastya, Angiras, Atri etc. in the Brāhmaṇas and it is no wonder that later Sanskrit poets invented absurd legends to explain the meanings of names like Chālukya and Pallava. We may safely put these legends aside as imaginery, as also the legend that the first Pallava ruled the whole earth. We must take the names of Kshatriya families as we find them, whatever their real origin may have been and rely for facts on contemporary records.

True Kshatriyas, the Pallavas were orthodox and of the Vedic religion The son. of Kumāra Vishnu viz.

Sivaskandavarman whose Prakrit grant has been found is said to have performed the Aśvamedha. Smith rightly states that this Aśvamedha was performed even before that of Chandragupta of the Gupta family in the north. The Pallavas were also devout worshippers of Siva like the general body of Marathas. They built great temples to Śiva in Kānchī. There may be some Vishnu temples also but Śiva was their family deity. Though one Pallava king is said to have made a grant to Buddhists at Amarāvati, it does not necessarily show that he was a Buddhist. The toleration by early Aryan kings of Buddhism is well known. Buddhism and Jainism both found followers in the Kānchī empire but the religion of the ruling family and the people generally was Śaivism. Kānchī is still the greatest strong-hold of Śaivism in the south and the most devout Śaiva poets and saints belong to Kānchī. It was probably on this account, that Kānchī has risen to the proud position of a holy city in Hindu estimation. According to Hindu belief there are only seven cities which are holy in India viz. 1 Ayodhyā, 2 Mathurā 3 Māyā or Haradwar 4 Kāshī 5 Kānchī 6 Avanti or Ujjain and 7 Dvārakā. It is strange that in the south the honour belongs only to one city and that is Kānchī and does not belong even to Paithan or Pratishthana, the ancient Mahārāshtra seat of learning. It seems that this position was attained by Kānchī under the orthodox rule of the early Pallavas and by the religion of Śaivism which they propagated and favoured together with the greatness of the Śaiva saints who flourished there.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta records that he conquered three kings viz. Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Palakka and Vishnugopa of Kānchī. These two kingdoms Palakka on the Malabar (West) coast and Vengi on the east coast were undoubtedly under Pallava domination and Vengi is usually called Vengi-rāshtra and was thus under the Maratha rule of the Pallavas from the beginning. The king Attivarman is said to be a Pallava also. The Vengi Rāshtra after the Pallavas came under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and an

eastern Chālukya kingdom was founded there by Vishnuvardhana and may be said to be a continuation of the same rule.

II—THE LATER PALLAVAS OF KĀNCHĪ

The later Pallavas of Kānchī may be looked upon as contemporaneous with the early Chālukyas and comprised many able kings who were always at feud with their Chālukya contemporaries. These kings were (1) Sinha Vishnu who is placed by Dubreuil in about 590 A. D. ; his son was (2) Mahendravarman I, his son (3) Narsinha-

varman I ; his son (4) Mahendravarman II, his son (5) Parmesvaravarman I, his son (6) Narsinhavarman II, and his son (7) Parmesvaravarman II who is placed Dubreuil in about 715 A. D. In the margin we give the contemporaneous Chālukya kings. The 7th and last was

(Pallava line)	(Chalukya line)
Sinhavarman about 562 A. D.	Ranarāga
1 Sinhavishnu 8 590 A. D.—Pulakeśin I	|
2 Mahendravarman I 618—Kirtivarman	|
3 Narsinhavarman I 646—Pulakeśin II	|
4 Mahendravarman II 660—Vikramāditya I	|
5 Parmesvaravarman I 674—Vinayāditya I	|
6 Narsinhavarman II 700—Vijayāditya	|
7 Parmesvaravarman II 715—	|
8 Nandipotavarman. 742—Vikramāditya II defeated Nandi in 740 A. D.	|

succeeded by Nandipotavarman of a collateral branch who was defeated by Vikramāditya Chālukya and with him we may suppose the later Pallavas to have gone out of importance.

Thus from about 550 to 750 A. D. these two Mahārāshtra Kshatriya families contended for the overlordship of the Indian Peninsula south of the Nerbudda and aimed at and prided upon being lords *between three seas*. The Pallavas had of course already subjugated the Chola, Pāndya, Kerala and Kalabhra kings and the latter often sided with their Pallava overlords as feudatories in their battles with the Chālukyas. It does not appear that the Pallavas were ever finally successful ; in this hereditary

conflict the victory lay usually with the Chālukyas. But the fortunes were often varying and we need not enter into the details of these reverses and successes. Grants and inscriptions of both the Chālukyas and the Pallavas have been found in great numbers and sometimes contain contradictory statements. But a consistent history has been evolved by scholars which may be related shortly as follows.

Sinhavishnu was the first great sovereign among the later Pallavas. He conquered, besides the Cholas etc, even Ceylon. His son was Mahendravarman I who was defeated by Pulakeśin II the great rival of Harsha. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kānchī, his son Narasinhavarman was on the throne; he was apparently subject to Pulakeśin II. But this Narasinhavarman I eventually defeated Pulakeśin II in 642 and his capital Vātāpi was taken and plundered by him. The latter's son Vikramāditya I thereafter revived the glory of the Chālukyas and took revenge by seizing Kānchī in return. The date of this conquest of Parmeśvaravarman I by Vikramāditya I is fixed by a grant of the latter (Gadval plates, Ep. Ind. X p. 101) in 674 A. D. (Dubreuil p. 42). A grant of Vikramāditya's son Vinayāditya dated 613 Śaka or 691 A. D. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI p. 89) contains some interesting information. The epithet हिमकरकरविमल कुलपरिभवविलयहेतुपल्लवपतिपराजयानन्तरगृहीतकाञ्चिपुरस्य (विक्रमादित्यस्य) is somewhat obscure. This has been translated by Dr. Fleet as follows "who seized the city of Kānchī after the defeat of the leader of Pallavas, who had been the cause of the humiliation of the family as pure as the rays of the moon." Now the real difficulty is in the word विलय; the पल्लवपति is described not as परिभवहेतु but परिभवविलयहेतु, विलय being omitted or left unnoticed by Fleet. But the expression is indeed obscure. The Chālukya family is here supposed to be of the lunar race as later records represent it, but this point is also doubtful. However the main fact is apparent viz. that the Pallavas being defeated their city was entered. Another important epithet applied to Vikramāditya in this grant is त्रिसमुद्रमध्यवर्तिमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य

which shows that he was the overlord of all the chiefs who ruled *within three oceans*. And thirdly the word त्रैराज्यपद्व-बलमवष्टभ्य shows the Pallavas had three kingdoms much in the same way as the Chālukyas had three Mahārāshtas (viz. Vidarbha, Mahārāshtra proper and Kuntala or southern Maratha country). And the three kingdoms of the Pallavas were probably Vengi, Kānchī and Palakkada; but Vengi had already been lost and taken by the Eastern Chālukyas. Perhaps the traditional epithet Trairājya Pallava still remained.

The Pallavas though often defeated retained, however, their kingdom as usual in ancient times and were powerful for a long time. The last defeat inflicted on them (under Nandipotavarman) by the Chālukyas, was under Vikramāditya II in about 740 A. D. Kānchī was again seized and entered. But being considered a sacred city as already mentioned, it was never plundered by the orthodox Chālukyas. On the contrary any plunder taken from temples by unscrupulous hands was restored and many rich presents were made by the Chālukya king and queen to its famous gods. Nandipotavarman's power may be said to have declined from this time. He had a long reign however of about 51 years.

The later Pallavas were like the earlier ones great Saivas and they have left behind them temples and caves and rock-cut rathas which are yet the admiration of the world. They surpassed the Chālukyas in this respect. The Rājasinheśvara or Kailāsanātha temple in Kānchī is famous. Who this Rājasinha was is not quite clear, but he seems to have been Narasinhavarman II (some scholars take him to be Narasinhavarman I). The birudas or titles of these kings are so numerous that it is really difficult to identify them. These birudas are the fancies of poet-flatterers. The Rājasinheśvara temple contains many such e. g. Atyantakānta, Ranachanda and so on, but as plainly showing that these Pallavas were Kshatriyas as Hiuen Tsang states, we may quote one viz: Śrikshatra-chūdamani. The Māmallapura temple of Śiva contains

a short inscription in it viz. अतिरणचण्डपल्लवेश्वरगृह. In the Kailāsanātha temple in an inscription the pedigree of the Pallavas is given as (1) Brahmā (2) Angiras (3) Brihāspati (4) Śamyu (5) Bharadvāja (6) Droṇa (7) Aśvatthāmā (1) Pallava. In his line was born Ugradanda who defeated Ranarasika probably a Chālukya king. His son was Rājasinha. Dubreuil opines that Ugradanda and Lokāditya mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kānchī mean Parameśvara I and Ranarasika is Vikramāditya I. Thus this Chālukya after defeating the Pallavas was in turn defeated on the banks of the Kāveri by three kings united viz. Kānchī Sinhala and Pāndya kings. The date of this defeat is 674 A. D. (see Dubreuil p. 42 noted before). The builder of the Rājasinhesvara temple would then be Narāsinhavarman II of about 700 A. D. The rock-cut temples at Māmallapura near Madras called the "Seven Pagodas" and the cave temples at Mahendravādī and Māmandūr were excavated by order of these Pallava kings from Mahendravarman I (Smith). There are at Māmallapura (the name Mamalla is derived from Mahāmalla a title of Narasinhavarman I) three Śaiva temples and one Vaishnava. Dubreuil thinks that Mahendravarman and his father originally ruled in the Telagu country to the north of the Krishna and the cave works and rock-cut temples he executed during his reign at Kānchī were copied from similar buildings and excavations at Amarāvati. The art thus in his opinion goes back to the Buddhistic period and is Greek in origin,

The later Pallavas were thus great builders of temples. Dubreuil thinks that Narasinhavarman II surnamed Rājasinha had a long, and peaceful reign, and did nothing else "except loading Śaivite priests with favours and building temples to Śiva. Besides the famous Kailāsanātha or Rājasinhesvara temple he built the Shore Temples at Mahābalipura and the Panamalai temple. The Airāvateśvara temple at Kānchī may also be added to this list." (p. 45). These kings also appear to be patrons of letters.

A burlesque (प्रहसन) has been found at Travancore of which Mahendravarman I is the writer. (It would be interesting to read this drama or rather Prahāsana). And Dubreuil has found confirmation of this fact from an inscription on a cave at Māmandūr and which he reads as मत्तविलासादिपदं प्रहसनं, Mattavilāsa being a title of Mahendravarman I. The greatness of this king is described by Dubreuil as follows, “(1) he checked the Chālukya invasion at Pallalur, (2) he gave a new impulse to Śaivism, (3) he glorified poetry and music (it appears he was himself the composer of some svaras), (4) he transferred the taste for rock-cut temples from the banks of the Krishna to those of the Pālār and Kāveri and (5) for administrative purposes he built tanks at Mahendravādi, Māmandūr and probably at Dalavamir. “Thus Mahendravarman I opened a new era whose apotheosis we shall see in the reign of his son Narasinhavarman I” (p. 40). This praise is well merited. The successors of Narasinha too were great builders e. g. Rājasinha alias Narasinhavarman II. They were also great patrons of learning, the son of this Narasinhavarman viz. Parameśvravarman being a great patron of letters. We give in the appendix a grant of this Parmeśvaravarman as much as a sample of the good poetry of the Pallava school as proof of this fact. We shall find also mention of many historical facts in connection with the Pallavas and the Chālukyas, (the French and the English of India) in this inscription. The Pallavas were great patrons of Sanskrit literature and not Dravidian literature which latter it must be stated flourished at the court of the earlier Pāndya kings at Madura. In fact as we have already stated the Pallavas spoke a mid-Indian language.

The social relations of these Pallavas also appear to be with the northerners. For instance the Chālukya first king is said to have married a Pallava princess. Then again (Archeological S. R. Part V) the Vellur plate already quoted states that the wife of Dantivarman was a Kadamba princess* And similarly in a grant at p. 555 it is stated

* मख्यातस्य कदम्बवंशातिलकस्योर्वीपतेरात्मजा.

that Nandivarman had married a Rāshtrakūta lady.† The name of this lady was Revā and her son was properly called Dantivarman from his Rāshtrakūta grandfather (Dubreuil p. 75). Whether the Pallavas married Dravidian Chola, Pāndya, Kerala princesses we do not know. But it is not strange if they did, for the Mahārāshtra Aryan Kshatriyas also married Nāgavamśa princesses. The theory then was that a Kshatriya could take a wife from any caste down to Śūdras and the progeny still remained Kshatriya. The southern Aryans of the lunar race like the northern ones appear to have mixed themselves with Nāga families freely.

The Pallavas in all their grants never use the Śaka era, in fact they mention no other years but their own regnal years and hence their dates are open to doubt. This absence of the Śaka era is due to their old pedigree which goes back beyond 400 A. D. when the Śaka era, as we have said before, was popularised by new astronomical Siddhāntas. In fact the Pallavas go back to the period of the Sātavāhanas who never used the Śaka era. The Pallavas are thus plainly an older people than the Chālukyas, that is to say they were settled in the Deccan much earlier than the latter.

We may in conclusion give in brief a short history of what we may call the last or third Pallava line. It was composed of four kings whose dates are ascertained

1 Nandivarman Pallavamalla
717-779 A. D.

2 Dantivarman—779-820

3 Nandi of Tellarn—820-864

4 Nripatunga—864-880

Aparājita

by Dubreuil as in the margin. Of these we have already seen that Nandivarman was defeated by Chālukya Vikramāditya II in 745 A. D. The Chālukyas themselves fell before the Rāshtrakūtas of

Malkhed and it appears that these last Pallavas recognised thereafter the supremacy of the Rāshtrakūtas.

† आसीत्तद्वाह्यादेवी तन्वङ्गीनन्दिवर्मणः । राष्ट्रकुले जाता लक्ष्मीव मुरद्विषः॥

Dantivarman is said to have been defeated by the Rāshtrakūtas about 803 A. D. After Nripatunga the Pallavas under Aparājita* were extinguished by the Cholas in about 900 A. D. under Āditya I. Thereafter we do not hear of any Pallava kings. These last Pallavas apparently ruled in Kānchī. They all have left many grants. They cannot be called Ganga Pallavas according to Dubreuil and Gopinathrao. The Gangas were a distinct line in Kanara and Mysore and should not be confounded with the Pallavas. Nandivarman II is said to have defeated the Pāndya kings at Tellaru when they invaded his territories on the Kaveri and hence Dubreuil calls him Nandi of Tellaru. Nripatunga had undoubtedly Tanjore and Trichonopally under him as his grants show and it is there that the Cholas subsequently rose to power. These Cholas we shall have to refer to in the third epoch of our history.

The present chiefs of Pundukotta represent themselves to be descendants of the Pallāvas and their claim may be well founded. But it may be noted that since the Chola supremacy the Pallavas ceased to have any connection with the north and the Pallavas must have been confined to marriages with Dravidian chiefs. They belong to the latter period of Indian history when as we shall further on relate marriage relations became strict all over India.

* Some scholars say that Aparājita is but another name of Nripatunga who took it after defeating the Pāndyas. In any case the name Aparājita proved untrue for the king was finally defeated and the line extinguished by Āditya I.

NOTES

I—KURAM PALLAVA GRANT

South Indian Inscriptions (Hultzsch) Vol. I p. 148-50.

स्वाति । पञ्चास्यस्त्रिंशद्द्वः प्रतिभयनयनश्चन्द्रमौलिस्त्रिशूला । भीमाव्याकोपराती-
दशभुजपरिवरस्तत्त्वमात्रात्ममूर्तिः ॥ दिव्यावेक्ष्यो मुकुन्दप्रभृतिभिरमरैः सृष्टिकृन्मन्त्रासिद्धः ।
कर्ता नो मूर्तविद्याविहितपरयमस्त्रायतां विश्वमूर्तिः ॥ कार्यव्यूहकलाक्रमस्य परमव्योमा-
मृतज्योतिषो । विद्वन्मानसचन्द्रकान्तपतिता मूर्च्छन्ति यस्यांशवः । भूतानां हृदयेषु
चानयति यः शक्तिं क्रियासाधनीं त्रैव्यात्मा परमेश्वरः स जयति त्रैलाक्यचूडामणिः ॥
अब्रह्मण्यमसोमयागमयथाप्रस्थानदण्डोद्यमम् । मिथ्यादान्तमदानशूरमनृतव्याहारजि-
ह्वाननम् । जातं यत्र नरेश्वरं न शृणुमो युद्धेषु वा विक्रवं निर्विघ्नः पृथिवीन्निरीतमवतान्त-
त्पल्लवानां कुलम् ॥ ब्रह्मणोङ्गिरास्ततो बृहस्पतिस्तस्माद्भरद्वाजस्ततो द्रोणः । द्रोणादपरिमित-
तेजोयामाश्वत्थामा । ततो निराकृतापल्लवः पल्लवः यतः सकलभुवनवल्लभपल्लवकुलम् ।
स्थेयात्तत्पल्लवकुलं यत्र जातं नरेश्वरम् । अब्रह्मण्यमदातारमशूरं नानुशुश्रुम । तदु-
दयधरणिधरसोमादित्यस्याविनतमुखनृपातिमूर्द्धे । चजोशने प्रतियन्ति राजगजयूथ-
सिंहस्य नृसिंहवर्मणः..... मुहुरवाजितचोळकेरळकळभ्रपाण्ड्यस्य सहस्रबाहोरिव
समरशतनिर्विघ्नसहस्रबाहुकर्मणः परिमळमणिमंगलशूरमारप्रभृतिं रणविदर्शितपुलकेशि
पृष्ठपदलिखितविजयाक्षरस्य कलशयोनेरिव विमथितवातापेः पौत्रो महेन्द्रस्येव सुरचित-
सम्पदो महेश्वरवर्मणः सुप्रणीतवर्णाश्रमधर्मस्य पुत्रः परमेश्वर इव सर्वाधिकदर्शनः
परमेश्वरवर्मा भरत इव सर्वदमनः सगर इव कृतासमंजसत्यागः कर्ण इव पुष्कलाङ्गीयः
प्रियकाट्यो ययातिरिव अनुपनतानां राज्ञां यस्याज्ञां भरति सर्वदा पीठा ।
here follows a description of a hard fought battle which is both very real
and poetical; विक्रमादित्यं कप्पटमात्रपरिच्छदं एकाकिपलायितं ..तेन परमेश्वरेण नाम
मन्यवान्तरगण्डे अष्टशतचतुर्वेदकुलसमृद्धकूरग्रामनाममद्भ्ये विद्याविनीतपल्लवपरमेश्वर-
गृहे प्रतिष्ठापितस्य भगवतः पिनाकपाणेः पूज्यास्त्वनकुसुमगन्धधूपदीपहविरुपहार-
चलिशंखपटहादिप्रवर्तनार्थं अत्रैव उदक्रमन्निभारतमाख्यानमणिक्कोटमध्ये पत्यानामच-
न्यवाप्नरगण्डे

While Chālukya records represent Pallavas as defeated by Vikra-
māditya this grant represents him as flying from the field covered with
a rag or rather a "langoti," to use in Marathi. However both accounts
may be true; as there are usually successes and reverses between equally
matched opponents. The further interest of this record is that it

presents Paramēśvaravarman as fond of poetry. And the occurrence of the word Rāshtra as the name of a division or district shows that the Pallavas originally came from the Mahārāshtras. We will refer to this again later on.

II—Some Nasik cave Inscriptions in Prakrit as read by Senart (latest version) Ep. In.: Vol. VIII.

(1) No. 22 page 93

साद्वाहनकुले कन्हे राजिनि नासिककेन समणेन महामातेण लेण कारित.

(Under king Krishna of the Sātavāhana family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer in charge of the Śramaṇas at Nasik)

(2) No. 24 page 94.

सिधं राणो गोतमीपुतस सानिसिरीयण सातकणिस संवछरे सातमे हेमताण पखे ततीये ३ दिवसे पथमे कोसिकस महासेणापतिस भवमोपस भरिजाय महासेणा-पतिणीय वासुय लेण बोपकियंतिसुजमान अबयवसितसमाने बहुकाणि वरिसाणि उकृटे पयवसान नितो चातुदिसस च भिखुसंगस आवासो दतो ति ।

(Tran.:—Success. On the first day of the 3rd fortnight of winter in the seventh year of the king the lord Siriya Sātakani son of Gotami, the Mahāsenāpatini Vasu wife of the Mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa of the Kauśika family has completed and given as an abode to the Universal Sangha of monks this cave which has been excavated for many years but after having been created by the ascetic Bopaki had remained uncompleted).

III—No. 5 page 73.

सिध गोवधने आमचस सामकस देयो राजाणितो रत्रो गोतमीपुतस सातक-णिस महादेवीय च जीवसुताय राजमातुय वचनेन गोवधने चोसामको अरोगवतवो ततो एव च वतवो एथ आम्हेहि पवने तिरण्डुम्हि अम्हधमदाने लेणे पतिवसताणं पवजि-तान भिखून गामे कखडिसु पुव खेतं दत्त तच खेत..कसते सोच गामो न वसति एवं सति य दानि एथ नगरसीमे राजकं खेत अम्हसतकं ततो एतेस पवजितान भि-खूनं तेरण्डुकानं ददम खेतस निवतणस तं तस च खेतस परिहार वितराम अपावेस अनोमस अलोणस्वादच अरठसविनयिक सवजातपरिहारिक च एते हि न परिहारेहि परिहारेठ एत च स खेतपरिहारे च एथ निबध्नपेथ अवियेन आणत पटिहारखिय लोटाय छटो लेखो सवछरे २४ वासान पखे ४ दिवसे पचमे ५ सुजिविना कटानिबधो निबधो सवछरे २४ गिम्हाण पखे २ दिवसे १०.

(Tran.:--Success. Order of the king to be made over to Sāmaka the officer at Govadhana in the name of the king Sātakani Gotamiputa and of the king's queen-mother whose son is living. Sāmaka the officer at Govadhana shall be addressed with the usual civility and then shall be told thus: "We have here on mount Tirahnu formerly given to the mendicant ascetics dwelling in the cave which is a pious gift of ours a field in the village of Kakhadi. But this field is not tilled nor is the village inhabited. Matters being so that royal village of ours which is now here on the limit of the town, from that field we give to the mendicant ascetics of Tirahnu one hundred Nivartanas of land and to that field we grant immunity not to be entered (by royal officers) not to be touched (by any of them) not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police and in short to enjoy all kinds of immunities; invest it with these immunities and take care that the donation of the field and the immunities are duly registered." Verbally ordered. The deed written down by Lota the doorkeeper. The charter executed by Sujivin in the year 24 in the 4th fortnight of the rainy season on the 5th day. The donation had been made in the year 24 in the second fortnight of summer on the 10th day.

IV—Beginning of No. 12 page 82.

सिधं । वसे ४२ वसाख मासे रात्रो क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस जामतरा
दीनीक पुत्रेन उषवदातेन संघस चातुदिसस इमं लेणं.

(Tran.:--In the year 42 in the month of Vesakha, Ushavadāta son of Dīnika son-in-law of king Nahapāna the Kshaharata has bestowed this cave on the Samgha generally).

CHAPTER XI

THE EASTERN CHĀLUKYAS OF VENGI AND KALINGA

(For the materials of this history we have many inscriptions of Eastern Chālukya kings; these and other various sources are available and have been utilized.)

The Chālukyas of Bādāmi under Pulakeśin II were the overlords of the whole of the south. They had conquered the Āndhras in the east, the Pallavas in the south, the Gurjaras in the west and the Kosalas and others in the north. Two separate branches of these Chālukyas were also founded in the east and the west at this time and Pulakeśin placed two brothers of his in these subordinate kingdoms. The first Eastern Chālukya king is styled Kubja Vishṇu Vardhana and he began to rule in the Vengi kingdom wrested from the Pallavas from 605 A. D. according to one view or at the latest from 615 A. D. S. Krishṇasvami Aiyangar in his history of Ancient India says (p. 27) “ The Pallava generals marched up to the capital of the Chālukyas and so completely destroyed it that there was an interregnum for 13 years. It was to maintain peace in the Pāllava position that Pulakeshin organised a separate viceroyalty at Vengi under his brother who became the founder of a dynasty ”. This is incorrect. For Vātāpi was plundered about 643 A. D. and the Vengi kingdom had already been founded in 605 or 615 A. D. Pulakeśin gave it to his brother in the natural fulfilment of brotherly affection or for policy in order to make a separate kingly provision for a royal brother. For his second brother, he similarly provided a kingdom in Gujarat or Lāta (capital Navasari). But Kubja Vishṇuvardhana was fortunate enough to found a dynasty which was longer lived than its parent stem and which ruled in Vengi from the beginning of the 7th to the end of the 11th century when it was merged into the Chola kingdom the founder of which was a daughter's son of the last king of this line.

These Chālukyas of Vengi have left many grants and inscriptions and what is peculiar they usually mention the whole line with the regnal years of each king. Hence a tolerably accurate genealogy of this line can be given, like the one given at page 32 of the first volume of "South Indian inscriptions" by Hultzsch. The initial date of Vishnuvardhana is subject to discussion and is given by Hultzsch as 605 and by Dr. Fleet as 615 A. D. Probably it must be some years before 615 A. D. Five grants of these Eastern Chālukyas are given in the first volume of Smiths' Indian copperplates. The earlier of these grants do not give any history or legend before the mention of Chālukya Pulakesin I. But the fifth which is clearly later and the Ranastipundi grant of Vimalāditya gives at the beginning the new legend which had become then current about the origin of the Chālukyas and which we have already noticed. These two grants (Chellur, p. 51. S. I. Ins. Vol. I and Ranastipundi grant ditto Vol. V.) give a long list of kings with regnal years and these we will give here in detail as they are given in these two grants. Both these grants also give dates in Śaka year and the years of the coronation of the two last kings and hence we have a final date from which we may count back to the very first Kubja Vishnuvardhana as the regnal years of each and every king are given. But the list extends over a period of about 500 years a very long time indeed and certainty is unattainable. Dynastic lists appear to have been preserved in every state in India in ancient times and the records of Vengi as of Kashmir appear to have been particularly well preserved. But an interregnum of 27 years is mentioned and hence the list becomes again somewhat subject to doubt.

The names of these kings with their years and relationship as mentioned in these two grants are as follows:—

- 1 Kubjavishnuvardhana, 18 years.
- 2 Son, Jayasinhavallabha, 33 years.
- 3 Brother, Indraraja, 7 days.
- 4 Son, Vishnuvardhana II, 9 years.

- 5 Son, Mangi Yuvarāja, 25 years.
- 6 Son, Jayasinha, 13 years.
- 7 Brother Kokkili, 6 months. Set aside by his elder brother :—
- 8 Vishṇuvarḍhana III, 37 years
- 9 Son, Vijayāditya, 18 years
- 10 Son, Vishṇuvarḍhana IV, 36 years
- 11 Son, Vijayāditya Narendra Mṛigarāja a famous king who has left a grant, 48 years
- 12 Son, Kalivishṇuvarḍhana V, 1½ year
- 13 Son, Guṇaka Vijayāditya, 44 years
- 14 Nephew, Chālukya Bhīma, 30 years
- 15 Son, Kollabhi Ganda Vijayāditya, 6 months
- 16 Son, Ammarāja, 7 years. His child son was set aside by:—
- 17 Tādapa, 1 month
- 18 Setting him aside, son of Bhīma (14) Vikramāditya, 11 months
- 19 Son of 17, Yuddhāmalla, 7 years
- 20 Setting him aside, brother of 16 from country Bhīma, 12 years
- 21 Son, Ammarāja II, 25 years
- 22 Half-brother Dānanripa, 3 years
Interregnum for 27 years.

Here the line seems to have been broken off but the next king Śaktivarman is said to be son of Dānārṇava who may be taken to be the last king Dānanripa No. 22, and the line proceeds as follows:—

- 23 Śaktivarman, son of 22, 12 years
- 24 Brother Vimalāditya, 7 years
- 25 Son Rājarāja, 41 years, of the lunar race married Ammangā daughter of Rajendra Choda of the solar race.
- 26 Son, Rajendra Choda.

The last first became king of Vengi and then overlord of the whole of the south conquering Kerala, Pāndya, Kuntala etc. He was then anointed king of the Choda kingdom (Chola). He married the Princess Madhurāntaki

born of the solar Chola family. He had many sons. The account here related is not quite clear as it mixes up the Chola and Vengi kingdoms and families. Virachoda finally was anointed king on Thursday 13th Tithi (वृश्चिकलग्न), Śravaṇa Nakshatra, Bright fortnight, Sun being in Lion in Śaka 1001. This king makes this Chellur grant of a village in Guddavāli Vishaya to a temple of Vishṇu built by his commander-in-chief Medarya born in a Brahmin family of the Mudgala gotra. This inscription is very important (p. 57, Vol. 1 S. Ind. Ins.) and we will further on describe it fully.

This inscription then gives us the names of kings, the length of the reign of each, his relation to the predecessor and the fact wherever the succession was violent. But unfortunately we have no other materials to co-ordinate a detailed consecutive history. Dr. Fleet has by the aid of other Eastern Chālukya grants made out a detailed story of this line and has also tried to fix the dates of the reigns of each king for which antiquarians will certainly be grateful to him (see his articles in *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XX). But there are certain facts even unexplained by him and we shall try to solve these difficulties. Now the first difficulty is about the succession of Kokkili No. 7. He was a younger son and yet he succeeded his eldest brother before his elder brother. After six months of possession he was set aside by this elder brother Vishṇuwardhana who thereafter had a long reign of 37 years. What was the probable story of this apparent usurpation of Kokkili? We have already made a guess and it seems to be the proper one. Supposing that Vishṇuwardhana the founder came to the throne in 605 A. D. we have for the end of the reign of Kokkili's eldest brother Jayasinha A.D. 703 (Vishṇu 18 + Jay 33 + Vishṇu 9 + Mangi 25 + Jayasinha 13 = 98 years). Now it is probable that the world-conquering expedition of Lalitāditya of Kashmir happened at this time. Jayasinha had just died or was killed in battle. His full brother must have fled owing to his dissensions with his step-mother and as stated in Kashmir chronicles

that step-mother a Ratta lady offered submission to Lalitāditya. When Lalitāditya went away as usual, returning the subject kingdom to its owner, Kokkili the youngest brother was crowned king in the absence of his elder brother and proper claimant. He (Vishnuvardhana) however returned, forcibly ejected his younger brother and seized the throne which was his due. (Kokkili is said plainly to be half brother of Jayasinha and Vishnuvardhana may have been Jayasinha's full brother. There was thus the enmity of step relation too see S. I. Ind. Vol. I page 41). If we place the founder Vishnuvardhana's reign in 615 A. D. this Vishnuvardhana's reign and Jayasinha's death would fall in 713 A. D. Lalitāditya's whole digvijaya ended before 712 A. D. the date of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs as we have stated in Kashmir history. This may at first sight make the story of Lalitāditya's coming to the south improbable. But as there is only a difference of a few years we hold that Vishnuvardhana the founder's reign may well be placed in 605 A. D. According to Dr. Fleet who takes Vishnuvardhana the founder's rule to begin in 615 A. D. Kokkili came to the throne in 709 A. D. (For he takes for Jayasinha 30 years). And this date 709 A. D. also fits in with Lalitāditya's conquest of the south.*

* The ślokas in the Rājatarangīni are as follows :—

तस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे रट्टाख्या कर्णाटी चटुलेक्षणा । अपासीन्नुपातिर्भूत्वा पृथुश्रीर्दक्षिणापथम् ।
विन्ध्याद्रिमार्गाः पर्याता निष्यर्यन्तप्रभावया । दुर्गयेव तया देव्या कृता विहतकण्टकाः । ललितादित्यपादा-
च्चनखदर्पणमण्डले । स्वमूर्तिं वीक्ष्य संक्रान्तां प्रणता साऽपि पित्रिये ॥ तरङ्गः ४-१५२-४.

The translator Stein has, we think, wrongly said in a note here that this queen was a Rāshtrakūta lady. In the Mahārāshtra the Chālukya family was still supreme and the Rāshtrakūtas had yet to rise for they came to power after 750 A. D. The Chālukya king was at this time Vijayāditya who may have probably been in prison at this time in Kānchi (see Chālukya history). The mention of Vindhya passes indicates that Lalitāditya crossed the Eastern Ghauts into Vengi country. These hills have to be crossed whether you come into Vizagapattan from Orissa or from Raipur side. A Ratta Karnata queen would again probably indicate an Eastern Chālukya queen for they were Mahārāshtra by origin and Karnāta by language or in modern language they were Southern Mahratta country people. North and South India appear then as now differentiated in the matter of Pardah and we need not wonder that this Ratta queen presented herself before Lalitāditya and did him homage. She appears to have been a young lady also from Rājatarangīni and she must have been so from inscriptions also as she was a step-mother to the last king Jayasinha and her child son Kokkili was a half-brother of the former (see S. I. Ind. Hultzsch Vol. I. p. 41).

The next disputed succession appears to be that of Tādapa. King Ammarāja (no. 16) left a child son and he was set aside by one Tādapa who seems to be an outsider. Adding up the reigns of the intervening kings who appear to have mostly enjoyed long rule we have from 8 to 16 i. e. for 9 reigns 222 years and adding 703 A. D. the beginning of 8 we have 925 A. D. approximately for the usurpation of Tādapa. But he was promptly set aside after one month's reign by a younger son of Bhīma the 14th king who must have been a sardar of the kingdom enjoying a few villages. After 11 months he was himself set aside by another and better claimant to the throne Yudhāmalla a son of king no. 17. He reigned for 7 years. But he too was supplanted by another still better claimant viz. a brother of Ammarāja, the last king no 17. The expression used here is very important viz. तमुच्चाट्य देशादम्मराजानुजः. This is wrongly translated as "having expelled him from the country;" for in a similar previous mention, the words तमुच्चाट्य alone are used. Hence देशात् does not go with the previous word but with the following. It means reaccording to our view "coming from the mother country" i. e. Mahārāshtra. The Eastern Chālukyas were Mahārāshtra in origin and had full intercourse with their parent land. A younger brother of Ammarāja must have sought fortune in Mahārāshtra and gained some jaghir there. When he found his brother dead and his throne the subject of dispute between rival claimants he returned and succeeded as the rightful claimant to the last king undisputed. This happened 8 years after 925 i. e. in 933 A. D. The line continued unbroken for three generations further. He himself ruled for 12 years, his son Amma II 25 years and another son of his by another wife and hence half-brother of the last king ruled for 3 years. Here an explanation is necessary how Dānārṇava who apparently is an elder brother of Amma II succeeded before him. We think the facts must have been as follows. Chālukya Bhīma his father came as we have said from the Deccan to claim his right to the Vengi throne as

brother of Amma I. He was most likely a jagirdar in the Deccan. His eldest son he must have left to continue his Jagir there. Having succeeded in getting the throne of Vengi he married Loka Mahādevi a Chola princess probably and had by her Amma II who succeeded to the throne of Vengi getting also the name of Amma. He apparently died childless. His elder brother Dānārṇava, therefore, gave up his jagir in the Deccan and came to the throne of Vengi. He reigned for 3 years only. Clearly enough his claims were contested and gave pretext to the Chola rising power to overthrow him. The Vengi kingdom remained without a king for 27 years. This explains the interregnum as also the coming to the throne of Dānārṇava later than Amma II. His son Śaktivarman however succeeded in establishing eventually his claim as we see further on. Now the grant says "by the evil turn of fortune the Vengi country was without a king for 27 years." Thus $12 + 25 + 3 = 40$ years after 933 A. D. i. e. in 973 A. D. this interregnum began and lasted till $973 + 27 = 1000$ A. D. What the cause of this interregnum really was it is difficult to surmise. Perhaps the disputes between rival claimants still continued and civil war was still raging, or the now rising power of the Cholas laid the kingdom waste. But a marriage relation between Chola and Vengi gave Vengi a further lease of life. The line was again established by Śaktivarman a son of Dānanripa the last king. He reigned 12 years and his brother Vimalāditya 7 years and his son Rājarāja 41. 60 years brings the end of the reign of Rājarāja to 1060 A. D. His son born of Ammangā daughter of Rajendra Choda and therefore himself called Rajendra, after 15 years' rule of an uncle and one year's rule of a brother gave the kingdom to his son named Virachoda also born of a Chola princess in Śaka 1001 i. e. 1079 A. D. Now from the above data we get 1076 A. D. a difference of three years only. These 3 years may either be added to the interregnum or to the initial date of Kubja Vishnuvardhana or may be due to the residue months and days of intervenning rulers which are

given only in whole years. The beginning of the Eastern Chālukya rule under Vishnuvardhana may thus be taken at any date between 605 A. D. and 615 which last however tallies well with a grant of this very king in 632 A. D. in the 18th year of his reign made on account of an eclipse in Śrāvana (see Ind. Anti. Vol XX p. 13).

The political history of the Eastern Chālukyas does not seem to be very disturbed and they enjoyed a long rule from 605 A. D. to 1078 A. D. when they were merged into the new risen power of the Cholas. Their rule extended much beyond Vengi itself which is now a small town (Pedda Vegi) between the Godavari and the Krishna. They must have been lords of Kalinga also i. e. the territory to the north of the Godavari as far as the confines of modern Orissa. Raja-Mahendri was founded by the Eastern Chālukya later king named Amma called also by the biruda Rajamahendra. However, Kalinga seems to have had during this period a dynasty of its own called in their inscriptions the Ganga family. It must be noted that Kalinga is an ancient name and Vengi is much later Kalinga like Mahārāshtra is said to be composed of three countries and hence the name Trikalinga which by Prakrit phonetic change has become Telanga of the modern times. This Trikalinga is expressly mentioned in a grant of Vijayāditya (S. I. In. Hultzsch Vol. I. p. 45) as under the king Chālukya Bhīma. The expression is मत्रिकलिङ्गवेङ्गिमण्डलमपालयत् which shows that Vengimandala was considered distinct from Trikalinga. Vengi must, therefore, be taken to mean primarily the eastern coast district between the Godavari and the Krishna and Trikalinga meant Kalinga to the north of the Godavari, Āndhra inside the Ghauts and Ganjam, in which extended territory the Telugu language is still spoken (we will speak of Āndhra in a special note). The Eastern Chālukyas had also rule in the western Madras districts though not towards the south of the Krishna as they must have been opposed in early days by the Pallavas and later on by Cholas in this direction. These districts were latterly a subject of dispute

between the eastern Chālukyas and the Rattas i. e. the Rāshtrakūta kings of Malkhed who were then supreme in Mahārāshtra. The Chālukyas thus fought often with the Gangas in Kalinga and the Rāshtrakutas in the western districts. Their king Chālukya Bhīma is said in a grant to have fought 108 battles and to have built 108 Siva temples. Another king is said to have even taken the capital of Krishna and burnt it (S. I. Ins. Vol. I p. 39). The eastern Chālukyas thus kept up their prestige for valour.

The Eastern Chālukyas probably spoke Kanarese while the Trikalingas i. e. Kalinga, Āndhra and Ganjam spoke Telugu and the southern country spoke Tamil. The Eastern Chālukyas, in the beginning however, for some years must have spoken a Sanskrit-born Prakrit Aryan language. They also appear to have kept up marriage relations with the Mahārāshtra and Central Indian Aryan families. A curious fact to be noted in this connection is that in a grant of Vijayāditya (S. In. Ins. Hultsch Vol. I p. 40) we are told that a village was granted to a sardar whose family name was Pattavardhana which family came down from the time of the founder Kubjavishnuvardhana. Now this name "Pattavardhana" is a Mahārāshtra name and still survives among Marathas, Brahmīns and other castes also. This Pattavardhana family in the grant appears to have been Kshatriya, as the names of the persons in it are Somāditya, Kuntāditya and so on. It was a family of warriors of long-standing. In a grant of the same Chālukya king Narendra Mṛigarāja, the "Ājnyaptā" or command-giver is said to be his brother Nṛiparudra of the Haihaya family (S. I. Ins. Hultsch Vol. I p. 34). The word brother here must of course mean son of his maternal or paternal aunt. The Chālukyas clearly thus married into the Haihaya Kalachuri family of Central India. It need not be surmised from this that they refused to marry into the Chola, Pāndya and other Dravidian families. For these too had become included by this time (about the 10th century) into the solar and lunar races and the last

Eastern Chālukya king did marry a daughter of the powerful Chola kings now assigned as stated above to the solar race. But we may believe that in the beginning for some time at least the Eastern Chālukyas must have confined themselves to marriage with well-known Aryan Kshatriya families of Mahārāshtra and the north, they priding themselves still on their Kshatriya descent.

A few remarks may be made on the form of administration. It was apparently entirely northern. The word for lowest revenue division is vishaya and not nadu the Dravidian word. A village is always said to be situate in such and such a vishaya. Secondly the Ājnaptā or issuer of the command of grant is some prince but in one it is said to be Pancha Pradhānas (पञ्चप्रधानाः). This is a remarkable change. We hear for the first time the word प्रधान Pradhana, so much used in later Maratha history. The ministers are not eight but five; who they were cannot be surmised. The words Mantri, Amātya and Adhyaksha are by this time left behind and may have got into special significations. Thirdly, the grants are addressed to Rāshtrakūta-Pramukhān Kutumbinah (विषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् कुटुम्बिनः इत्यमाज्ञापयति). Now this word राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् is singular in these Eastern Chālukya grants and is not to be found in any other grants of the ancient kingdoms of India. What does it mean? It is translated as "heads of provinces" by the Ind. Ant. But this is not quite acceptable. A vishaya or Tehsil is the lowest division and above it comes Rāshtra (राष्ट्र) or Bhukti (भुक्ति) and so on. The word Rāshtra too occurs in these grants e. g. Krama Rāshtra and apparently shows a division larger than a vishaya. Rāshtrakūta ordinarily means head of a province but Rāshtrakūtas cannot come under vishayas. Of course here we have a distinct clue to the fact that Rāshtrakūta is not the name of a family as many think or thought but it is the name of an office and is the exact equivalent of the modern Deshmukh. Deshmukh and Deshpande (head patil and head writer) are higher officers of the District, not the Taluka. The Rāshtrakūta family of Malkhed,

therefore, as we shall state in their history has merely an official position name changed into a family surname as Prabhu, Deshmukh and Senāpati (Senvi) etc. have become in later Marātha history. But what we urge here is that as Rāstrakūta office cannot come under vishaya, Rāshtrakūta had already become apparently the name of local official families of Marathas. Deshmukhs in Vengi were usually Marathas and it is probable that under the Eastern Chālukyas the Dravidian country must have been assigned to Rāshtrakūta or Maratha families as hereditary Patils in the same way as in the Deccan. The grants are therefore addressed to the inhabitants of the vishaya of whom the Rāshtrakūtas were the leading families. However, whether Rāshtrakūta indicates Maratha people or not, this word Rāshtrakūta occurring in the eastern Chālukya grants throws full light on the origin of the name of राष्ट्रकूट and shows that it means nothing more than a revenue official like the Deshmukh of modern days.

The Eastern Chālukya kings were worshippers of Siva. They usually had long reigns being apparently well behaved (or in the absence of a truthful and detailed historian like Kalhana they appear to be so from the inscriptions and grants which only eulogise their merits). They observed Hindu religious practices rigorously and were strict enforcers of Varnāśrama. They were usually educated persons, one king especially was proficient in mathematics and hence was called Gunaka. The pedigree of the family derived from Yaduvamśa does not appear in their grants till about the 10th century when they appear to have entered into marriage relations with the Cholas who were now assigned to the solar race. This Yaduvamśa pedigree is neither taken from the Mahābhārata nor the Bhāgavata and is a riddle as discussed in detail in our note.

The Eastern Chālukya kings took the title usually of Mahārāja, some adding Mahārājādhirāja, Parmeśvara and Parama Bhattāraka. Their favourite Biruda was Vishama-Siddhi taken by the first king Vishnuvardhana

(meaning the conqueror of strongholds or difficult places). They sometimes called themselves the Āśraya of something like the early Western Chālukyas: but they gave up the title of Vallabha which was now appropriated, so to speak, by Mahārāshtra kings namely those of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, following the usage of the Early Chālukyas

Lastly, it would be interesting to notice a few further facts mentioned by Dr. Fleet in his paper on the Eastern Chālukyas (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX). Firstly the seal of the Eastern Chālukyas contained the legend Sri Tribhuvanānkaśa (श्री त्रिभुवनाङ्कश) always. The last grant of Virachoda however shows above it a boar—the usual Lānchana—half standing half couchant, to the proper left, Sun and Moon umbrella, conchshell, doubledrum and two Chauries; and the lower part an elephant, an ox-goad; an expanded water-lily and a device resembling the letter य. These latter are omitted in seals on other grants. The Chellur grant of Virachoda enumerates the Chālukya ensignias, the white umbrella, the single conchshell, Panchamahā-Sabda, Pāliketana, double drum, boar crest, bunch of feathers of peacock's tail, the spear, the throne, the Makaratorana, golden sceptre, Gangā and Yamunā and others unspecified.* A similar list occurs in the Ganga grants of Kalinga Nagara. Their importance and meaning which is a riddle to many including Dr. Fleet we will try to elucidate later on. Golden coins of these Eastern Chālukyas are found even in Arakan.

What became eventually of the Eastern Chālukya line? The kingdom of Vengi of course disappeared under the Chola supremacy. Some later Chālukyas, however, still ruled there. They claimed descent from the child son of Amma I who was set aside by Tādapa. He was not killed and he grew somewhere and had many generations after him. The last Malla Vishnuvardhana has left an inscription dated 1202 A. D. Some Chālukya kings or chiefs are found in the west to the south of the Tungabhadra also.

* The relevant portion in the Chellur grant may be quoted here. Speaking of the original founder of the Chālukya race viz. निष्णुवर्धन who was born an orphan of the चारिती queen it is said “स च मात्रा विदितवृत्तान्तः सन् निर्गत्य चलुक्यागिरौ नंदाभगवतीं गौरी-भाराध्य कुमारनारायणमावृण्णांश्च सन्तर्प्य श्वेतातपत्रैकऽङ्गुष्ठं पञ्चमहाशङ्खं पालिकेतनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य वराहं लाञ्छनं पिच्छकुन्तं सिंहासनं मकरतोरणं कनकदण्डं गङ्गायमुनादीनि स्वकुलक्रमागतानि निक्षिप्तानि-साम्राज्याचिन्हानि समादाय कङ्कभगङ्गादि भूमिपान्निजित्य सेतुनर्मदामध्यं सार्धसप्तलक्षं दक्षिणापथं गालयामास. (S. I. In. Hultsch Vol. I p. 54).

EASTERN CHĀLUKYA PEDIGREE.

(As given by Hultsch in South Ind. Ins. Vol. I p. 32 and with the other dates as proposed by Dr. Fleet Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p. 12 and 283.)

I

S. 489-567 A. D.—Kīrtivarman (Western Chālukya)

Satyāśraya Pulakeshin II
the great Western Chālukya
of 610 A. D. or 532 śaka

1 Kubja Vishṇuvardhana
18 years, 526-544 śaka (H.)
538-556 śaka (F.)

2 Jayasinha I 33 yrs. śaka 544-577 (H.)
30 yrs. 556-585 śaka (F.)

3 Indrarāja 6 months only

4 Vishṇuvardhana II, 9 yrs. 577-586 śaka (H.) 585-594 śaka (F.)

5 Mangi Yuvarāja, 25 yrs. 586-611 śaka (H.) 595-619 śaka (F.)

6 Jayasinha II
13 yrs. 611-624 śaka (H.)
or 619-632 śaka (F.)

8 Vishṇuvardhana III
37 yrs. 625-662 śaka (H.)
or 632-669 śaka (F.)

7 Kokkili, 6 months
625 śaka (H.)
632 śaka (F.) or
703 A. D. (H.) 709 A. D. (F.)

9 Vijayāditya I Bhattāraka
18 yrs. 662-680 śaka (H.) or 669-687 śaka (F.)

10 Vishṇuvardhana IV
36 yrs. 680-796 śaka (H.) or 687-722 śaka (F.)

11 Vijayāditya II alias Narendra Mrigarāja
48 yrs. 716-764 śaka (H.) or 44 yrs. 722-766 śaka (F.)

12 Kalivishṇuvardhana V
11½ yrs. 764-766 śaka (H.) or 766-67 śaka (F.)

13 Guṇaka Vijayāditya III
44 yrs. 766-809 śaka (H.)
or 767-811 śaka (F.)

Yuvarāja
Vikramāditya

Yudhāmalla

14 Chālukya Bhīma Droharjuna
30 yrs. 803-839 śaka (H.) or 811-841 śaka (F.)

18 Tādapa
one month 848 śaka

21 Yudhāmalla
7 yrs. 848-855

15 Vijayāditya IV Kollabhiganda or
Kaliyarttyanka 6 months
śaka 840 (H.) or 841 śaka (F.)

19 Vikramāditya
1 yr. 847-848 śaka (H.)
849 śaka (F.)

16 Amma I Vishṇuvardhana VI alias Raj Mahendra
7 yrs. 840-847 śaka (H.) or 841-848 śaka (F.)

22 Chālukya Bhīma II Vish. III
Gauda Mahendra; son of
queen Melambā 12 yrs.
855-867 śaka (H.)

17 Vijayāditya & Beta
child set aside by
Tādapa 848 śaka (F.)

20 Bhima

24 Dānārṇava or Dananripa
3 yrs. 892-895 śaka (H.)

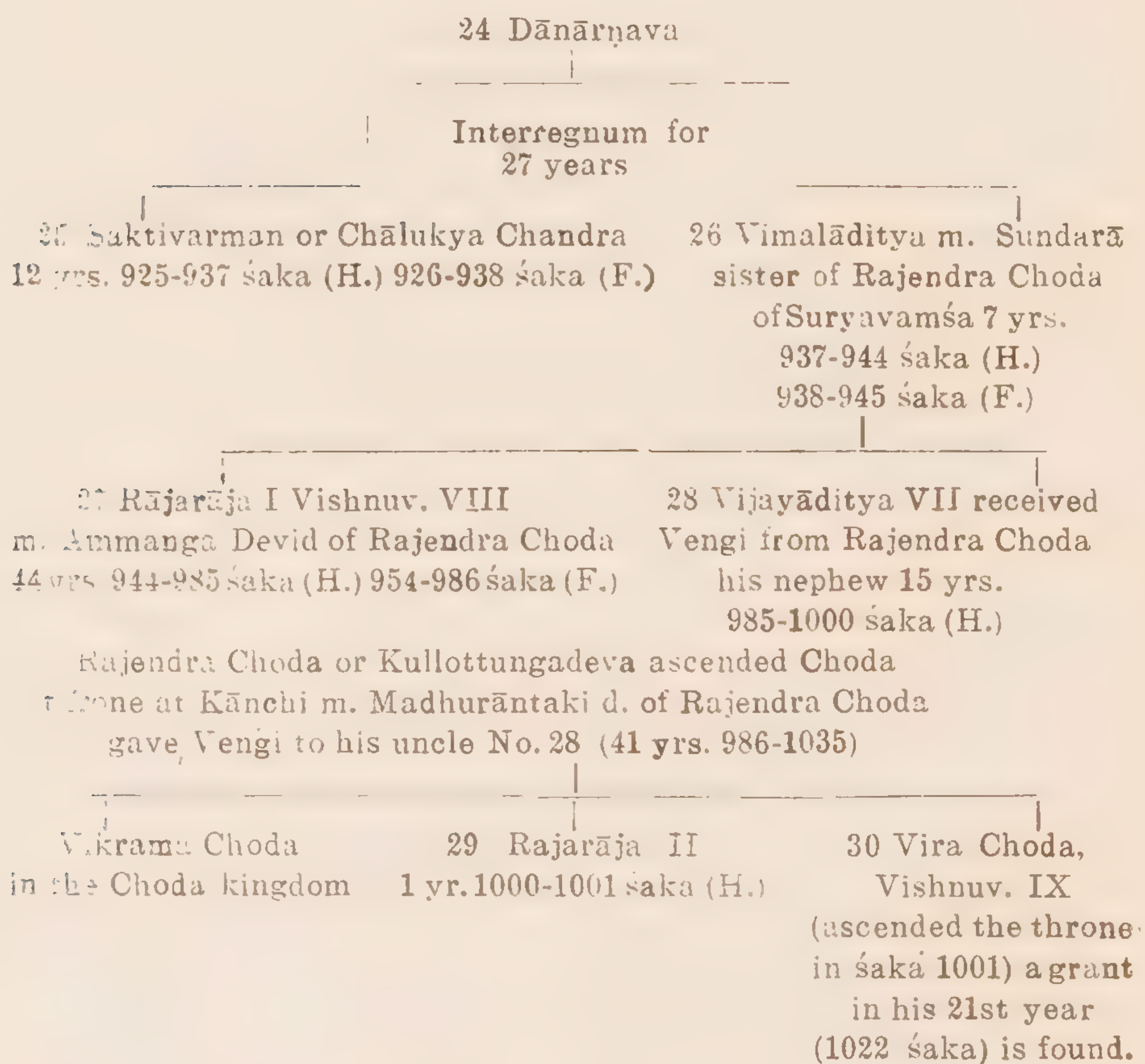
23 Amma II Vijayāditya
son of q. Loka Mahādevi
25 yrs. 867-892 śaka (H.)

Interregnum for 27 years.

Here ends the first section so to speak of the Eastern Chālukya pedigree, a section which is essentially Deccani or Mahārāshtri or rather Kannada Marātha. The date of the coronation of Amma II is distinctly given in one grant of his and it is Śaka 867 Marga. V. 13 Friday etc. which corresponds with Friday 5th Dec. 945 A. D. (Fleet Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p. 271).

We now go on to the second section of the Pedigree.

II



date of Rājarāja the first is also given in a grant of his and is equivalent to 16th August 1022 A. D.*

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* The kings with Christian era dates for the end of each reign may be given as follows from Fleet's paper Ind. Ant. XX p. 283 :—

1 Vishṇuvārdhana ... 633 A. D.	14 Chālukya Bhīma ... 918 A. D.
2 Jayasinha ... 663 „	15 Kollabiganda Vijayā-
3 Indrarāja ... 663 „	ditya IV ... 918 „
4 Vishṇuvardhana II ... 672 „	16 Amma I Vishṇuv. VI. 925 „
5 Mangi Yuvarāja ... 696 „	17 Beta, Vijayāditya V ... 925 „
6 Jayasinha II ... 709 „	18 Tādapa ... 925 „
7 Kokkili ... 709 „	19 Vikramaditya II ... 926 „
8 Vishṇuvardhana III... 746 „	20 Bhīma III ... 927 „
9 Vijayāditya I ... 764 „	21 Yudhāmalla ... 934 „
10 Vishṇuvardhana IV... 799 „	22 Amma II Vija. VI ... 970 „
11 Narendrarāgarāja	23 Danārṇava ... 973 „
or Vijayāditya II ... 843 „	Interregnum for 30 yrs. 1003 „
12 Kalivishṇu. ... 844 „	24 Saktivarma ... 1015 „
13 Guṇaka Vijayāditya III 888 „	

NOTES

I—THE CHANDRAVAMŚA PEDIGREE IN LATER CHĀLUKYA GRANTS.

The Ranastipundi grant of Vimalāditya (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 351) gives the Chandravamśa as follows: I (1) 'Brahmā (2) Mānasa son अत्रि (3) Moon (4) रुद्र (5) पूरुषा (6) आयु (7) नहुष (8) ययाति चक्रवर्ती वंशकर्ता (9) पूरुचक्रवर्ती (10) जनमेजयोश्चमेधव्रित्तयस्य कर्ता (11) प्राचीश (12) सैन्ययाति (13) ह्यपति (14) सार्वभौम (15) जयसेन (16) महाभौम (17) ऐशानक (18) क्रोधानन (19) देवकि (20) रिचुक (21) ऋक्षक (22) मतिनार मन्त्रयागयाजी सरस्वतीनदीनाथः (23) कात्यायन (24) नील (25) इष्यन्त (26) भरत गंगायमुनार्तरि यद्विच्छिन्नं निखाय यूपान् । कृत्वा तथाश्चमेधान् नाम महाकर्म भरत यिनियोलभत (27) भुमन्यु (28) सुहोत्र (29) हस्ती (30) विगोचन (31) अजमील (32) संवरण from तपनमुता तपती (33) सुधन्वा (34) परीक्षित् (35) भीमसेन (36) प्रदीपन (37) शन्तनु (38) विचित्रवीर्य (39) पाण्डु (40) five sons and अर्जुन praised (41) अभिमन्यु (42) परीक्षित् (43) जनमेजय (44) क्षेमुक (45) नरवाहन (46) शतानीक (47) उद्यन. II ततःपरं तत्प्रभृतिष्वविच्छिन्नसन्तानेष्वयोध्यासिंहासनेष्वेकेनषष्टि चक्रवर्तिषु गतेषु तद्द्रव्यो विजयादेत्यो नाम etc.

Now comparing this list with that given in the Mahābhārata we find many names common. But there are some material differences. They are as follows:- Mbh. Ch. 95 gives the line with मनु-इला-पुरुषा. From him we have आयु-नहुष-ययाति-पूरु. The line then goes to जनमेजय who performed three अश्वमेध. This makes जनमेजय the same as that of the शतपथ but this is a mistake; for the जनमेजय of शतपथ who performed three अश्वमेध is पारीक्षितजनमेजय; while this जनमेजय is son of पूरु. From जनमेजय, we have प्राचिन्वान्-संयाति-अहंयाति. (The सैन्ययाति and ह्यपति of the inscription are perhaps a mistake of reading). Then we have सार्वभौम-जयसेन-अवाचीन-अरिह-महाभौम.—(In the inscription अवाचीन and अरिह are omitted). Then we have अयुतनादि-अक्रोधन-देवातिथि-अरिह-ऋक्ष-मतिनार (for the first four we have ऐशानक-क्रोधानन, देवकि and रिचुक which does not appear to be a mistake of reading). Matināra marrying सरस्वती is also mentioned in both. Then we have तमु-इली-इष्यन्त-भरत. (Here we have कात्यायन and नील instead of the first two). Bharata performing अश्वमेध on the banks of the Yamunā and the Ganges is mentioned in both and is the story of the शतपथ repeated. From भरत we have भुमन्यु-सुहोत्र-हस्ति-विकुण्ठन-अजमील-संवरण-कुरु. (Here we have nearly the same names but strangely there is no कुरु in the inscription). From कुरु we have विदुर-अनथा-परीक्षित्-भीमसेन-प्रतीप-शन्तनु. (If we take कुरु to be सुधन्वा we have two omitted here विदुर and अनथा). From शन्तनु we have विचित्रवीर्य-पाण्डु-अर्जुन-अभिमन्यु-परीक्षित्-जनमेजय. (The names in both are the same). From here there is complete divergence. Mbh. gives जनमेजय शतानीक-अश्वमेधदत्त; while the inscription gives जन०-क्षेमुक-नरवाहन-शतानीक. And from शतानीक the line goes at once to उद्यन of the 6th century a contemporary perhaps of बुद्ध, the famous king of कथासरित्सागर whose minister was यौगन्धरयण and who carried away वासवदत्ता daughter of प्रद्योत king of Ujjain. Whence is this genealogy given in the 10th century derived? Of course the difference from Mbh. is not strange. Some Purāṇa must have been followed: which we cannot yet say.

II—ĀNDHRA.

Who were the Āndhras? Where was the Āndhra country? These questions are interesting and we proceed to solve them. The Āndhras were a well-known ancient people, different from the Dravidas in the days of the last recasting of the Mahābhārata i. e. about 300 B. C. Moreover in the Mahābhārata Bhīshma parva list of Indian peoples, they are mentioned in the north under the Aryan and mixed Aryan peoples and not among the mlechhas of the south such as Dravida, Kerala, Chola etc. We therefore take it that in 300 B. C. Āndhra had come entirely under Aryan influence while the territory south of the Krishna had not. Āndhra is now looked upon as the territory on the east coast between the Godāvari and the Krishna. But in Mahābhārata days it denoted the country above the Eastern Ghats. Aryans appear to have settled in it from Kośala or Nagpur and Raipur. Kalinga was also early Aryanised and it may be possible that the Aryans went into Āndhra from Kalinga; but we prefer to hold that the Aryans penetrated into the Āndhra (Warangal) country from Kośala as there is no mountain to cross here. Now Āndhra even in Hiuen Tsang's days was the name of the country above the Eastern Ghats and the Vengi country tract along the coast between the Godāvari and the Krishna is called by him Dhanakataka (Amaravati). In short Vengi is distinct from Trikalinga.

Having shown that Āndhra was always the country above the Ghats, we may state that the Āndhra people were principally Aryans. Even now the ethnographical characteristics of the Āndhra people Brahmins and Kshatriyas are distinctly Aryan. The Brahmins of Āndhra or Telangana still continue marriage relations with the Brahmins of the Deccan and hence they must have been one with the Deccan people. The Āndhra kings who became powerful and conquered Pataliputra appear to us to be thus mixed Aryans and not Dravidians and they conquered Paithan and Mahārāshtra also. Their capital is said to be Dhana-kataka, which country too must have been conquered by them and hence its eventual inclusion in the Āndhra territory. We have therefore distinguished the Āndhras from the southern Dravidas and we hold that they were more Aryan than the latter, i. e. not only the Brahmins, but the middle class peoples also in Āndhra were mixed Aryans.

The Āndhras developed a fine literature of their own under the Eastern Chālukya patronage and their ancient work, "The translation of the Mahābhārata" in Telugu is dated the 10th Century A. D. and is said to be highly poetical. Like the Tamils of the further south, the Āndhras too distinguished themselves for learning and even now the Āndhra Brahmins are learned Vaidikas. They are usually Śaivas and rarely Vaishnavas a circumstance which we shall try to explain later on. What language these Āndhras originally spoke we discuss in the next note.

III—ARYAN ADVANCE INTO SOUTH INDIA.

India to the south of the Nerbudda divides itself into two natural portions the first consisting of Berar, the Nizam State and the Bombay Deccan; and the second consisting of what is practically the present Madras Presidency. The former is usually called the Deccan while the latter is called south India. The language in the first is generally Marathi with the exception of Āndhra in the south-east and of the Southern Maratha country in the south-west. The Deccan, as we have shown, was originally sparsely populated by aboriginies and hence the Aryan invaders who settled the country gave their language to it. Did the Aryans advance into Āndhra and the Kanarese portions and into the country southwards of both? Did they advance in sufficient numbers so as to impress their language upon the people? If so, why does not their language now prevail there? We will try to answer these questions in this note as there seems to be a great deal of haziness on this subject.

The Pāndyas are the southern-most Indian people throughout ancient Indian literature. They were known to Megasthenes whose account of them shows that they were believed to be mixed Aryans and Dravidians. We may, therefore, believe that the Aryans in small numbers did go right upto Cape Comorin sometime before Buddha and impressed their religious thought, not their language, upon the people. The Pāndyas are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, but their name does not, strangely enough, occur in the Bhishmaparva list of Indian peoples. Probably their name is given as Dravida which heads the list of the southern mlechhas and the Pāndyas were unquestionably Dravidas par excellence.

The Aryan settlement of the Deccan took place after this and in sufficient numbers so as to impress not only the Aryan religion but also the Aryan language upon the few people who were there. And this advance took place probably after Buddha but before Megasthenes. For the Mahābhārata which we place about 250 B. C. includes all the people in the Deccan in the list of northern peoples described as Aryans and mixed Aryans. Even Āndhra and Kuntala are in this list besides Mahārāshtra proper which is covered by Vidharbha, Āsmaka, Pāndurāshtra, Goparāshtra and Mallarāshtra. We believe that the people in Āndhra and in Kuntala who at present speak the Telugu and the Kanarese spoke then the Prakrit Aryan language as we shall presently show. We take it that this advance took place after Buddha because we find many persons, specially the common people, professing the Buddhist faith.

In the days of Bindusāra son of Chandragupta the Aryans made conquests further south and established principalities as far as the Pennar in the east and the northern boundary of the present Mysore state in the west. Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyangar following and agreeing with Sir Vincent Smith says in his 'Beginnings of South Indian History'

recently published "The southern frontier of Aśoka's empire may be described as a line drawn from the Pennar river near Nellore on the east coast to the river Kalyānapuri on the west coast (about N. Lat. 14) which forms the northern boundary of the Tuluva country probably representing the old country of the Satiyaputra. This boundary is substantially correct on the information furnished by epigraphy." This correctness is confirmed, adds Mr. Krishnasvami, "by what we are able to glean from Tamil literary sources, except on the eastern point. The Tamils marked out the limit of the Tamil land at Pulikat" which is further south than Nellore. Thus from about 250 B. C. to the first century A. D. the age of Tamil poets, South India upto Pulikat a little above Madras on the east and to about Bhatkal on the west was under Aryan domination. A fresh attempt was made to push the Aryan settlement further south in the days of the Tamil poets themselves. It was defeated in the eastern portion near the Podyar Hill by the Pāndyas but it was successful in the west where in Konkānam the territory of the chief Nannan, "in the first century of the Christian era was broken into by a new people called Kōsar and Nannan was obviously defeated." (S. Krishnasvami's beginnings of South India p. 85). Thus Konkānam above and below the ghats came also under Aryan influence in the first century A. D.

Now what will be a great surprise to many is that this part of South India not only came under the sway of the Aryan people but also under the influence of the Aryan language. It seems clear from the old Tamil poets that the language of this part of South India was Aryan. The Tamil poets of the first century A. D. not only describe this part as Vadukarmana, end of the Northerners' territory, but also call it Moli-
peyartam, that is, the country where the spoken language changes to another. Ditto page 84. At page 95 ditto, we read that the new invaders were called in Tamil poems Vada Vadukar (the northern northerners) and Vamba Vadukars (or the new northerners). Further it is stated that the Malayaman chief of Muller defeated single-handed the Aryans that had laid siege to his fort. Finally in summing this chapter on Aryan invasion of South India, Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyangar says: "The Aryan invasion went along the western ghats avoiding Dandāraṇya as it is called by the Tamils. This inference is supported by the fact (1) that the Tamils regarded the land north of Pulikat as *foreign in language* and (2) their regarding the Dandāraṇya as the land of the Aryans. Again in the chapter on the Dawn of the Christian era he observes at page 128. "The northern frontier of the Tamil lands was held by Nannan of the Tullu country in the west and Pulli of Vengadam (Tirupati) in the east, further north being the land of the Aryas (Vadukars) and Dandāraṇya." Thus it is clear from ancient Tamil literature that from about 250 B. C. to the first century A. D. South India as far as Pulikat in the east and Bhatkal in the west was under Aryan sway and spoke the Aryan language.

This view of Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyangar is supported by epigraphic evidence. We find inscriptions in this part of the country recorded in Prakrit not only down to the first century A. D., but even to the third and the country was ruled by Kshatriyas who professed the Vedic religion. These kingdoms are given by Mr. Dubreuil in his work "Ancient History of the Deccan" just published. The first inscription on a stupa at Jagayyapetha (Krishna District) gives the name of a king called Mā-dhariputra Sri Vira Purushadatta of the Ikshvākus, in an alphabet which points to the 3rd century A. D." (p. 86). The inscription (Ind. Ant. XI p. 256) is in Prakrit. 2. The Dāvanagere inscription (Ep. Kar. Vol. XI No. 161) mentions a people called Kekayas who intermarried with the Ikshvākus. 3. The Brihatphalāyanas mentioned in an inscription of Jayavarman who ruled in Kudura (Krishna District again) are also Vedic Aryans. This inscription is in archaic Prakrit. "The language and phraseology of the inscription is so similar to the Nasik inscriptions of Gautamiputra Śatakarni and of Vashishtiputra Pulamāyi that Jayavarman's date cannot have been distant from the date of these two Āndhra kings." (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII p. 315). 4. The next people are the Salankāyanas also a gotra name mentioned in an inscription found at Peddaveggi (Vengi). The plates of king Vira Devavarman are in Prakrit also. (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX page 56). 5. The Vishnu Kundims are mentioned in the Ramatirtham grant (Ep. Ind. XI p. 134) and other records. This name is also a gotra name which has now disappeared from the list of gotras. (Gotras it is said in Dharmasāstra are innumerable and many gotras have disappeared.) 6. The early Pallavas also have left records in Prakrit as we have shown in the body of the book. Lastly 7. the Kadambas of Vana-vāsi have also left early records which are in Prakrit. These records prove that Kshatriya Aryans ruled in the frontier of the Tamil land and spoke an Aryan language viz. Prakrit at least in the higher ranks, viz. the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas.

The point we have further to urge is that these Aryan-Brahmins and Kshatriyas were allied to the Deccan Aryans i. e. the ancestors of the Marathas of the modern day. Not only do these Aryans i. e. Brahmins of Āndhra and Kanara intermarry with the Brahmins of the Deccan but we find from an inspection of these Prakrit records that the language therein used is allied to the Mahārāshtrī. Thus the inscription at Jagayyapetha mentions Kamakaraṭhe the Raṭra or Rāshtra cf. Kamaha. The word Rāshtra belongs to the Mahārāshtras and points to this king being a Maratha Kshatriya. Again the word Apaṇo instead of Attaṇo (Sans. Ātmano) is the Marathi word Āpaṇa. So again the inscription of the Brihatphalāyana Jayavarman uses the expression खंडरुडजस for Sanskrit स्कंदरुद्रायस्य which is plainly Marathi. Here we have the Marathi word खंडोदा for स्कंद and the word अज for आर्य is not modern Telugu which uses अय्या but is plainly the parent of the Marathi आज्ञा. The inscriptions lastly of the Pallavas and the Kadambas about this

time viz the first to the 3rd century A. D. are in Prakrit and the representatives of these are plainly the modern Maratha families Pálave and Kadam.

The Prakrit inscription of the Kadambas on the Malavalli pillar especially leaves no doubt that Mahārāshtri must have been spoken so far south as the northern part of the present state of Mysore. On this inscription Mr. Rice at page 6 of his introduction to the Ep. Karna. Vol. VII observes: "From the script, style and situation of this inscription and the relationship of the donee, it is evidently not removed very far in time from the first inscription of Śātakarni which precedes it. I have therefore marked its date as 250 A. D. The Prakrit employed is the Mahārāshtri form, and Dr. Buhler considered the inscription as evidence that this was already at that time a cultivated language in the south." Thus inscriptions indubitably prove that the Mahārāshtri in a cultivated form was spoken in the country now the home of Kanarese. This is not to be wondered at as this part of the country was ruled by Mahārāthis in the days of the Śātakarnis and the Kadambas. Even coins bearing the legend in Prakrit मडकग कडदय महारडिस have been found in the west of Chitaldurg Mysore State. Not only this, tradition as recorded in the Harivaṃśa shows that the kingdom of Banavāsi was originally founded by a son of Yadu from a Nāga wife and Banavasi is described in the Harivaṃśa as situated *in a forest with red soil about it*. Banavasi is plainly the modern Kanarese country. Thus the country was settled by Mahārāthis and was ruled by Mahārāthis down to the days of Kadambas. It seems probable that after their rule the language changed into Kanarese under the rule of the Gangas.

All these facts are also admitted and recorded by V. Kanakasabhai in his "Tamils 1800 years ago." At page 29 he observes that the northern limit of Tamilcam was on the east Verkadu or Pulikat and that beyond was the country of the Vadukas. The King of Erami Nadu was also called the chief of the Vadukars. It is evident therefore that at this early period the people north of Tirupati and those who resided in Mysore (north) spoke one and the same language Vaduki. The Kanarese and the Āndhras thus in those ancient days spoke according to our view a northern language which was Mahārāshtri and were also related to the Mahārāthis of the Deccan. The Nāyaks and the Reddis are descended from ancestors allied in race and language to the ancestors of the Marathas. The name Vadukar is even now applied to these and though Dr. Caldwell says that Vaduki meant old Telagu, the older language of the Vadukars and the Āndhras must have been an Aryan language. Mr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar expresses his opinion in connection with this subject as follows: "I have no doubt that the Āndhras of the Mahārāṭṭa country were spoken of by the Tamils as Aryans. That would only confirm the present day notion that the language Marathi is itself called Aryan."

CHAPTER XII

THE KESARI DYNASTY OF ORISSA

We come next to the history of Orissa or Odra as it is called in ancient Sanskrit literature. We have a very interesting history of Orissa from the pen of that gifted author Sir William Hunter and we will follow him generally except in a few points. His research at the date of his writing his history is remarkably thorough while his manner of depicting scenes and events belongs to a highly imaginative writer. Sir William Hunter doubtless based the ancient history of Orissa on the palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the temple of Jagannath, the most famous temple of Orissa.

According to Hunter Orissa is the Prakrit form of the word Odra-deśa which is very plausible. Orissa is a strip of land bounded by the Sea on the east and the Vindhya hills on the west. It extends length-wise from the westernmost mouth of the Ganges to a remarkable lake in the south called the Chilka lake. This lake has been formed owing to the low level of the land, the water from the sea flowing into it at tide-time. It is separated from the sea by a narrow ridge of land formed by the deposit of silt from the mountains brought down by the big rivers of Orissa the chief of which is of course the Mahānadi. In this strip of land owing to its fertility immigrations have come in from time to time. The most ancient one was that of the Aryans whose pioneers, the Brahmins, were conspicuous in founding settlements even in Dandakāranya. These Aryan Brahmins soon imposed their religion and their language upon the aboriginal people who were non-Aryans and Kaivartas or fishermen by profession. Odra naturally became a prosperous province but like Anga, Vanga and Kalinga it continued to be a banned land for pure Aryans. The Manusmṛiti mentions the Odras as mlechhas, and it was not considered proper for good Aryans to go to this country.

After the Vedic Aryans, came the Buddhist. We know that Aśoka when he conquered Kalinga further south slaughtered many people and from that time by a revulsion of feeling became inclined towards the religion of non-slaughter. From his time i. e. about 250 B.C. Buddhism reigned supreme in Orissa for several centuries. Sir William Hunter relates on the authority of the palm-leaf records that this Buddhist native rule was supplanted by a king named Red-Arm (रक्तबहु) who came about 323 A.D. and his descendants ruled in Orissa till 474 A.D. (Hunter's Orissa Vol. I p 206)

Who were these invaders. The temple archives call them Yavanas and Hunter has no doubt that they were so. He has given a most detailed history of the ancient Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks who had kingdoms in the Panjab and who invaded Ayodhya and Magadha under Menander in the second century B.C. It is not improbable that some of these Yavana adventurers sailed down the Ganges and came by sea to Orissa in course of time. That there were Yavana kingdoms in the central parts of India is proved not only from inscriptions but from the Purāṇas themselves. Of the Kailakila or Kainkila Yavanas mentioned in the Purāṇas we shall speak later on. Here it will suffice to note that Yavana adventures, it is not strange, founded a kingdom in Orissa in about 320 A.D. and continued to rule down to 474 A. D. These Yavanas were a maritime people and it is supposed that under their guidance the Hindus went to Java about this period. Whatever that may be, these Yavanas appear to be Buddhists like the Kāilakila Yavanas of the Central Provinces. The fact is that foreigners whether in past or present times are always partial to Buddhism; because Hinduism is exclusive and there is no ready admission to foreigners in its fold. Sir W. Hunter attributes this tendency to the higher ethical excellence of Buddhism. But it seems that there was nothing to choose between Hinduism and Buddhism of the fifth century A.D. so far as higher doctrines were concerned and superstition was as rampant in Buddhism as in

Hinduism at that time. But Buddhism was a proselytizing religion while Hinduism was not and hence Yavanas and Śakas and others turned Buddhists sooner than Hindus. But it must be remembered that caste in the fifth century A.D. was as strong among Buddhists as among the Hindus in spite of the fact that Buddhism started with the denial of caste in the beginning. The sentiment of caste is buried deep down the Indian heart and we see caste at the present day assert itself even among the Christian converts of the south. Under the influence of caste a new people though admitted to Buddhism or even to Hinduism lived as a separate caste bound by interdiction of marriage with others among the hundred and one castes that already existed

To return to the Yavanas who conquered Orissa, they were Buddhists and ruled the country according to the chronicles till 474 A. D. These Yavanas or Greeks have left Buddhistic monuments in caves and in images of gods and men with Greek profiles unmistakably detectable as stated by archæologists a fact which well fits in with the view that these rulers were really Bactrian Greeks. This dynasty was overthrown by one Yayāti Kesari according to the palm-leaf records in 474 A.D. The kings of this Kesari line were worshippers of Śiva as elsewhere; though of course they revered Vishnu also as the All-preserver "For 150 years Buddhism and Śiva worship struggled for victory when the contest practically ceased. The reigning monarch was a worshipper of the all-Destroyer with Bhuvaneśvara the temple city of Śiva as his capital. Year after year the Buddhist hermits in their cave-dwellings gazed across the five miles of fruit-bearing groves towards the great tower of Śiva slowly rising in the distance. Of the 7000 shrines which clustered round it, not more than 500 or 600 survive. They exhibit every stage of Orissa art from the rough conceptions of the sixth century through the exquisite designs and the ungrudging artistic toil of the 12th, the exquisite friezes, scrolls, and carvings which adorn these long deserted walls," (Hunter's Orissa Vol. 1 pp. 233-234)

The chronicles and Sir W. Hunter place the rise of the Saivite dynasty of Kesari kings in 474 A. D. But they place the success of Bhuvaneśvara 150 years later i. e. in about 624 A.D. It seems that this must be put a little later still. As we have said before, Orissa was conquered by Harsha and was held under him. When Hiuen Tsang visited the land, Buddhism was still supreme there. He records "The people reverence the law. There are a hundred monasteries and 50 temples. There were myriads of Buddhists" (The fertility of the land also is noticed by the Chinese traveller who remarks that the fruit here were larger than elsewhere). It seems, therefore, that the Kesari dynasty though established was not yet powerful and was subordinate to Harsha. They must have asserted themselves and their religion, as elsewhere in India, after Harsha's death.

The dates of the building of the Bhuvaneśvara temple given by the palm-leaf records also support this theory. 'The founder began the lofty fane about 500 A. D. Two succeeding monarchs laboured on it and the fourth completed it in A. D. 657.' Thus the completion of the temple of Śiva at Bhuvaneśvara took place after Harsha's death. A slab inscription further recounts that a pious princess built another cloud-reaching temple with four beautiful halls to Lord Śiva. "The only event by which the palm-leaf records relieve the monotonous list of kings of the ninth century is the erection of a Śiva temple in Puri, the city which was destined, later on, to become the centre of the rival worship of Vishnu. This Mārkandeśvara temple in Puri was built by Kundala Kesari in 811-829 A. D. (Puruṣottama Chandrikā p. 31 quoted by Hunter p. 237).

The Kesari kings were not only great builders of stupendous temples to Śiva-temples the adornments of which are more decorous than those which in a sense disfigure the later temples of Vishnu in Orissa; but they were also great restorers of the Brahmin religion. They invited and settled a colony of Brahmins from northern India in much the same way as orthodox kings in Bengal and elsewhere

did later on. "The local legends and the palm-leaf records alike relate that the founder of the long-haired or Lion line imported ten thousand Brahmins from Oudh and endowed them with lands round Jaipur on the sacred Vaitarani river. They professed the royal religion and were Śaivites to a man. They found already settled Brahmins who were, however, once Buddhists. These latter were allowed to retain the title of Brahmins but they were interdicted all intercourse with the new settlers. They were of course denied the Jus Connubi from the first and these nominal Brahmins formed a distinct caste which by degrees sank into the mass of the peasant population." "They are still found in Orissa as good cultivators and are known as Laukika Brahmins and still wear a dirty Brahmanical thread over their half naked body" (Hunter's Orissa Vol. I p. 239). This settlement of Northern Brahmins and the consequent division of Orissa Brahmins into Laukika and Vaidika is typical of the social evolution of the higher classes throughout India with its sub-divisions of castes which appear at first inexplicable but which show how centuries of profession of the Buddhistic faith differentiated Brahmins from Brahmins and Kshatriyas from Kshatriyas and led to the present strange prohibition of marriage and even food between subdivisions of the same chief caste or Varna.

Bhuvanesvara was the old capital of the Kesari line raised within the shadow of Buddhistic remains. The settlement at Jaipur was a new religious capital. Between them lay the delta of the Mahānadi. The Jaipur colony flourished. It was visited according to Cunningham by Hiuen Tsang though this seems doubtful; but in the sixteenth century the great battle between the Mahomedans and the Hindus was certainly fought under its walls and the city was taken by the Mahomedans and was as usual devastated. "Its ruins attest its ancient grandeur. Its dilapidated temples and colossal images retain an inviolate sanctity in the mind of devout Hindus. To the annalist it

possesses a higher interest as the greatest and best-attested settlement of priests from the north planted by royal authority to impose a new dynastic creed on the Indian population." (p. 241 ditto.)

Some of these ruins and thrown down images are graphically described by Sir W. Hunter and we will notice them in brief. They are still well preserved for "even the icono-clast fury of Islam and the vandalism of the English public works department have failed to obliterate the artistic magnificence of the Lion line. A well proportioned column rises above the jungle and bears traces of the impotent fury of the Mussulman troops. The Afgans tried to drag it down by chains and teams of elephants; but the barbarian conquerors of the sixteenth century found themselves unable to destroy the graceful Hindu creations of the tenth. They, however, managed to pull down the sacred Vulture (गरुड) which crowned its capital and the exquisite shaft lifts its dishonoured head in witness against a creed which sought the glory of God in the destruction of the finest works of man" (ditto p. 267).

The most important and colossal statues were also preserved owing to their being thrown down on their faces. They lay prone for more than two centuries when in 1866 they were raised and set up by a spirited English magistrate; and have been placed on the river bank amid most of the public buildings. "Three statues each of one enormous block of chlorite towering even in their sitting posture far above the heads of puny mortals represent the queen of Heaven (Indrāni) the Earth goddess who took upon herself a mortal form to become the wife of the Boar incarnation (Vārāhi) and the goddess of Destruction (Kālī).

These colossal monoliths must have been dragged across the river-intercepted delta from the mountains a hundred miles off and their hard blue stone still bears witness to the fine chiselling of the Hindu Art of 900 to 1000 A. D. The queen of Heaven, a four-armed goddess, sits in calm majesty with an admirably cut elephant as her footstool. A muslin drapery falls in delicate curves to her feet and is

fastened by a girdle at the waist. Her hair towers up in a cone of curls inter-woven with jewels with a single massive tress hanging down upon either shoulder. The Earth goddess sits with her infant son on the knee and like the other two consists of a colossal monolith eight feet high by four in breadth. She has four arms also and the little finger of her left hand proves that Hindu ladies of that remote period wore rings. She sits on a finely carved buffalo the artistic lines of whose head and muzzle are striking. A temple to her husband the Boar incarnation crowns a time-worn flight of stairs leading up from the river.

“The most striking, however, of the three monoliths is the wife of the all-Destroyer—a colossal naked skeleton with the skin hanging to the bones and the veins and muscles standing out in ghastly fidelity. This appalling symbol of human decay has her hair brushed back under a snake fillet, with a death’s head over the forehead and the distended hood of the cobra as canopy above. Her serpent tresses fall down in twisted horror over her cheeks. An endless string of skulls winds round her neck, her breast, her loins and her whole body. She sits upon a small figure of her husband and the whole rests upon a lotus-leafed pedestal.” Figures of the seven mothers and another statue of the goddess of destruction with the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha thrown down at her feet adorn a beautiful gallery carved on this very bank (H. O. Vol. 1 268-269). These and other sculptures testify to the great skill of Hindu workers during the Kesari rule in Orissa and bear witness to the great imagination of these sculptors and the mechanical skill of ancient engineers who could transport such big stones a hundred miles in those days before the introduction of modern mechanical appliances.

But the skill of Orissa ancient engineers is still more exhibited in the bridge which they have built over the southern branch of the Mahānadi. “The earlier kings of the Kesari line held their court sometimes at Bhuvaneśvara the city of temples to Śiva and sometimes at Jaipur the city of his priests on the holy river. But a warlike prince

who reigned from 953 to 961 A. D. perceived the military strength of the tongue of land where the Mahānadi first divides itself into several branches and founded Cuttack which is still the capital of the province. He shut up the river by means of a masonry embankment, several miles long, which at present consists of enormous blocks of hewn stone in some places 25 feet high. His successor strengthened the new capital by an outlying fortress on the southern bank of the river, while a century later the reigning king built the massive bridge by which pilgrims enter Puri at this day. The bridge consists of masses of red stone called laterite (which is soft when first quarried but grows harder by exposure to the air) and spans 290 feet of water-way by means of eighteen arches the central one being 18 feet high by fourteen feet broad. "The Hindu architects of that day did not know how to turn an arch but they had a device of their own *scarcely less skilful*, applied equally to the lofty towers of temples and to the humblest gate-way. It is what may be called the inverted stair"; each stone lay projecting out from that below. Thus was the Mahānadi bridge built by skilful engineers of the Hindus of the 10th and 11th century A. D.

Beyond their prosperity and their great temples and buildings we have little to record of the politics of the Kesari line of kings of Orissa. As the palm-leaf records show, this dynasty began in about 500 A. D. but their real power and independence began with 657 A. D. the date of the completion of the Bhuvaneśvara temple to Śiva after Harsha's death. They were orthodox worshippers of Śiva and invited thousands of Śaivite Brahmins of Oundh and settled them at Jaipur where they are still to be found in the enjoyment of lands given to them in fee by devout kings more than a thousand years back. These kings continued to rule down to 1132 A. D. according to the palm-leaf records in their capital Cuttack (which was built about 1030 A. D.) when a revolution took place and the Kesari line of kings came to an end. A religious revolution also happened about this time and in a sense Buddhism

reared its head again in the form of Vaishnavism. Both this religious change and political revolution belong to the third portion of our period, and we finish this history of Orissa here to return again to it in the third volume of our history.

The Kesari line rule thus lasted from about 500 to 1132 A. D. a period of about 600 years which is very long indeed. But we have said that in outlying territories such long-lived dynasties are not uncommon as for instance in Assam. The palm-leaf records of Jagannath are, however, not wholly reliable and there are other records which contradict them as shown by Sir William Hunter himself. According to the palm-leaf records the Kesari line consisted of 44 kings from 500 A. D. to 1132 A. D. (not an improbable period viz. 600 years for 44 kings) when it gave place to the Ganga line of kings. But the other records place a sun-worshipping line between the Kesari line and the Ganga line. These other records according to Hunter are not quite reliable ; but the fact cannot be denied that there must have been a sun-worshipping line of kings sometime before the introduction of the Vishnu worship of Jagannath. For we have in Orissa the most beautiful temple of the sun that exists in India or anywhere else and also a monolith pillar still standing which is almost a wonder of the world. This history of the sun-worshippers too we reserve to our second volume.

As there is very little political history to record, we refrain from giving a list of the Kesari kings which Hunter has assiduously collected and given in an appendix. Orissa must have been more than once conquered during this period by kings from the north, and we have an actual mention in the Nepal inscription of Jayadeva that Harshadeva of Assam did conquer Odra. Yet such conquests either from the north or the south were always temporary, and only nominal and the independence of the Kesari line was not interfered with. These kings themselves cared very little for external conquests though perhaps Kongadu of Hiuen Tsang i. e. Ganjam in the south and Tāmralipti or Midnapur in the north may often have formed part of the kingdom of Orissa, under the Kesari kings.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EASTERN KINGDOMS

(1) THE GUPTAS OF GAUDA

We now turn to the kingdoms of the east. This eastern portion of India naturally divides itself into three parts, Behar with Magadha, western Bengal and Eastern Bengal. The ancient names of eastern countries in India were Anga, Vanga and Kalinga; but Magadha and Odra are also ancient names and all these were usually subject to one and the same great power. When the name Gauda first came into use for this part cannot well be determined. That it was a new name we have not the smallest doubt. The *Mahābhārata* does not mention it nor even, it seems, Varāhamihira of the 5th century A. D. Gauda or Guda is strangely enough mentioned by him as the name of the country round Thanesar,* but we had forgotten this fact so completely that it was a discovery indeed of Jackson. Gauda according to our present notions is nothing but Bengal. We must, however, recognise the fact that Gauda is a name which originally belonged to the country to the north-west of Delhi. The Brahmins of that part of the country still call themselves Ādigauda or the original Gaudas. It seems probable that some time about the 5th or 6th century A. D. many of these Brahmins, probably under the stress of the Huns, migrated eastward and settled in Western Bengal. The country thus came to be called Gauda. In the inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries this part is certainly called Gauda. Bāṇa for instance (620 A. D.) in the *Harsha Charita* calls Śaśāṅka king of Gauda while Hiuen Tsang calls him king of Karna-suvarṇa. Karna-Suvarṇa then was certainly Gauda in about 600 A. D. And Gupta kings probably a branch of the Gupta imperial line ruled here. Śaśāṅka's rule continued for a long time even after 606 A. D. i. e. after he had killed Rājya-

*Varāhamihira mentions Guda among middle countries while among eastern countries he mentions Bhadra Gaudaka along with Paundra and others.

varadhana by treachery and it seems probable that Harsha though he must have conquered Śaśānka pardoned him and married his daughter who had been offered to Rājya. When Hiuen Tsang visited it, Śaśānka was probably dead. He describes the people of Karnasuvarna (modern Murshidabad) as fond of learning, with 50 monasteries and 100 Deva temples, showing that Buddhism was in a minority in western Bengal even then.

The next mention we have of Gauda in ancient records found so far is that of the Gupta family of Ādityasena. This must be another Gupta branch. According to our view already detailed it was a branch Gupta line which had come from Malwa, after Deva-gupta the enemy of Grahavarman had been slain. Mādhava Gupta, his half brother, was a friend and follower of Harsha and during or after Harsha's rule, his own Mālava kingdom having been seized and forfeited, he founded a kingdom in Magadha. The Aphasad inscription describes Ādityasena the donor as a son of Mādhava-gupta "a friend of Harsha" in 66 H. E. or 672 A. D. The inscription was drawn out by a *Gauda* named Śūkshma Śiva. The literary excellence of the Gaudas may be seen even at that time in this inscription an excellence which continues down to this day. Magadha and Gauda or western Bengal appear then to have been under one ruler and the same thing appears from the Gaudavaho which we next proceed to notice. In this poem, as we have said before, Yaśovarman of Kanauj is said to have invaded Gauda and killed the Gauda king in battle. The king is said to be Magadhādhipa also. Who was this king? We have placed Yaśovarman between 675 and 715 A. D. following S. P. Pandit. From the Deo-Barnak inscription of Jivita-gupta we get the following line from Mādhava-
 1 Madhava 2 Ādityasena (672 A. D.) 3 Devagupta 4 Vishnugupta and 5 Jivitagupta. The date of the latter is not given and we have to surmise it. The king killed in the battle with Yaśovarman is said by some to be Jivitagupta himself. This battle was fought before Yaśovarman was conquered by Lalitāditya of Kashmir in about 700 A. D. Hence

according to our dates the king killed in Gauda must have been Devagupta. Of course as there was no annexation of kingdoms practically in those days his son succeeded. And perhaps it may have been his son Vishnugupta who was conquered by Lalitāditya and who in some year later than 700 having again taken up arms against the distant Lalitāditya was again conquered and taken a prisoner to Kashmir where, inspite of an oath to the contrary, he was murdered as related in Kashmir history. He was succeeded by Jivitagupta whose record, the Dev-Barnak inscription, has been found. This line of the Guptas we have identified as the Mālwa branch for many reasons and two names properly recur Devagupta and this name Jivitagupta. (See Gupta pedigree given in Book I). The date of Jivitagupta approximately may be taken to be 732 A.D. taking 20 years for each generation and Muktāpīda's reign Kalhana has rightly assigned as lying between 699 and 735 A. D. (see Kashmir pedigree Chap. I). We take it as very probable that Jivitagupta was not the king murdered in Kashmir. From the Dev-Barnak inscription of this king we find that Ādityasena was a worshipper of Vishnu (परमभागवत) and his queen was Kōnadevī (both facts appear from the Apsad inscription also), that their son Devagupta was a worshipper of Śiva (परममाहेश्वर) and his queen was Kamalādevī, that his son was Vishnugupta also a worshipper of Śiva and his wife was Ijyādevī and that their son Jivitagupta was probably a worshipper of the sun (the word here after parama is unfortunately not readable) for he made or rather confirmed a grant for the worship of the sun. Thus it will appear that these Guptas were not Buddhists. Perhaps Mādhava may have been a Buddhist like and following Harsha, but as after Harsha's death Buddhism was everywhere supplanted, in Gauda too we have a revival of Hinduism or Aryanism and the worship of Śiva, Vishnu and the sun was re-established. The story of the vengeance which according to the Rājataranginī the loyal servants of the Gauda king murdered in Kashmir took on the god Parihāsa—Keshava whose oath was violated is touching and illustrative of the great love and

personal affection which loyal servants often bore towards their royal masters in India.

The next reference to the Guptas of Gauda is in an inscription of the Nepal king Jayadeva dated Harsha era 153 equivalent to 769 A. D. (Ind. Ant. IX p. 178). This inscription gives two important facts. Jayadeva's father Śivadeva had married a daughter of king Bhogavarman of the warlike Maukhari line and she was "the grand-daughter of the *great* Magadha king Ādityasena" Now this mention of the grand-father shows that the Magadha king was the greater of the two. We think that this was the same Gupta line continued, the name Ādityasena recurring in 769 A.D. from 672 A. D. This further shows that there was a line of Maukhari kings contiguous to Magadha probably in Bihar to whom the Guptas usually gave their daughters in marriage and this Maukhari king gave his daughter in marriage to the Kshatriya Lichhavi king of Nepal which is contiguous to Bihar. This Maukhari king Bhogavarman probably belonged to the same subsidiary line as gave the kings Śardūla and others already mentioned and was an offshoot very probably from the chief Maukhari line of Kanauj (see Book I). We have as yet discovered no further mention of the Guptas of Gauda in inscriptions. Probably these later Guptas, descendants of Mādhava of about 650 A. D. disappeared about 800 A. D. when a new line of kings appeared in Magādhā as we shall show in our next volume.

(2) VANGA

Vanga was distinct from Gauda in the 7th and 8th centuries. But Vanga is an ancient name, Anga (Bihar) and Vanga (Bengal) being always mentioned together. The name Vanga was in fact applicable to the whole province and the word Bengal which is derived therefrom is properly applied to it as a whole. But Vanga was in these two centuries denotative of Eastern Bengal. When Yaśovarman conquered Gauda in battle he is said in the Gaudavaho to have gone further east and conquered Vanga. Again in two Rāshtrakūta inscriptions it is said that the ruler of Kanauj had invaded and conquered Bengal and

seized two white royal umbrellas and that these were taken from him by the ruler of the Deccan. This shows that Gauda and Vanga were two kingdoms about 700 as also about 800 A. D. When Hiuen Tsang visited Bengal there were five or six kingdoms there, according to the account given in his Travels. These were 1 Hiranyaparvata (Monghir) 2 Champā (Bhagalpur) 3 Kajugal (Rajmahal) to the south 4 Paundravardhana (Rangpur) to the north of the Ganges and 5 Karnasuvarna or Murshidabad to the west of the Ganges with 6 Samatata (Eastern Bengal Decca etc.) to the east of the Ganges and 7 Tāmralipti or Midnapur to the south on the Bengal coast. From the directions given in the Travels, we find Hiranyaparvata, Champā and Kajugal were on the south of the Ganges but these must have been under Karnasuvarna. Paundravardhana was on the north while Samatata was on the east of the Ganges lower down and Midnapur or Tāmralipti was on the west. Hiuen Tsang specially mentions that the ruler of Hiranyaparvata was deposed recently by another ruler while in the others no kings are mentioned. In Samatata or Eastern Bengal or Vanga as it was also called, he mentions a Brahmin family of rulers. In Midnapur or Tāmralipti no king is mentioned. This kingdom was sometimes included in Bengal and sometimes in Odra or Orissa. Thus we see that even in Hiuen Tsang's time there were two chief kingdoms only in Bengal viz. Gauda (Karnasuvarna) and Vanga (Samatata). The word usually used in modern languages for this province is Gauda-Bangāla which also suggests that there were two kingdoms connected together. Why these kingdoms became specially known throughout India for magic and sorcery cannot be surmised. But the reputation of these parts in these arts cannot be denied and perhaps magic was believed in and practised most extensively among the lower population of these two countries even then.

The supremacy over the smaller kingdoms in Bengal seems to have been enjoyed now by one king and now by another during this period viz. from 600 to 800 A. D. We have already related the story of the Kashmir king Jayā-

pīda going alone and unattended to Paundravardhana where a king Jayanta ruled. He gave him his daughter and the latter is said to have conquered 5 neighbouring kings in behalf of his father-in-law. The years of Jayāpīda's reign are 751-782 A. D. (see Kashmir chronology). King Harshadeva of Kāmarupa (Assam) mentioned in an inscription of Jayadeva of Nepal dated 769 A. D. noticed before is said to have conquered Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and Kosala (गौडो-द्रादिकलिङ्गकोसलपतिः). This shows that none of these Bengal kingdoms were strong during this period and that they were constantly subject to foreign invasions.

(3) THE BHAGADATTA LINE OF KĀMARUPA OR ASSAM

We have already noticed this line of kings of Assam when Hiuen Tsang visited it, Kumāra or Bhāskaravarman was the king. The same line of Brahmin kings continued through the two centuries herein treated of. We have above noted the name of Harshadeva who is said to have given his daughter to Jayadeva of Nepal (भगदत्तराज-कुलजा). This line though Brahmin, as usual, gave daughters to and married daughters from Kshatriya families. The Assam kings were sometimes powerful enough to conquer Gauda, Vanga, Odra etc. They themselves owing to their mountain-girdled territory continued undisturbed. Or is tradition only beguiling us in showing that there was only one line of kings for thousands of years? Such exceptional lines no doubt are to be seen in the Himalayan regions. But even here we may be mistaken and different dynasties may have succeeded one another as usual after a duration of 150 or 200 years. The traditions, however, usually give one continuous line for thousands of years. One fact at least may be admitted; these countries in the inaccessible Himalayan regions continued to enjoy independence, undisturbed by the ambitions of conquering races, which usually overspread the plains. How long this Bhagadatta (of the Mahābhārata fame) line continued we cannot say. It certainly was ruling in Assam about 800 A. D. with which our first period of mediæval Hindu history closes.

CHAPTER XIV

THE VARMĀS OF KANAUJ

We now came to Mid-India and the most important kingdom of Mid-India was of course Kanauj. The whole of Northern India or rather the present U. P. was then under the direct control of Kanauj and the rest of Hindustan was often under its nominal suzerainty. When Harsha died about 647 A. D. he left this vast empire without a claimant. He had no son. It is not clear whether Rājyaśri was then alive; even if she were, she too was not the proper heir and had no male issue. The kingdom or empire therefore at once plunged into anarchy and it is natural that usurpers should have found room for satisfying their ambition. But the story which Sir V. Smith and other historians here set forth about the usurpation of the whole kingdom by a minister named Arjuna or Aruṇāśva and his defeat by a Chinese envoy is unreliable and has most probably been misunderstood. It is from Chinese authorities that this story is taken and in that story the natural desire of the Chinese to exaggerate their own importance and valour is so evident that the story has only to be related to be at once rejected as unreliable. The Chinese envoy insulted by Arjuna, escaped into Tibet, it is related, and returned with 1200 picked Tibetan soldiers supported by a Nepalese contingent of 7000 horsemen (Nepal being at this time subject to Tibet). "With this *small* army the envoy Wang-hiuen-tse descended into the plains and after a siege of three days succeeded in storming the chief city of Tirhut. Three thousand of the garrison were taken prisoners and 10000 were drowned in the river Bāgmati. Arjuna fled and having collected a fresh force offered battle. He was again defeated and taken prisoner. The victor promptly beheaded a thousand prisoners and obtained more than 30000 horse and cattle. Five hundred and eighty walled towns offered their submission and Kumāra the king of Eastern India who had attended Harsha's religious assemblies sent

abundant supplies of cattle and accoutrements. Wang-hiuen-tse took the usurper prisoner to China and Tirhut remained subject to Tibet for some time.”—(Smith’s Early Hist. of India 3rd Edn. p. 353).

The absurdity of this exaggerated story is so apparent that it is a wonder that historians like Smith have not seen it in its true proportions. The difference between Indian and Chinese or Tibetan civilizations and armaments was then not great—was in fact nil—and it is impossible to believe that a few hundred Tibetans could defeat several thousand Indians and annihilate them as the English did the Mahomedans at Plassey or the Hindus at Assaye. Moreover, if Arjuna had usurped Harsha’s throne, where was the mighty military machine which Harsha had reared and by which he had conquered and kept in subjection the whole of Northern India? And why was the fall of Tirhut sufficient to humble the usurper and why was not Kanauj itself besieged? The scene is laid at Tirhut and not at Kanauj and the story may easily be reduced to its true proportions. What really happened must have been something like the following.

Who succeeded Harsha at *Kanauj* is not known. But natural it is that his death was a signal for a political as well as a religious revolution. Buddhism under Harsha’s imperial encouragement had had its last lustre, all the effulgence which precedes death and it may be believed that the forces of Hinduism which were already gathering strength even during the life time of Harsha (as evidenced by the attempt on Hiuen Tsang’s life at Prayāga) became supreme after his death and it may be surmised that both Harsha and Rājyaśrī being gone, an orthodox Hindu claimant of the original Varmā family seated himself on the throne of Kanauj. In the provinces of the empire dependent states and even governors must have become independent. These, at the same time, being strongly inclined towards the reviving Hinduism were opposed to Buddhism. Arjuna was one such petty governor or ruler of Tirhut or modern Bihar. The Chinese Buddhistic

mission probably to Buddha Gayā which came to India in 647 A.D. had to pass, on leaving Nepal, through the territory of this Tirhut governor and it was probably set upon by this orthodox Hindu petty Raja who might have entertained a deadly hatred towards these Chinese Buddhistic missions, now that Harsha no longer lived. The envoy escaped, went back to Tibet, obtained some aid from that country and Nepal and fought with this petty Raja of Tirhut and perhaps even took him prisoner; Kumāra who was friendly to Hiuen Tsang and to Harsha and to Buddhism may have assisted the Chinese envoy with supplies. In short it was a purely local affair and Arjuna cannot be supposed to have seized the throne and power of Harsha himself.

Who succeeded Harsha? As we have said above, it must have been some Varmā king of the Maukhari line. There is not the least doubt that about the end of the 7th century there was a Varmā king named Yaśovarman on the throne of Kanauj and he held extensive sway and had great power. He was a great patron of letters and he had at his court the celebrated poets Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāj. In the Gaudavaho, a Prakrit poem by Vākpatirāj in praise of his exploit in conquering a Gauda king we are told that he was a Somavamśi Kshatriya. The Maukhari Varmās, we have already remarked, were probably lunar line Kshatriyas. This Yaśovarman aimed at the suzerainty of the whole of Northern India like Harsha and began his *digvijaya* by conquering the Gauda king who was as we have also seen before, a hereditary enemy of the Varmās of Kanauj. Whether this Gauda king was a Gupta, what city he ruled in and how he was killed we are not told in the Gaudavaho. Probably the poem as we have it is only an introductory chapter to a bigger poem which the poet intended to write. But the later reverses of Yaśovarman put a stop to the composition of this greater work. For we know from contemporary records that Yaśovarman was certainly defeated by the Kashmir king Muktāpida Lalitāditya who also aspired to the empire of India,

and that Yaśovarman was also *very probably* defeated by a Chālukya king of the Deccan. The story of Lalitāditya's conquest of Yaśovarman we have already detailed in the history of Kashmir and we may merely refer to the fact that this defeat must have happened about the close of the 7th century, only a few years after the accession of Lalitāditya in 697 A. D. i. e. about 700 A. D., notwithstanding the difficulty created by Chinese accounts which we have already discussed in a note. The defeat of Yaśovarman by a Chālukya king must have happened before this event as we now go on to relate. Here it must first be stated by way of closing the previous history, that Yaśovarman must have conquered the Gauda king about 680 or 690 A. D. at the latest and must therefore have come to the throne in about 675 A. D. Between Harsha's death in 647 and Yaśovarman's accession i. e. between 647 and 675 A. D. two kings of the Varmā line must have reigned. Who they were history has not yet discovered for no inscriptions have yet been found which throw a light on this point. But Yaśovarman's power and ambition seem consistent with the usual course of history wherein we usually find the third king in a new line rising to the greatest glory (witness Pulakeshin II, Akbar, Nana Saheb Peshwa, Lalitāditya himself and many others.)

To turn to the defeat of Yaśovarman by the Deccanese we have seen in the history of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi that Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya and grandson of the famous Pulakeshin II who defeated Harsha is mentioned in many inscriptions to have defeated a *northern* king. This point has remained a riddle and has not yet been solved. We find that this Vinayāditya ruled from 680 A. D. to 696 A. D. In his grants found dated up to 616 Śaka or 694 A. D. there is no mention of his having defeated a northern king. Hence it must follow that he defeated a northern king between 694 and 696 A. D. a date which tallies well with our theory that Yaśovarman in his *digvijaya* attacked the south like Harsha after his conquest of the east; but like Harsha himself sustained a signal defeat

at the hands of the grandson of Pulakeshin II. This fact is mentioned in more than one Chālukya grant and is also mentioned in later Eastern Chālukya grants. It must indeed have been a memorable victory over Yaśovarmān like that of Pulakeśin over Harsha. The grants declare that Vinayāditya obtained certain insignia of empire such as Pālidhvaja, Makara Torana, the sun and the moon and Gangā and Yamunā etc. The earliest mention of this victory and the acquisition of imperial insignia is found in a grant of Ś. 622 of Vijayāditya (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p. 127). The battle was fought between his father Vinayāditya and a northern king, but the son Vijayāditya was himself present at this battle and was a great leader and by valour acquired the imperial insignia (उत्तरापथविजिगीषोर्गुरोरग्रतः गङ्गायमुना-पालिध्वजपददक्कामहाशब्दचिह्नमाणिक्यमतङ्गजादीन् पितृसात्कुर्वन्). This grant is dated 622 Ś. or 700 A. D. and this defeat must have happened some years before and certainly before 696 A. D. the date of his father's death i. e. in 695 A. D. as said above. The insignia mentioned are very important. They include Gangā and Yamunā the significance of which is not understood by many as we have already remarked. These two may be taken as showing that the sovereignty of Mid-India with its two principal rivers the Ganges and the Jumna was considered to be the sovereignty of the empire of India; and this mention also makes it certain that the king of the north who was defeated was Yaśovarman king of Kanauj and lord of the chief Indian kingdom the region of the Ganges and the Jumna (see also the epithet applied to his father Vinayāditya in this very grant (सकलेश्वरपथनाथमथनोपाजितोजित-पालिध्वजादि-समस्त-पारमेश्वर्यचिह्नस्य). There is thus no doubt left that Yaśovarman aspired to be or was paramount lord of north India and being defeated by Chālukya Vinayāditya I was deprived in 695 A. D. of the insignia of paramountcy.* This same grant mentions

* These insignia are detailed in many later grants also. What is Palidhavaja cannot be determined. Sun, Moon, and Makaratorana or Fish Torana are strangely enough the insignia of royalty even now. They were taken by the Mogul kings also and are enjoyed by the Maharaja Scindia at the present day. It is strange how things stick. To find the Sun, Moon, and fish among the insignia of paramount kingship, so early as the Chālukyas of Bādāmi of 700 A. D. is indeed wonderful.

the captivity of Vijayāditya by a bad stroke of fate and this incident may have happened even in this very war with the king of the north though as has been held already it may have happened in a war with the Pallavas of the south. That it must have happened before 700 A.D. or Ś. 622 the date of the Nerur plate inscription in which it is first mentioned cannot be denied. It must probably have happened after 696 A. D. and before 700 A. D. and Vijayāditya owing to this event must have remained unmolested or uncared for in the *digvijaya* of Lalitāditya who came to the south and to the Vēngi kingdom as stated in the chapter on Vēngi about 703 A. D.

Yaśovarman's scheme of *digvijaya* failed first in the south and finally when he met king Lalitāditya of the north. The details of this later defeat have already been noticed. Yaśovarman was not killed in that campaign though certain words in the *Rājataranginī* would lead us to believe it. He remained in nominal subjection to Lalitāditya as usually happened in all histories of Indian empires as they were conceived before the Mahomedan conquest. Previous Indian empires, as we have often said, did not mean the annexation of territory and subdued states lived in practical independence subject to payment of tribute only. Yaśovarman must have lived till about 710 or later. One may be in entire agreement on this point with the late S. P. Pandit who in his introduction to *Gaudavaho* assigns to Yaśovarman a reign from 675 to 710 A. D.

The greatest thing to be remarked about Yaśovarman is that his reign synchronised with and marked the final ascendancy of revived Hinduism. Indeed this revival began even during Harsha's reign. Orthodox Hinduism at this time rallied round the sanctity of the Vedas and the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices, two tenets on which Buddhism was most opposed to it and *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* or the philosophy of Vedic ritual was studied most zealously even during the reign of Harsha. Bāṇa describes his own uncles as great students of the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* and as

performers of Vājapeya, Agnishtoma and other Vedic sacrifices. The great apostle of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, Kumārila Bhatta, according to S. P. Pandit was the Guru or teacher of Bhavabhūti and grand-teacher of Vākpatirāj as is evidenced by a colophon of Bhavabhūti's drama Mālatī-Mādhava and we may provisionally accept the dates approximately assigned to these great men by S. P. Pandit (Intro. to Gaudavaho p. ccix). as follows :—

Kumārila Bhatta b. 590 d. 650 A. D.

Bhavabhūti his pupil b. 620 d. 680 A. D.

Vākpati his pupil and admirer b. 660 d. 720 A. D.

Yaśovarman their patron reigned 675–710 A. D.

These are of course conjectural dates but they are supported well by the proved facts in Indian ancient history and we may well believe that the fame of Kumārila had been established in the later days of Harsha and it was his followers who offered a stout resistance to the preachings of Buddhism in Harsha's last assemblies. Of course we reject here the popular belief that Kumārila was the immediate predecessor of Śankara the next grand figure in the history of the revival of Hinduism. The story of Kumārila's defeat by Śankara is like the story of Vikrama's defeat by Śalivāhana or Kalidāsa's defeat in poetry by Bhavabhūti,—absurd and evident anachronisms. After Harsha's death, under the re-established or later Varmās, the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā philosophy became supreme and Buddhism was finally expelled from the centre of the Hindu empire, the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna. Naturally under Yaśovarman, Kanauj the capital of the Hindu Central Empire became the centre of orthodoxy and attained great religious importance which it retained as we have said, down to the Mahomedan conquest. The Kanaujia Brahmins became the leading Brahmins in the whole of India and they were subsequently placed properly enough at the head of the five Brahmin chief subcastes of northern India as they are now enumerated. The subdivision of Brahmins into five Gaudas and five Dravidas had yet, no doubt, to arise as we shall have to relate later

on. But it is worth remarking here that the pre-eminence of Kanaujia Brahmins began from this reign. Gauda or Kurukshetra and Thaneser had already sent Brahmins and Kshatriyas into Bengal but later tradition in Bengal relates that five Kanaujia Brahmins and five Kāyasthas were about this time or a little later after this, invited to and settled in Bengal by the first orthodox king of Bengal Ādisura ; about whom we shall have later on to speak. This revival of the Vedas and the science of its interpretation Pūrva Mīmāṃsā was indeed not confined to the north but was zealously carried on in the south also i. e. in the Deccan under the Chālukyas as we have already seen. By the efforts of both, Buddhism was finally extinguished in India with the exception of Magadha its birth-place where it survived a few centuries more.

The power of the Varmās declined towards the end of Yaśovarman's reign and still more after him. One of his successors was Vajrāyudha (the change in the name-ending from Varmā to Āyudha does not necessarily indicate change in family though it raises a presumption of it,) and he was again defeated by a Kashmir king named Jayāpīda who wished to imitate Lalitāditya in his foreign conquests but who only approached him from a distance. The date of Jayāpīda according to the Rājataranginī is 751-782 A. D. and this date is according to our view correct and not subject to alteration by the addition of 25 years as has been shown in the chapter on Kashmir. Jayāpīda was a grand-son of Lalitāditya and apparently Vajrāyudha was also a grand-son of Yaśovarman conquered by Lalitāditya. Yaśovarman's reign ended about 710 A. D. and in 751 A. D. his grand-son Vajrāyudha may properly enough have been on the throne of Kanauj. The minister of Jayāpīda was also a Brahmin named Devaśarman a grand-son of the famous foreign minister Agniśarman of Lalitāditya. This Vajrāyudha is mentioned in the Karpura Manjarī of Rājaśekhara (Konow and Lenman p. 266) as a king of Pāṇchāla reigning in Kanauj.

The next mention of a king of Kanauj of this line is Chakrāyudha mentioned in the Bhagalpur copperplate

grant of a Pāla king of Bengal. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV p. 304.) The relevant verse is as follows : जितेन्द्रराजप्रभृतीनरातीन् उपार्जिता येन महोदयश्रीः । दत्ता पुनः सा बलिनार्थयित्रे चक्रायुधायानतिवामनाय ॥. This is remarked of king Dharmapāla who is said to have obtained the wealth of Mahodaya (Kanauj) by conquering Indrāyudha or Indrarāja and to have returned the same to Chakrāyudha (perhaps his son) who had humbled himself, as the Pāndavas and Śri Krishna gave the kingdom of Magadha after killing Jarāsandha to his son Sahadeva. In fact this was the usual practice in India upto the Mahomedan conquest. In the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla *himself* (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV) it is said that the king of Pāñchāla was restored with the consent and to the delight of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gāndhāra and Kīra (भोजैर्मत्स्यैः समद्रेः कुस्यदुयवनावन्तिगान्धारकीरैः । भूपैर्व्यालोलमौलिप्रणतिपरिणतैः साधु सङ्गह्यमाणः ।). This verse is very important. It conclusively proves that the empire or suzerainty of Kanauj was acknowledged even in its decline over a very large extent of territory. Bhoja means probably Gwalior (Kunti-Bhoja of the Mahābhārata), Matsya is Jaipur, Madra is eastern Panjab, Kuru is Thanesar or Śri Kantha of the Vardhanas, Yadu is Mathurā, Yavana is doubtful, but it may be taken to be the Yavana king of Āndhra of whom we shall speak later on. Gāndhāra is certainly Peshawar, Avanti is Malwa or Ujjain and Kīra is the Vindhya or Himalayan hilly region. Thus almost the whole of Northern India west of Prayāga was under the suzerainty of the Varmās of Kanauj while east of Prayāga was the newly established kingdom of the Bengal Pālas. The date of this grant is about 800 A.D. Now this great shock given by the Pālas to Kanauj could not but shake its tottering Varmā dynasty which pulled on hereafter for a little longer only. The subordinate kingdoms' ambition could not be long restrained nor that of neighbours and the Varmā dynasty of Kanauj fell in 816 A. D. the empire of Kanauj passing to a Pratihāra king of Bhinmal named Nāgabhatta who in Rajputana was either a subordinate king or a neighbouring

king of Kanauj. This new line of imperial kings of Kanauj will be described in our second volume.

The Varmā kings of Kanauj thus were supreme from the beginning of the sixth century i. e. 500 A. D. down to 300 A. D. Under Harsha there was an interruption so to speak. But Harsha too ruled in the name of Rājyaśrī and therefore of her husband Grahavarman. If we divide the line of Maukharis into two parts we may do so by taking the earlier Maukharis from 500 to 606 and the later Varmās from 647 A. D. to 816 a period of about 175 years which as history shows is the usual period for a dynasty of kings ranging generally from 150 to 200, sometimes rising to 300 and rarely to 400. But the great event of these Varmā kings' rule was the final extinction of Buddhism or the religion of non-slaughter of animals. The Kanaujia Brahmins to this day are flesh-eaters and not flesh-abstainers like most of the other Brahmins of India.

NOTE

GAUDAVAHO, THE CONQUESTS OF YASOVARMAN AND THE PĀRASĪKAS.

This poem by Vākpātirāj is in Prākṛit Mahārāshtrī and gives a detailed description of a *digvijaya* so to speak of his patron king Yaśovarman of Kanauj. But this *digvijaya* seems to be of doubtful authenticity. As the poem is called Gaudavaho, or the killing of the Gauda king, that may be taken to be the central fact and as such to be historically true. But did Yaśovarman go on a world-conquering expedition east, south, west and north as famous kings in India from the mythical Raghu down to historical Samudragupta and Lalitāditya went? There is no confirmation of this in other historical documents. On the other hand Vākpātirāj was a contemporary poet and his poem contemporary as it is cannot entirely be disbelieved. Perhaps the non-completion of the chief poem shows that the poet conceived the *digvijaya* as a probable event and not an actual fact. The fact is that Yaśovarman was defeated by a Chālukya king in the south and a Kashmir king in the north. However we think it necessary to give details of this *digvijaya* as they are given in this poem Gaudavaho. Some facts are indeed valuable as historical evidence.

Yaśovarman then according to this poem first came to the Soṇa river (which probably was the western boundary of the Gauda kingdom v. 240-246). He on his way visited the Vindyaśāsinī goddess (before whom even then human sacrifice was still made) and roamed in the Vindhya hills (285). The Gauda king hearing of his approach fled. Here the Gauda king is also called king of Magadha (348-354). Yaśovarman, however, entered his territory and encamped there for the rainy season. The Gauda king who had fled returned with his auxiliaries and a battle was fought and the Gauda or Magadha king was killed in battle (414-417).

This should have ended the Gaudavaho poem. But it proceeds to detail Yaśovarman's further conquests. He proceeded further as far as the sea and conquered the king of Vanga. He then moved along the sea-coast as far as the Malaya mountain and conquered the Pārasīkas. Now these Pārasīkas in the south are a riddle to many. But they appear to be a reality. In fact in a Chālukya inscription of about this time, the Chālukya king is said to have conquered along with Chola and Pandya both Sinhala and Pārasīka. These Pārasīkas must not be confounded with Pahlavas. For the names are distinct and the Parsis seem to have first gone to the further south in their flight from the Arabs about this time i. e. 700 A. D. before their coming to and finally settling on the Gujarat coast.

Yaśovarman went to the southern-most point where the east and west-oceans meet. Thence he is brought to the Narmadā to the place where it falls into the sea. It was here that the pot of nectar was seen by the gods when the ocean was churned. Thence he went to the Marudeśa or Rajputana desert and thence to Thanesar or Śrīkantha. Having conquered the west he went to the north and conquered Ayodhya. In the city of Rāma and Harischandra, he built a temple *in one day*. He then went to the Mandāra mountain a part of the Himalayas (the commentator by mistake calls it the Mahendra mountain which lies to the south of Kanauj on the eastern coast) and thence to the Himalayas. This finishes his *digvijaya* and Yaśovarman returns to Kanauj to enjoy his conquest.

As no kings are mentioned by name any where not even the Gauda king and as no kingdoms are mentioned in the south, west and north, this description is of very doubtful historical value. Were it not for the mention of the Pārasīkas in the south so strangely corroborated by contemporary Chālukya inscriptions we would not have given it at all in this note. Of course Gaudavaho is a historical fact and has been so treated by S. P. Pandit and many others.

CHAPTER XV

THE HAIHAYAS OF KOŚALA

(The kingdoms noticed by Hiuen Tsang after Odra or Orissa upto the Krishna river are Kongadu or Ganjam, Kalinga, Kośala, Āndhra and Dhanakataka. Dhankataka with Amraoti as its capital on the Krishna we have identified with Vengi while Kongadu or Ganjam was frequently included in Orissa. In Kalinga no king is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. 'The people' he says "are headstrong but fair and clean of speech. They differ somewhat from mid-India in talk and manners. There were few Buddhists. The majority belonged to other religions." This description shows that Kalinga was in the higher ranks populated by Aryans and mixed Aryans and that it was subject at this time either to Orissa or to Vengi. After the time of Hiuen Tsang Kalinga, Kongatu and Āndhra formed one province and as we have already said this Trialinga was long subject to Vengi; and hence we need not try to trace a separate history for Kalinga. But the case is different with Kośala and Āndhra above the Eastern ghats and we will try in two chapters to trace their history. Some inscriptions are available for Kośala and we may also glean valuable information from Hunter's Orissa as also from the Central Provinces Gazetteer for 1879).

The valley of the Nerbudda was from ancient times occupied by a tribe of Kshatriyas known as Haihayas. They were lunar race Kshatriyas and their greatest ancient king was Śahasrārjuna, killed by the Brahmin hero Parśurāma. Their capital was Māhishmatī or Maheśvara on the Nerbudda. They appear to have spread into the forest-clad regions of the modern Central Provinces; and founded several kingdoms. Kośala was certainly one of these kingdoms and it was as old as the Mahābhārata. We have a legend in the Mahābhārata that these Haihayas had a great fight with the solar race Kshatriyas of Oudh under Sagara. This means, it appears, that at first the solar race Kshatriyas of Oudh held sway over this tract of the country which lay to their south, and over this country the solar Kshatriyas and the lunar Kshatriyas of the Nerbudda valley had a great fight; for the tradition also exists that Rāma divided the country of Kośala between his two sons and the portion to the north of the Ganges called Uttara Kośala

he gave to his elder son and the portion to the south including the jungly tract he gave to his younger son. Thus this country came to be called Kośala and it eventually went into the possession of the Haihaya Kshatriyas. Some antiquarians have a doubt as to the Aryan race of these Haihayas and as usual they are connected with some 'horse'-named Scythic people. We need not stop to discuss such strange theories suggested by similarity of sound and we proceed to relate such historical facts as can be gleaned about these Haihayas of Kośala or modern Central Provinces in their eastern portion.

First, Kośala is described by Hiuen Tsang as lying north-west of Kalinga and as surrounded by mountains. This clearly identifies the country with the eastern portion of the modern Central Provinces. The king was, he says, a Kshatriya. This also shows that the Haihaya kings who were ruling there prided themselves on their being Kshatriyas. The people, he further states, were tall and black. The Haihayas were Yaduvamśi people and all lunar race Kshatriyas like Śri Krishna were darker in complexion than solar race Kshatriyas the first race of Aryan invaders. But the Haihayas appear to have been the darkest of the lunar Kshatriyas owing perhaps to their exposure to the fierce heat of the Nerbudda valley. Even now the representatives of these Haihayas in the U. P. are very dark. This is what Crooke says in his *Tribes and Castes of the N. W. P.* Vol. II p. 493. "The Hayobans Rājputs, settled in the Balli district, are of the lunar race and are of the highest rank among the tribes of the district. They claim descent from one Chandragot king of Ratanpur in C. P. who crossed the Ganges and conquered the aboriginal Cheros. Their first settlement was to the south of the Ganges at Bihia which town they still visit. They are very dark in complexion." This description of the offshoot of the Hayobansa Rajputs of C. P. takes us to Ratanpur which appears to have been their capital in C. P. for centuries and perhaps was the capital of Kośala visited by Hiuen Tsang.

The information given by Grant in his introduction to the C. P. Gazetteer for 1879 is also to the same effect. He says "the Hayobansa line of Ratanpur ruled over Chhattisgarh for many centuries even down to the Maratha conquest. Their dominion is proved by a copper-plate inscription found near Mandla (now lost) and old as far back as 144 A. D." Subsequent inscriptions found by Professor Hall near Jubbulpore also testify to several kings of this Hindu line beginning with one Kokalla Deva; but before him "we have independent grounds for believing that the Haihaya kings of Chhattisgarh were at that time Buddhists. Indeed the king of Kośala visited by Hiuen Tsang, though a Kshatriya is said by him to have been a Buddhist." Kośala is said by him also to have given birth to the great Buddhist sage Nāgārjuna. Kośala, therefore, before Harsha and after Harsha was a stronghold of Buddhism. What kings ruled there we are unable to state. But it may safely be granted that as elsewhere in India the orthodox religion reasserted itself about the end of the 8th century or even before. The line of Kokalla was perfectly orthodox but their history which can tolerably be ascertained belongs to the second portion of our period and will be treated of in the next volume.

But we may anticipate a little by saying that this second line of Haihaya kings was distinct from the king of Kośala or Mahakośala whose capital was visited by Hiuen Tsang. This is what Cunningham says in his Arch. S. Report Vol. IX Central Provinces : "In later times we know that there were two great Haihaya states in Central India viz. the kingdom of Mahakośala with Manipur for its capital and the kingdom of Chedi proper with Tripura for its capital" (p. 55) The word Chedi has wrongly been applied, it must be stated here, to Tripura which is an ancient town near Jubbulpore where the Kulachūri or Kalachūri Haihayas ruled. Chedi according to the Mahābhārata was a kingdom immediately to the south of the Jumna and it was founded by Vasu Uparichara (स चेदिविषयं रम्यं &c. Mhb. Adi P.) In this line was born Śiśupāla. His line was not that of the Haihayas. It appears that the Hai-

hayas of Tripura conquered this Chedi country which lay immediately to their north and which consequently gave its ancient name to the whole country of the Kalachūri Haihayas. They also obtained possession of the ancient fort of Kālinjara in the real Chedi country and hence they called themselves Kālinjarapuravarādhīśvara. This line of the Haihayas was distinct from the Haihayas of Mahakośala of Manipur (to the north of Ratanpur) and were probably insignificant in the days of Hiuen Tsang who does not notice their kingdom at all. Probably they were subordinate to the kings of Mahākośala and when gradually orthodox kings gained supremacy in India in the 8th century they too gained power and subordinated Kośala.

The Kalarchūris of Tripura no doubt use an era of their own which goes back to A. D. 248. It is called also Chedi era and began as proved by Kielhorn (Ep. Ind. IX p. 129) on fifth September 248 A. D. the year being Aśvinādi and the months being Purnimānta. This shows that the Kalachūris must have attained great power in 248 A. D. It is true that as the Haihayas of Tripura held sway for some time even in the western parts of India in Konkan and Gujarat, their era was in use in south Gujarat and in the Traikūta country. We know very little of the history of these ancient times. But the name Kalachūri does not occur before the 8th century and the era came to be called by that name later and not in the beginning. These Kalachuris it is whom we shall have to describe in our second volume.

The Haihaya kings of Kośala had probably an uneventful long existence from the 7th century down to the 17th as stated above upto the time of the Marathas. They lay secluded in a mountain-surrounded tract and remained undisturbed. They were at first Buddhists but must have changed their religion in the 8th century as elsewhere in India. They have left no records; but certain chronicles which we mention in a note, give a line of kings from the most ancient times down to the days of the Marathas, the details of which are not interesting to the general reader of Indian history, as the line did not produce any great kings.

NOTE

CHHATTISGARH OR ANCIENT KOŚALA

We have identified Chattisgarh of the Central Provinces with the Kośala kingdom of Hiuen Tsang and the Mahākośala of inscriptions. The following information given by Grant in Central Provinces Gazetteer 1879 pages 153-160 is interesting in this connection.

Chhattisgarh corresponds with the modern Raipur and Sambalpur districts of C. P. On the north-west corner of it is the Maikala range a continuation of Satpura and from it rises the Nerbudda flowing west and the Sona flowing north. Amarakantaka peak is thus in this country and the Mahānadi also flows through it. There are mountain ranges surrounding it and the whole country is drained by the "Great river". The enclosed area is plain, for the most part culturable, and in places very rich. It is called Chhattisgarh because there are 36 divisions of it, each with a garh of its own. Its chief divisions are : I the valley of the Sheonath river and the tract between that river and the Sāle-tekdi hill ; II the tract between the Sheonath and Hasda rivers ; III the tract between the Sheonath and the Mahānadi and IV the tract south of Raipur extending towards the Mahānadi. The chief products are rice, wheat, pulses and oilseeds. The jungles on the borders are full of tigers, boars and buffalos and in the north towards Bengal side there were wild elephants. The population in the jungles consists chiefly of Gonds, Bhūmias and Bigas. The latter are purely jungly tribes never mixing with the plain people and fly into the jungles further if Europeans approach them. In the plains a prepondering portion of the people are chamārs who are however agriculturists and being better off than usual, they have thrown off latterly Brahminism and started a new religion of their own akin to Hinduism. They are called Satnāmis. Of the rest Brahmins, Rajputs, Kurmis and Rāuts are prominent. The country is now being opened up by railways. Formerly immense amounts of corn were produced only to lie undisposed of. In ancient days the carriers of the country were the Banjaras who kept hundreds and thousands of bullocks and carried grain to Jubbulpore in the west, Benares in the north, Nagpur in the south and Cuttack or Orissa in the east.

Hindu tradition records, (states the author) that this tract was from ancient times ruled by the Haihayas. After the Satyuga a king named Sudyumna ruled the East. One of his sons Naladhvaja got Māhishmatī or Mandla or Maheśvara, a second got Chandrapura or Chanda and a third got the kingdom of Ratanpur or Manipur (Chhattisgarh). The tenth king of the 3rd line Karṇapāla reigned from Samvat 172 to 251 (or 115-194 A. D.). He made a city at Amarakantaka and

raised temples there. Between Sam. 367-467 a successor of Karnapāla named Madanpāla built a city called Dhanapur on a high flat hill between Pendra and Amarkantaka and a formidable fort called Ajmirgarh, ruins of which are still visible. In the 8th century two sons of a king, Suradeva and Brahmadeva divided the kingdom, the older branch remaining at Ratanpur the younger proceeding to Raipur. The latter however remained subordinate. The Ratanpur Rajas ruled Bilaspur, Sarguja and Sambhalpur, the Raipur chiefs ruled Raipur with Bastar and Karond. These seem to have been long the limits of the Haihaya Raj until the time of the Marathas.

The old capital of Manipur was situated on the top of the Lapha hills 15 miles north of Ratanpur. There is a large expanse of table-land on the top of the hills at an elevation of about 3400 ft. above the sea level. The remains of a fort, tanks, temples and buildings are still apparent and the position possesses the advantages of prominence and security. From Sam. 895 to 1620, beyond the record of temples erected and towns established of which no traces remain the Brahminical narrative* is occupied with the imaginary virtues of different rulers. In Sam. 1620 (A. D. 1563) a Mahomedan emperor of Delhi made his influence felt and Raja Kalyansing went to Delhi and got himself recognised as ruler of Ratanpur after payment of tribute. His successors ruled until the Marathas came. Under the Marathas eventually the kingdom fell as also Raipur and under the British a poor representative of the Haihaya line is in the enjoyment of a few rent-free villages. This line seems to have been devoid of any great rulers nor are any great buildings remaining. And there are now very few Haihaya Rajput families in the province of Chhattisgarh (p. 161).

The following further facts from Cunningham's Coins of Central India are worth noticing: "The chief cities of the country of the Mahānadi are Rajim, Supur, and Seori Narayan, all on the Mahānadi. At these three places there are many magnificent temples and inscriptions to attest the former power and wealth of the country" (p. 73). "The king visited by Huen Tsang was a Kshatriya and his name was Sātavāhana. But there is no name like this in the Haihaya-Vamśi Rajas of Ratanpur and Raipur. Something like history begins with Suradeva of the chronicles who is said to have conquered Telingana. His date is about 749 A. D. But this should be Chedi date and hence equal to $749 + 249 = 998$ A. D. The earliest inscription of A. D. 1115 mentions Sri Kokalla Chediśvara, Ratana Raja, Prithvideva, Jājalladeva. The only known coins upto now are those of Prithvi Deva which are of gold and very rare and of copper. On these copper coins on the obverse is a figure of Hanumān with four arms. On the gold coins the figure is indistinct. They are coins of Jājjala Deva (1120) and Ratna Deva also (1140 A. D.)

* The narrative has not been published anywhere and is worth securing for purposes of history.

CHAPTER XVI

THE KAINKILA YAVANAS OF ĀNDHRA

When Hiuen Tsang visited Āndhra he found the people different in speech from those of Mid-India. The people appeared to him to be of a violent nature and they were adherents of different religions. The people of Āndhra are undoubtedly of Aryan origin and yet the language of the country from before the days of Hiuen Tsang was Dravidian. Who was the king reigning in his days? To what race and to what religion did he belong? These questions are difficult of solution; but we have come to the conclusion that at this time and during the period of which we are writing there was a line of Yavana kings ruling in Āndhra, Yavanas whose distinctive name was Kaṅkila Yavanas. They were not ardent professors of Buddhism though Yavanas generally were and it is probably hence that Hiuen Tsang has not described the king in Āndhra. We proceed in this chapter to describe these Yavana kings and to detail the evidence on which this description is based.

Sir William Hunter probably rightly guesses that the Yavanas of Orissa being dispossessed in the fifth century A. D. by the Kesari line of kings went into Āndhara and seized that kingdom about 575 A. D. "The next kingdom to Orissa down the Madras coast was Āndhra whose capital was Warangal. The chronicles of the Madras coast relate that the then existing dynasty in Āndhra was overthrown and was succeeded by nine kings of the Yavana race who ruled for 458 years i. e. till 904 A. D. The period of their supremacy was in the main Buddhist and as in Orissa their downfall took place amidst a great religious revival ending in the re-establishment of Brahminism and of the very form in Orissa viz. Śaivism" (p. 220).

Sir W. Hunter has given a most interesting account, with great accuracy which for his time is certainly remarkable, of the connection of Yavanas or Ionian Greeks with India from the most ancient times (about 900 B.C.) when they were beyond the Indus) down to about 900 A. D. when their last kingdom was found on the western coast of the Madras presidency. He observes (p. 220), "These southern Yavanas (of Āndhra) reached their height about 782 A. D. In that year they make their appearance in the Tuluva records on the western shores of the peninsula. Dr. Buchanan from records shown by a Brahmin states that a line of Yavana princes drove out the reigning house in Tuluva in 782 A. D. and ruled for 54 years. They claimed Āndhra descent, came from the eastern coast and were of the Jain religion into which Buddhism had by that time disintegrated."

This Yavana kingdom of Āndhra had thus a prosperous rule from about 575 A. D. to 900 A. D. and they reached their height of power about 782 A. D. The existence of a Yavana kingdom about this time is also attested by the inscription of Dharmapāla already noticed (Khalimpur grant) भोजैर्मत्स्यैः समद्रेः कुरुयदुयवनावन्तिगान्धर्करैः। भूपैर्व्यालोलमौलि-प्रणतिपरिणतैः साधु सङ्गृह्यमाणः॥ shows that a Yavana kingdom was among the feudatories of the empire of Kanauj in the eighth century. The mention of Yavana in this inscription is apparently puzzling to many but the riddle is solved if we grant and remember that there was a powerful Yavana kingdom to the south of Nagpur and in the Āndhra country.

The evidence of the Purāṇas also proves the existence of a Yavana kingdom here. The Puranic account is no doubt a most garbled account of an unhistorical witness but it has much value as confirmatory evidence. The Vishṇu Purāṇa which distinctly mentions the Kailakila or Kainkila Yavanas requires to be specially noticed. It has the following passage in Amśa 4 chap. 24 "आन्ध्रभृत्याः सप्ताभरिप्रभृतयो दश गर्दभिनश्चभृजो भविष्यान्ति। ततः षोडश भूपतयो

भवितारः । ततश्चाष्टौ यवनाश्चतुर्दश तुरुष्कारा मुण्डाश्च त्रयोदश एकादश मौना एते वै पृथिवीपतयः पृथिवीं दशवर्षशतानि नवत्यधिकानि भोक्षयन्ति । तेषूत्सन्नेषु कैलकिल यवना भूपतया भविष्यन्त्यमूर्धाभिषिक्ताः । तेषामपत्यं विन्ध्यशक्तिस्ततः पुरंजयस्तस्माद्रामचन्द्रस्तस्माद्धर्मवर्मा ततो वङ्गस्ततोभून्नन्दनस्ततः सुनंदी तद्भ्राता नन्दियशाः शुकः प्रवीरः एते वर्षशत षड्वर्षाणि भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति ” । Now in this quotation the Yavanas are twice mentioned and at a long interval. We should, therefore, take the first 8 Yavana kings as the Greco-Bactrian kings of the Panjab who ruled before the Christian era. The Turushkaras are probably the Yue-chi. Who the Mundas were and who the Maunas it is not yet explained by any person but we shall try later on to discover it. The rule of all these covered 1090 years. When they were overthrown the Kailakila Yavanas ruled the earth. Their first king was Vindhyaśakti* and he was followed by 2 Puranjaya 3 Rāmachandra 4 Dharmavarman 5 Vanga 6 Nandana 7 Sunandin 8 Nandiyaśah and 9 Suka Pravira. These ruled for 106 years.” These details given for the Kailakila Yavanas alone lead to two inferences viz. (1) that the writer or rather recaster of the Vishnu Purāṇa lived a little after these Yavanas somewhere about the 9th century A.D. and (2) that he must have been a native of Āndhra or at least of the country where these Yavanas ruled. As the Yavanas are mentioned as reigning in the Khalimpur grant of about 800 A. D. the time of these Yavana kings is tolerably settled. And their country too though not mentioned in that inscription must have been no other than Āndhra which might have formed part of the Kanauj empire along with Bhoja. Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Avanti, Kira and others. We, therefore, hold on the authority of the evidence mentioned by Hunter supported by the Vishnu Purāṇa that from before the days of Hiuen Tsang the Kailakila or Kāinkila Yavanas ruled in Āndhra upto 800 A. D. and even later down to about 900 A. D. Their mention in the Bhāgavatā is also confirmatory in

* This Vindhyaśakti is different from the Vindhyaśakti of the Vākātaka dynasty mentioned in the Ajanta cave inscription, the successors of the latter being different also viz. Pravarasena, Rudrasena, Prithvisena and others his date being about 300 A.D.

this connection and is interesting. किलिकिलायां नृपतयो भूतनन्दो-
ऽथ वङ्गिरिः । शिशुनन्दिश्च तद्भ्राता यशोनन्दिः प्रवीरकः ॥ इत्येते वै वर्षशतं भविष्य-
न्त्यधिकानि षट् ॥ (द्वा. अ. १). Here the period 106 years is the
same ; the name Kailakila is the same though given as
that of a place and five kings are named whose names
are nearly the same as in the Vishnu. The Bhāgavata
seems to follow the Vishnu Purāṇa at a distance and
must date after the 9th century. The other Purāṇas too
mention Yavanas, but none mentions the Kailakila
Yavanas, Vindhyaśakti and others and these Purāṇas not-
ably Vāyu and Matsya in their present form are generally
rightly taken as the oldest Purāṇas and may be supposed
to refer to the Yavana kings of the Panjab alone. Munda
and Mauna barbarians are mentioned by these also and
they also preceded the Guptas most certainly.

The Kainkila Yavanas are said by the Vishnu Purāṇa
to be अमूर्धाभिषिक्त *i. e.* not crowned religiously. But possibly
this word is मूर्द्धावसिक्त which shows their mixed origin. The
commentator explains the word as meaning non-Kshatriyas
but that was clear from the very name Yavana. The word
is a puzzle but it may be taken to mean that they were Bud-
dhists or Jains and did not care for religious coronations.

But these Yavanas seem to have preserved their
language though not their religion. It is indeed an in-
teresting question whether the Yavana kings of the
Panjab spoke Greek. The legends on their coins indeed
are in Greek and this clearly shows that they must have
spoken their own language. But they were in constant com-
munication with Bactria, Syria and even Greece and their
speaking their own language is not strange. But the Yava-
nas of Āndhra surrounded as they were by Sanskrit-born
and Dravidian languages, their own subjects speaking also

the same languages could not have preserved their Greek. Colebrooke quoting a writer of this period (8th century) classifies the non-Hindu languages of the time as four in number viz. Yavana, Pārasika, Romaka and Barbara (Hunter's Orissa Vol. I p. 222). Hunter, however, believes that these Āndhra Greeks had lost all traces of their original language.*

* The Greek language was undoubtedly once spoken in India as we have shown elsewhere that the Greek word 'Syrinx' or Suranga is used in the Mahābhārata itself and that Vidura speaks in Greek probably when he cautions Yudhishtira in a Mlechha language against residing in the inflammable house at Vāranāvata built for them. Latin too may have been understood in India in the first century A. D. when Rome had commercial connection with India especially the south and when the Roman coin the Dinar became current in India. Pārasika as the language of the Persians who often conquered Sind upto the Indus, may also be well-known. But what is Barbara? The word is indeed a puzzle. The Greeks use the word 'Barbarians' for all Mlechhas and so also the Indo-Aryans speak of a Mlechha people by name Barbara. But Barbara occurs in history as the name of an African people and these could not have come into contact with the Indo-Aryans. Probably the African Ethiopians traded in centuries preceding Christ with India and the name continued to be applied to the Arabs who certainly traded with India for many centuries and who in the 8th century A. D. conquered Sind. The Prakrit writer of the 8th century therefore refers to the Arabic language when he mentions the Barbara as the fourth Mlechha language understood or current in India.

CHAPTER XVII

THE WESTERN KINGDOMS

(1) GUJAR CHĀPAS OF BHINMAL.

We will now turn to the history of the remaining kingdoms to the west of Kanauj noticed by Hiuen Tsang. And the first among them was the Gujar kingdom of Bhinmal in Rajputana. We have discussed the question of the race of Gurjaras in a note. We have shown there that they cannot but be treated as distinctly Aryan. Their long heads, their fine noses (finer even than those of Parisians, vide Sir H. Risley), their tall stature are too strong ethnological characteristics declaring unequivocally their Aryan origin, to be got rid of by the imaginary theory of Mr. R. D. Bhandarkar who would assign them to a foreign or Scythic stock supposed to be Khazar. And Sir V. Smith himself admits that there is no historical evidence to support the surmise that the Gurjaras at any time came to India. "The Gurjaras are *believed* to have entered India, either along with or soon after the white Huns; but there is nothing to show what part of Asia they came from or to what *race* they belonged." (V. Smith's *Early History* 3rd Edn. p. 412). A similar view is expressed by him in his paper in J. R. A. S. 1908 and also 1909. The only reason for such a surmise is the fact that the name 'Gujar' is not met with before the 6th century A. D. and that in Bāṇa's *Harsha Charita* the Gujars are said to have been defeated by Pratāpavardhana along with the Huns. There can be nothing more unsatisfactory than this. The name Gurjara is undoubtedly not yet found in any work before the 6th century. But does that prove that it did not exist or that the name had not been in use before? Absence of mention is no proof whatever of non-existence. And have we found all the inscriptions or records before the 6th century and have we got all books that were written before that period? It would be ridiculous to suggest, much more to believe this.

Secondly Bāna's Harsha Charita says that Pratāpavardhana defeated the Huns, the Gujars, the Mālavas, the Sindhus and many others. Does that mean that all these people were Huns or came along with or after them? There is an unaccountable tendency in antiquarians of India to assign foreign and Scythic origin to each and every forward people found in Indian history. Thus the Jats and even the Rajputs are assigned a foreign and a Scythic origin. If the Jats, the Gujars and the Rajputs with their clearly Aryan features are foreigners and Scythians where are the Indo-Aryans, those people who spoke the Aryan Sanskrit or Vedic language, who according to the Vedas, and the Epics supported by the Avesta came to and settled in the Panjab and Rajputana? Have they disappeared? The lower strata in these parts are Dravidian by their ethnic characteristics and if the Jats, Gujars, Rajputs and the Brahmins are foreigners-Greek, Śaka or Hūna, where indeed are the Indo-Aryans so famous in the Vedas, the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛiti? We may conclude therefore that the ethnic characteristics of the Jats, the Gujars and the Rajputs viz. their long heads, their fine noses and their tall statures are undeniably Aryan and that there is nothing in history which suggests or proves that they came from outside India in historic times.

The Gujars like the Jats are the ancient Vedic Aryan Vaiśyas; and that explains why their names are not met with in ancient records before the fifth or sixth century. For such ancient scanty historical records as we possess concern themselves chiefly with kings and kingly families and rarely mention the common people. In the third century A. D. the Vaiśyas for the first time came into prominence because (most Kshatriya kingly families being killed or driven further south) many Vaiśya families took to the profession of arms against the foreign invaders of Scythic origin. The Guptas thus were Vaiśyas who first opposed the Yue-chi and latterly opposed the Huns. It seems that when the Huns first invaded India and founded a kingdom at Sialkot, the Gujars moved

down into Rajputana, the sandy deserts of which have always afforded shelter to Aryans of the Panjab and the middle country when oppressed and dispossessed by foreigners. That seems to be the reason why the Gurjaras came into prominence about the time of the Huns. They moved from the Panjab into Rajputana and founded a kingdom at Bhinmal about the beginning of the sixth century. They even sent off-shoots further southwards and we find the Gurjara kingdom of Broach founded by Dadda at about the same time. These two kingdoms were found in a flourishing condition by Hiuen Tsang. Pratāpavardhana conquered the Gurjaras not because they were Huns or foreigners; he conquered them as every conquering hero in India did who conquered both foreigners and Indians in his digvijaya. The Gurjaras of Bhinmal were to his south-west and he must have established his overlordship over them also. Yet the Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmal was strong and even Harsha did not entirely dispossess the Gurjaras. They were probably only in nominal subjection to him as we have already stated. And they not only remained strong but in the next century grew stronger and subdued Kanauj itself.

Who was the king in the days of Harsha and what was his family and caste? We have already said that he probably was son to one Vyāghramukha mentioned by Brahmagupta the famous astronomer who composed his well-known Siddhānta at Bhinmal in 628 A. D. Now this Brahmagupta states that the king belonged to the Chāpa dynasty.* The Chāpas or Chapotkatas are well-known Kshatriyas mentioned in inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries (see Chālukya Navasari grant already described). They hereafter established the kingdom of Gujarat at Anhillapattana as we shall have to relate in our next volume. This king then was a Kshatriya according to Brahmagupta and he was equally a Kshatriya according

* Dikshit's Marathi history of Indian Astronomy p. 217. The verse quoted by him from Brahma Siddhānta is as follows :—

श्रीचापवंशतिलके श्रीव्याघ्रमुखे नृपे शक्रनृपाणाम् ।
पञ्चाशत्सयुक्तैर्हि शतैः पञ्चभिरतीतैः ॥

to Hiuen Tsang. "He was a Kshatriya by caste and a young man noted for wisdom and a firm believer in Buddhism." Now this fact is a puzzle to European scholars, who look upon Gurjaras as foreigners but they twist it into an argument for their own theory. They argue that not only were the Gujars foreigners and of Scythian origin admitted into the Hindu fold but that within a hundred years of their coming into India their kings were admitted to be true Kshatriyas!!! This explanation however is untenable. It is possible for any person or people to be admitted into Hinduism which with its peculiar institution of caste can easily admit anybody in its fold without sacrificing the purity of existing castes but it is not possible to suppose that when everybody was opposing the detested Huns and other foreigners, when Aryan orthodox kings, according to inscriptions of that very period, were strongly enforcing caste and preventing sankara or intermixture of races, that these foreign kings could have been admitted to be Kshatriyas. This fact therefore supports our view that the Gurjaras were Hindus of ancient date and Vaiśyas and their kings the Chāpat were true Kshatriyas.

We know very little of the history of these Chāpas from 641 A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited Bhinmal down to about 750 A. D. The king at his time was a Buddhist but it is probable that after his death, as in the rest of India, there must have been a revival of Hinduism among the Gurjaras. They appear to have been a very powerful people and resisted the invasion of their country by the Arabs who after their conquest of Sind in 712 A. D. tried to extend their dominion and their religion to the neighbouring states of India. Bhinmal the Gurjara kingdom was undoubtedly one of such kingdoms contiguous to Sind and it appears certain that the Gurjaras eventually defeated the Arabs. Along with this event there appears to have been a change of dynasty in the ruling family and the Pratihāras appear to come in about 750 A.D. displacing the old Chāpas whose rule seems to have extended to

the usual period of dynasties i. e. about two centuries. The history of the Gurjara Pratihāras belongs to the second portion of our period and will be related in our next volume.

(2) THE VARDHANAS OF MOLAPO OR WESTERN MALWA.

We have already given the history of the other Gurjara kingdom to the south at Broach; and we will now proceed to describe the history of Hiuen Tsang's Molapo or Western Malwa. This kingdom belonged as we have seen to Yaśodharman Vishnuvardhana of the Mandsaur inscription. In our surmise this name-ending Vardhana shows that he was a Vaiśya like the Guptas. His great exploit was that he defeated Mihirakula the Hun. Now we have already quoted the sentence in Chandra's grammar अजद-ज्जटो हूणान् "the Jarta conquered the Huns". If we apply this sentence to Yaśodharman and there is none else to whom it can well be applied, we may surmise that he was a Jarta or Jat from the Panjab. In fact like the Gurjaras of Bhinmal we may suppose the Jats from the Panjab to have migrated to Malwa (which like Rajputana is a favourite land with migrators) to take refuge from the incursions of the Huns and these Jats in Malwa getting strong under Yaśodharman inflicted in 528 A. D. a signal defeat on the Huns who had overrun their motherland the Panjab.

A grandson or great grandson of this king was on the throne when Hiuen Tsang visited Western Malwa. He was a devout Buddhist and a Buddha temple near the city was being built for several generations. We may take it from the Rājataranginī that Yaśodharman's son named Śilāditya (name mentioned by Hiuen Tsang also) being a Buddhist was assailed by his neighbours and dispossessed. Pravarsena of Kashmir about 540 A. D. re-established this son on the throne of his father, and took away from him the throne of Kashmir which his father Yaśodharman had brought away. This dynasty, therefore, had certainly lasted from about 500-641 A. D. the date of Hiuen Tsang's visit. What became of it after Harsha we are not in a position to state. The history of Malwa as a whole is obscure until we come to the Paramāra dynasty; but we

may state that Western Malwa was on the border between Gujarat and Central India and was often changing hands. That it was entirely under Valabhis for some time hereafter is certain from grants of Valabhi kings which gave lands even near Mandsaur to donees. Apparently therefore, when Harsha's empire fell Malwa passed into the power of the stronger Valabhi kingdom.

(3) UJJAIN OR CENTRAL MALWA.

Ujjain was the capital of central Malwa and when Huen Tsang visited it in 641 A. D. it was under a Brahmin king. Who he was and what became of his family after Harsha we cannot say. In fact as stated above until we come to the Paramāra rule there is no history of Malwa to be detailed. We may however make the following observations. Malwa has always been under foreign rule. The climate of Malwa is not fecund and is distinctly enervating. Foreign races and tribes have consequently always come into Malwa and ruled there. Malwa was thus directly under the Mauryas and their heir-apparents ruled here as viceroys. Asoka was one of such viceroys. After the Mauryas the Śungas similarly held Malwa and Agnimitra was a similar viceroy who resided at Vidiśā. After the Śungas the family of Vikrama ruled in Malwa and they too were by tradition foreigners belonging to the Pāṇḍava clan. After Vikrama's line, Malwa fell to the Western Śakas who ruled in Ujjain from 78 A. D. to 400 A. D. When Malwa was conquered by the Guptas about 400 A. D., Gupta viceroys resided at Ujjain for a hundred years. When the Gupta empire was dismembered about 500 A. D. central Malwa or Ujjain must have remained with a Gupta branch. Of this branch was Devagupta, the foe of Grahavarman and Rājyavardhana and when in 606 A. D. he was killed Malwa was entirely held under subjection by Harsha. The Brahmin king seen by Hiuen Tsang according to our view was a viceroy appointed by Harsha. After Harsha Ujjain remained subject to Kanauj and we know Yaśovarman in about 700 A. D. was master of it. We have also seen that Mālwa or Mālava was a subject province or country of Kanauj when Chakrāyudha was placed on the throne of

Kanauj by Dharmapāla about 800 A.D. with the consent of many dependent kings detailed. Between Yaśovarman and Chakrāyudha i. e. from 700 to 800 A. D., Malwa appears to have been for a time under the Rashtrakūtas of Malkhed also. We indeed find a prince of Mālava mentioned but he was usually subject either to the emperor of the north at Kanauj or the emperor of the south at Malkhed. In a grant of Govind III dated Śaka 728 or 730 (806 A. D.) his father Dhruva is said to have conquered a Mālava king who indeed himself offered submission (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI). Then again in a grant of the Rāshtrakūta Gujarat branch king Karka we are told that he held his arm as a bar against the encroachments of the (northern) Gurjara king to protect Mālava for his master (Ind. Ant. XIII p. 160). This does not make it clear if Malwa was under a subject king or was entirely a subject province of the southern Rāshtrakūta king. It is, however, curious to notice how history repeats itself. The Marathas in 800 A.D. were the masters of Mālava and warded off the northern emperor of Kanauj much in the same way as they in 1800 A. D. a thousand years later held Malwa against the Emperors of Delhi. Some time after this the Maratha Rāshtrakūta empire declined and Malwa was conquered and raised into an independent kingdom by the Paramāras who too hailed not from Malwa but from outside as we shall relate in our second volume.

(4) JEJĀKABHUKTI AND MAHESVARAPURA

Hiuen Tsang does not mention Eastern Malwa the capital of which was Bhelsa or Vidiśā and which country was in ancient times called Daśārṇa (see Kālidāsa's Meghadūta and Mahābhārata also) a name which survives in detailed maps of Central India and still in the popular language as Dhasāṇa. Probably this tract was then included in Avanti or Ujjain (central Malwa). Hiuen Tsang mentions two more kingdoms in what is now Central India viz. Jejākabhukti and Maheśvarapura, in both of which ruled Brahmin kings in his days. Jejākabhukti as the name itself indicates is the province of Jejāka, "bhukti" being as we have already shown the usual title of a divi-

sion or collectorate under a kingdom e. g. Tirabhukti which is now Tirhut. The province of Jejāka was therefore originally part of the Gupta Empire and we surmise that Budhagupta ruled here so late as about 500 A. D. After the fall of his line some Brahmin governor of it must have become independent partially only for he must have been subject to Harsha. He may have been a descendant of Dhyāna Vishnu whose inscription has been found at Eran (see Gupta Ins. III). This line must have become independent after Harsha but must have been subjugated again under the rule of Yaśovarman and his successors. However we know nothing about this kingdom or province till the appearance of the Chandels in the 9th century and their history does not belong to the first portion of the Hindu period. The word Bhukti, however, has stuck to this district finally although it became independent and powerful under the Chandels. For its modern name is Jajoti and the Brahmins of this country or modern Bundelkhand are known by the title of Jajotia Brahmins.

Of Maheśvarapura we know practically nothing. It is identified with Gwalior or with Narwar. Bhojas must have ruled there (See Dharmapāla's inscription noticed above). But it was a province so near the centre of the empire at Kanauj under Harsha and under his successors that it could only have had viceroys and not independent or semi-independent kings until Kanauj declined.

CHAPTER XVIII

HIMALAYAN STATES

It is necessary to add a chapter on the history of the many states small and great which existed in the valleys of the Himalaya mountain and adjoining parallel ranges on the side of India. We have already given a detailed history of Kashmir, which was always a part of and an important kingdom in India. Being in the north of the Panjab it was entered by the Indo-Aryans in prehistoric times. Although not settled and cultivated by an Aryan population like the Panjab, the Brahmins and Kshatriyas who formed the upper layer were numerous enough to stamp the country as a part of India. The Brahmins of Kashmir again took a leading part in the development of the Aryan civilization in India itself. They also established a reputation for learning which has existed down to this day. For Kashmir Brahmins have always prospered in Kashmir as well as abroad in India both as learned Pandits and as great administrators. Hence Kashmir has always been treated as an important part of India. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata list of Indian kingdoms as also in Varāhamihira's. Its history naturally forms a part of Indian history.

But the case with other Himalayan states, especially Nepal is different. These states were in the first place inhabited by an aboriginal population which is not Indian *i. e.* Dravidian, but which is Mongolian by race and akin to the Tibetans and other people to the north of India. (The Dāmaras of Kashmir appear to be neither Aryan nor Mongolian and we are not quite sure if they are Dravidians. Their race requires to be carefully sifted). The Khasas, the Newars and the Bhotias are distinctly Mongolian by race. Secondly, these states have been entered into by Indo-Aryans only in historical times. Of course only Brahmins and Kshatriyas went there for

religious and political purposes and impressed upon the local people their religion and their polity. And thirdly, Nepal has been an amphibious state, sometimes dependent on Tibet or China and sometimes dependent on Indian emperors. Even now Nepal is in this double position. While it entertains a Resident from British India, it still sends some presents to China in token of its vassalage to that empire. Bhotan is entirely Mongolian, it was never subject to India, nor was it ever entered into by the Indo-Aryans. It is, therefore, only as an adjoining state that that state is mentioned in political relations with British India. Nepal is sometimes mentioned in ancient Sanskrit works, but it is not included in the list of Indian kingdoms and is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata or Varāhamihira list of Indian peoples. We will, however, trace the history of Nepal during our period because it was under Indian rulers at this time and of other minor states which were more completely Indian and which lie between Nepal and Kashmir in a note. For this history inscriptions and coins are available as also legendery accounts preserved in Nepal and elsewhere.

NEPAL.

The present state of Nepal is about 500 miles long and about 100 miles broad and lies to the north of India. It extends from Kumaon on the west to Sikkim on the east. It is bounded on the south by the Sandstone Range of tills which are a continuation so to speak of the Siwalik range in the Panjab at the southern base of the Himalaya mountains. On the north of Nepal is the chief snowy range of the Himalayas and most of its highest peaks e. g. Mt. Everest, Dhavalagiri and Kanchanagangā are on the northern borders of Nepal beyond which extends Tibet. Three principal rivers rise thence and pass through this state viz. the Rapti in the western part, the Gandaka in the central and the Koshi or Kauśiki in the eastern, the latter two being also called Sapta Gandaka and Sapta Kauśiki in Nepal as seven streams unite to form them within the bounds of this state like the Sapta Ganga in

Garhwal. The country is of course mostly mountainous, but there are several open valleys which are fertile and cultivated though they are generally limited in extent.

The most noted and extensive of these valleys is the valley of Nepal properly so called. It is surrounded by mountains like the valley of Kashmir and is about 20 miles in length and 10 miles in breadth. A small river (lesser than the Vitastā of Kashmir) runs through this valley and unites with another river in the centre of it. These two rivers are named Bāgmati and Vishnumati and uniting they get out of the valley through a gorge in the southern hills into the plains of India. The valley is about 4700 ft. above the sea level and consequently enjoys a very fine climate which is not very cold. The soil is fertile and the chief crop is of course rice as in Kashmir. Vegetables and all sorts of fruit are grown in this and the adjoining valleys. It is, therefore, *very* thickly populated and there are several towns in it the chief being Kāthmāndu or Kāntipur which is situated on the confluence of the Bāgmati and Vishnumati and Lalitapātana and Bhātgaon (Bhaktagrama).

The original inhabitants of Nepal are called Newars and belong as already stated to the Mongolian race. They are of short stature, but strong and muscular. They are flat faced and yellow. They do the agriculture as also the trade of the country and are thus true Vaiśyas according to the Bhagavadgīta. They are characterised like many Mongolian peoples by lax marital relations. A Newar girl when quite a child is married to a Bel fruit which then is thrown into a river. The girl is therefore never in want of a man when she is grown up, but can give him up if she is dissatisfied with him by simply placing two betel-nuts under his bed and walking out of his house. The story in the Mahābhārata is, therefore, not quite strange wherein it is stated that Pāndu when in the Himalayas said to his wife "Formerly women were unrestrained." In fact lax marital relations characterise most Mongolian Himalayan peoples and the ideas of Gandharvas

and Apsarasas have developed out of them in the Hindu Purāṇas.

The Indo-Aryans go to the other extreme in this matter; at least they have done so in Nepal. Among the higher castes in Nepal the Aryans or mixed Aryans punish adultery most severely. The guilty wife is imprisoned for life, while the injured husband has the right to cut down the guilty man in public; the latter, however, is allowed to run away if he can. No widows are allowed to remarry; while those who elect to burn themselves on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands are compelled to do so, if by chance they lose heart and wish to turn back from the burning pile. Such extremely high notions of a wife's duty in one caste and such lax views of it in another placed side by side in the same country afford an interesting example of the power of ideas on human customs.

The Indo-Aryans have immigrated into Nepal within historical times. The latest invasion was that of the Gurkhas who claim descent from the Śisodias of Chitore whence after its fall before Allauddin some Rajputs migrated into a valley to the west of Nepal. There they appear to have mixed with the Himalayan people of the Mongolian race and formed the present Gurkha (or Gorkha) people. Their Aryan characteristics, however, are still apparent. Dr. Wright who has written a detailed history of Nepal from native chronicles says at page 25 in describing the Gurkhas "The Gorkhas or Gorkhālis formerly occupied the district round the town of *Gorkha* which is about 40 miles west of Kāthamāndu. They are said to be of Rajput descent and to have been driven out of Rajputana on the occasion of a Mahomedan invasion. They first settled near Pālpa having passed through the Kumaon hills and gradually extended their dominion to Gorkha. The Gorkhas are in general fine looking men. Some of the higher castes such as are found in regiments are tall and slim in figure and muscular and enduring and have high features like the natives of Hindustan.

However owing to intermarriage they have become much mixed. They are essentially a military race. They are temperate and hardy and make good soldiers. They are by no means industrious and take but a small share in the agricultural or mechanical labours of the country. The Newars are in general a shorter set of men than the Gorkhas and their features are more of the Mongolian type." (page 26) * The Gorkhas are also fairer in complexion than the Newars who have more yellowish features" Complexion, hereditary military tendencies and strict adherence to Hindu religion, therefore, unmistakably substantiate the tradition among the Gurkhas that they are descended from Śisodia Rajputs.

Speaking of the religion of the people, the Newars and other older people of Nepal are mostly Buddhists, though a large minority of the Newars are also Hindus. The higher castes especially the Brahmins and Khatris including the Gurkhas are orthodox Hindus and devout worshippers of Śiva. Indeed the great temple of Paśupati is from ancient times the chief temple of the land and is also famous throughout India. Śiva's consort Durgā and son Gaṇapati are also favourite deities and have many temples erected to them by devout kingly worshippers. And the wonder is that even the Buddhists are worshippers of Devi. Indeed the Mahāyāna or Tibet Buddhism which is prevalent here is so full of idolatry and superstition and has borrowed so much from Hindu ideas that the Buddhists of Nepal do not scruple to sacrifice cocks, goats, and buffaloes to the terrible Durgā; for this Buddhism has also invented its own goddesses the Tārās who are five in number and who are the wives of five Buddhas (!!!) and have five sons. The Buddhists in Nepal like the Hindus are also flesh-eaters. Of course cows are sacred to both and to kill or maim a cow is as heinous a crime as to kill or maim a human being.

* A contrary statement appears in the Imperial Gazetteer under Nepal; which is probably inaccurate and is perhaps a wrong quotation of the words of Dr. Wright.

Thus we see that in the physical aspects of the country and the characteristics of the people Nepal much resembles Kashmir, except in the fact already noticed viz. that while Kashmir has always been famous for the learning of its Pandits who have in historical and modern times too, migrated into other provinces and made their mark, Nepali Brahmins are not known for learning. Indeed Brahmins from outside have usually been indented for in Nepal and we know that the worshippers of Paśupati are Brahmins from the south (both Deccan and Madras). There are also Brahmins from Kanauj and Tirhut or Mithila which are contiguous to Nepal. These Brahmins very probably in modern days have written out the chronicles of Nepal from ancient Vamśāvalis which as in Kashmir give a history of the valley from the most ancient times commencing with even Satyayuga down to the conquest of the country by the Gurkhas under Prithvi-Narayana in 1768 A. D. This legendery history has been given in summary by Dr. Wright in his book entitled History of Nepal. This account on the face of it is legendary and jumbles facts and fancies in an undistinguishable mass. The chronology too is hopelessly at fault owing to what is imaginery and later theory. Some inscriptions, however, enable us in conjunction with this history to give some interesting detailed facts of Nepal history from about 600 A. D. to 800 A. D. the period we are concerned with in this volume. Before proceeding to detail it we must give a short summary of the preceding history.

Whether Śiva worship is older in Nepal or Buddha worship cannot be determined. But Paśupati and Buddha equally claim the reverence of the people from ancient times. Aśoka certainly was once sovereign of this land and visited it. He is said to have given his daughter in marriage to a local king. Nāgas, Yakshas, Rākshasas and Durgas are common to both religions. And Nepal is considered a Mahāpītha" because it contains the four most sacred shrines of the world viz. Svayambhu Chaitya, Gujeśvari Pītha, Śivalinga Paśupati and Karlī Śmaśan"

(Wright H. of N. p. 91). There is a tradition current in Nepal that Vikramājit also came to and ruled in Nepal and laid down laws. The Bhairavas of Siva may perhaps be attributed to his influence and were introduced along with other attendants of Śiva. There is a jumble of dates here which may be neglected, for a Vikramājit is also mentioned further on. But Vikrama certainly introduced the Samvat era in Nepal and, it is said, paid off all debts. There is indeed a curious tradition all over India that the founder of an era must pay off all debts existing in the country, and thus make all men happy. There is not the least doubt that the Vikrama era has been in use in Nepal since a very long time. And here we come in contact with inscriptions which have been read and translated by two such learned antiquarians as Bhagvanlal Indraji and Buhler. These are all given together in *Indian Antiquary* Vol. IX, and we quote them from that journal.

The first four inscriptions are in clear Gupta characters and are dated Samvat 386, 413, 435 and 535. What Samvat this is we shall see further on. The next important inscription given is that of Śivadeva of the Lichhavi family without date and mentions Mahāsāmanta Aṃśuvarman. The sixth inscription is dated Samvat 34 and belongs to Aṃśuvarman himself describing him as a servant of Mahādeva and of Bappa and styling him as Mahāsāmanta. These two are in changed Gupta characters. A third dated S. 39 belongs to the same king. Besides other inscriptions there is next one in S. 49 by Jishnugupta who was Yuvaraja to Vishnugupta in which Mahārājādhirāja Aṃśuvarman is mentioned. Next comes a grant of Śivadeva for the maintenance of a Śiva temple Śiveśvara founded by him dated S. 119 and two others of this same Śivadeva in S. 143 and 145 in which a Yuvarāja Vijayadeva is mentioned. Lastly we have a most important inscription by Jayadeva in S. 153 which gives a legendary pedigree to the Lichhavi kings connecting them with the solar line, Lichhavi being said to be a descendant of Daśaratha after 8 intervening kings. In this line were

born Sankaradeva, Dharmadeva, Mānadeva, Mahadeva and Vasantadeva, then after 13 kings came Udayadeva whose son was the famous Śivadeva who married Vatsadevi daughter of the Maukhari king Bhogavarman and granddaughter of the king of Magadha Ādityasena. Their son was Jayadeva who married Rājyadevi daughter of Harshadeva king of Assam who had conquered Gauda, Udra, Kalinga and other countries. He records this inscription commemorating the placing of a silver lotus above Paśupati and in this inscription are certain verses composed by the king himself.

These inscriptions and the eras noted in them are discussed by the well-known antiquarian Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII p. 411 along with the traditional dynastic lists preserved in Nepal also given by him and by Dr. Wright who in his history noticed above summarises one such Vamśāvali given him by a Buddhist monk. These Vamśāvalis are all legendery but contain very many real facts buried under imaginary stories. Now Pandit Bhagavanlal rightly observes that Amśuvarman in these inscriptions is the same Amśuvarman who is spoken of by Hiuen Tsang as ruling in Nepal about his time. He appears to have been a Thakuri or Rajput and originally a Sāmanta or feudatory of the Lichhavi king of Nepal named Śivadeva; but gradually to have assumed real sovereignty himself. Now his first inscription is dated Samvat 34. This Samvat is clearly, therefore, the Harsha era. The Vamśāvali history as given by Dr. Wright at Chap. III p. 133 says that the first king of the new dynasty was Amśuvarman. Just before this at p. 131 it is stated that Vikramājit a powerful monarch of Hindustan founded a new era and came to Nepal to introduce his era here. Now this is a second mention of the coming of Vikramājit and Pandit Bhagvanlal is correct in holding that this refers to the conquest of Nepal by Harsha and the introduction of his era, the legend confounding him with the Vikrama of 57 B. C. The change in the era in the inscriptions also indicates the same thing. This inscription

with the garbled story of the Vamśāvalis and Hiuen Tsang's account combine to prove that Harsha conquered Nepal and introduced his era there most probably in the days of Śivadeva Licchavi. This conquest may be looked upon as attested to even by Bāṇa when he says in the Harsha Charita स्मृतः दुर्गायाः हिमसुवः करः

Our history is concerned with the conquest of Harsha and with later events. But as we have said before, it would be interesting to note here the historical facts before this event which can be gathered from inscriptions. Now the Vamśāvalis mention certain kings before Harsha who are also mentioned in inscriptions and these are 1 Vrishadeva 2 Śankaradeva 3 Dharmadeva 4 Mānadeva, 5 Mahideva and Vasantadeva. They are not only mentioned in Jayadeva's inscription (no. 15) of Harsha S. 153 i.e. A. D. 759 but they have left their own inscriptions as stated before dated S. 386, 435 and 535. The question here is what Samvat is this. They certainly precede Jayadeva of 759 A. D. by many generations i.e. several centuries. Now it is impossible to take the Gupta era here, for the years would be, adding 320, 706, 755, and 855 A. D. Śaka era of 78 A. D. and Vikrama era of 57 B. C. are both admissable. But Pandit Bhagavanlal has rightly held that the Vikrama era alone is applicable considering the number of generations that intervened between Jayadeva of 759 A. D. and Mānadeva of the first inscription. We find from inscription no. 15 that Jayadeva was preceded by the famous 1 Śivadeva son-in-law of the powerful Maukhari, 2 Narendradeva, then 13 unnamed kings then 17th Udayadeva, 18th Vasantadeva, 19th Mahideva and 20th Mānadeva son of Dharmadeva and Rājyadevi as mentioned in inscription No. 1 of S. 386. These 19 kings if assigned about 437 years at 23 year's average for each generation as usual will take Mānadeva to A.D. 322 (759-437). If S. 386 be treated as Vikrama Samvat we get A.D. 326 which is near Manadeva's date above obtained. But if we take Samvat 386 as given in the Saka era it gives us A. D. 464.

Under this view there will be between Mānadeva and Jayadeva $759-464=295$ years which for 19 or even 18 generations of kings in the interval gives 15 or 16 years only for each generation. One is, therefore, convinced that Pandit Bhagvanlal is correct in taking the Vikrama Samvat for the early inscriptions in Nepal; though this contradicts the view of many antiquarians, as the Pandit himself has observed, that the Vikrama Samvat was *concocted* about the beginning of the 5th century A.D. This is the great importance and value of these inscriptions as they unmistakably give us a date in Vikrama Samvat so old as 386 or A. D. 329 i. e. preceding the fifth century.

We will now turn to our period. The first thing to be noticed is that Harsha seems very definitely to have conquered Nepal and introduced his era there. This was in the days of a Licchavi king named Śivadeva and must have happened very soon after Harsha's accession, sometime about 610 A. D. The king being thus weakened his Sāmanta Aṃśuvarman, a powerful prince, easily became ascendent, but not so ascendent as to throw away Harsha's era, or to throw away his own title as Sāmanta. Hence his two inscriptions use the Harsha era and still retain the title Sāmanta though he virtually remained the master as chief minister or commander. This sort of double lordship lasted probably for some generations. Pandit Bhagvanlal mentions a parallel in the latest history of Nepal itself viz. of the family of the prime minister Jang Bahadur. But there are more such parallels in Indian history and we may quote the Peshwas themselves on our side who for four generations were both ministers and masters while the Satara chiefs for generations were ostensibly kings and yet powerless. Hiuen Tsang states that "the kings in Nepal were Kshatriyas and believed in Buddha. Aṃśuvarman a recent king had written a treatise on Etymology" This description shows that Aṃśuvarman was then dead but not necessarily when Hiuen Tsang visited Śrāvasti. It is probable he never went to Nepal personally but collected information which was noted later and at that time Aṃsu-

varman was dead. Inscription no. 7 is by Amśuvarma himself and is dated Samvat 39 which being in Harsha's era gives A. D. 645. He must have been alive then and it can not be explained how Sir Vincent Smith gives 641 A. D. as the date of his death (E. H. 3rd Ed. p. 366). But Amśuvarman must have died before Harsha very probably and he was not the man who gave assistance to the Chinese envoy who was maltreated by the ruler of Tirhut as stated in the history of Kanauj. For it appears that Amśuvarman at least in his later days was a staunch Hindu and a worshipper of Śiva as may be surmised from the following epithet applied to him in this very inscription viz. निशि निशि चानेकशास्त्रार्थविमर्शवसदितासद्दर्शनतया धर्माधिकारास्थितिकारणमेवोत्सवमनतिशयं मन्यमानः. This wording not only corroborates Hiuen Tsang's report about Amśuvarman's learning but shows that he had seen the fallacy of the wrong philosophy (of course Buddhism). The course of history in Nepal, therefore, at this time was the same as elsewhere. The kings upto Amśuvarman were sometimes Buddhists, sometimes Vaishnavites. The first Vishnudeva whose name we have in inscription No. 1 is described in Ins. No. 15 of Jayadeva as सुगतशासनपक्षपाती i. e. favourer of the teaching of Buddha. The Buddhist religion probably led to the enervation of the kingly line and Amśuvarman appears to have become supreme, being a professor of the sturdier religion of Śiva. It is pertinent to note that this Amśuvarman and his successors call themselves in the beginning of their inscriptions पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीत i. e. favoured by the feet of Lord Paśupati while the first four inscriptions do not contain this epithet. The Lord Paśupati was certainly there before Amśuvarman. For Hiuen Tsang describing the people of Nepal says, "The people are rude and deceitful and ugly in appearance; but skilled mechanics (a true description of the Mongolian peoples). They believed both the false and true religions, Buddhist monasteries and Deva temples touching each other". We may, therefore, be sure that Paśupati was already there but the kings were usually Buddhists and sometimes Vaishnavites. Whatever be the reason, Amśuvarman established

himself as paramount Sāmanta and was a worshipper of Pasupati. The other epithet बप्पपादानुध्यात occurs in all inscriptions both in Aṃśuvarman's as in the previous ones dated in Vikrama Samvat. It seems that Bappa was the name or an epithet of the founder of the royal family of Licchavis, which was mentioned with reverence by all, like that of Sivaji Chhatrapati mentioned both by the Peshwas and the Satara kings. Another similarity to the later parallel may be found in the fact that while the Licchavi kings issue their edicts from Mānagriha, Aṃśuvarman and his successors issue them from Kailasakūta. These palaces must be located in different towns like Poona and Satara and the titular king ruled in one city while the real sovereign held his court in another.

Aṃśuvarman probably died in 646 A. D. His son Vibhuvarman (S. 45 or A. D. 651) also filled the same position. The king Śivadeva must have afforded assistance to the Chinese envoy at this time against the governor of Tirhut. Inscription No. 8 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX) of S. 49 or A. D. 655 mentions a king Jishnugupta and his heir apparent Vishnugupta. The change of name-ending from Varman to Gupta indicates, probably that these were other than descendants of Aṃśuvarman. But the latter is mentioned in this record with great respect and styled as mahārājādhirāja. This indicates that they must have been his successors and relations and they also issued orders from Kailāsakūta. This inscription mentions one Dhruvadeva as king and he must have succeeded Śivadeva.

We now come to Śivadeva the second a famous king, the father of Jayadeva. He has left three inscriptions. In the first dated S. 119=A. D. 725 he grants a land for the due worship of Śiveśvara temple founded by himself to a Pāsupatāchārya. In the next dated 143 S.=749 A. D. he assigns lands for the maintenance of Śivadeva Vihāra for Buddhists. This is characteristic of Nepal kings who

like their subjects were worshippers of Hindu deities and Buddhistic gods. Even Hiuen Tsang as above quoted has noted that Buddhist monasteries and Deva temples were close together. In the third inscription H. S. dated 145 or 751 A.D. the Dūtaka or messenger is Yuvaraja Vijayadeva who may be Jayadeva the next king himself as Pandit Bhagvanlal says or his elder brother predeceased. In this inscription we come across a new sloka not yet found in inscriptions charging future rulers against the resumption of the gift, a sloka which may be quoted here for the information of the curious reader.: “यथा चाह” (who says is not stated) :

ये प्राक्तनावनिभुजां जगतीहितानां धर्म्यां स्थितिं स्थितिकृतामनुपालयेयुः।
लक्ष्म्या समेत्य मुचिरं निजभार्ययेव प्रेत्यार्प वासवसमा दिवि ते वसेयुः॥

This Sivadeva married a daughter of a Maukhari king and a grand-daughter of Ādityasena, the Gupta king of Magadha. This shows that the Nepal Lichhavi dynasty was related to the ruling Kshatriya families in India. His son Jayadeva came to the throne between 145 and 153 H. S. in the latter of which year his long interesting inscription is dated. The first portion of it gives the pedigree of the Lichhavis and assigns them to the solar line. With regard to this claim we will add a separate note. But the Lichhavis were then in the eighth century A. D. certainly treated as solar line Kshatriyas; and this king himself married a daughter of Harshadeva king of Assam. Who ruled after Jayadeva we do not know. But the *Varasāvalis* of Nepal give the chronology of early Nepal kings in such a different manner that it is not possible to give a connected line without the corroboration of inscriptions. It is, therefore, not possible to say when this line of Lichhavi kings ended. A new Rajput dynasty was certainly founded in the 9th century and with that two new towns viz. Kīrtipura and Bhaktapura or Bhātgaon as it is now called were founded and also a new era called the

Nepali era dating from Oct. 879 A. D. (Śaka 801) was founded by this new dynasty. When this new dynasty came to power is also not certain ; but certain it is that it is not the first king of this line who founded the era. Dr. Wright mentions in the history of the preceding dynasty towards the end that a Brahmin who was considered an incarnation of Śankarāchārya came to visit the country to see how the rules and customs established by Śankarāchārya were observed. This fact we will discuss at length in our next volume to which it pertains. We may generally state that the Lichhavi line of kings came to end sometime between 759 A. D. the date of Jayadeva's long inscription and 879 A. D. the starting date of the Nepali era.

NOTES

(1) LICHHAVIS.

The Lichhavis, we have seen in Jayadeva's inscription dated Harsha Era 153 or A. D. 759, connect themselves with the solar line of Kshatriyas, alleging that Lichhavi was the name of a king eighth in descent from Daśaratha father of Rāma. This was of course in consonance with the prevailing notions of the 8th century A. D. and those preceding and following it when every king tried to assign his family either to the solar or the lunar race. We similarly find the Cholas of the south call themselves solar Kshatriyas in inscriptions noted in the history of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Pāndya-Chola are Dravidas pre-eminently from the times of the Mahābhārata. It seems that the kingly families in the outlying territories who accepted the Aryan faith were, even in the days of the Manusmṛiti (2nd century B. C.), conceded by the orthodox Aryans to be Kshatriyas, but a distinction was made and they were called Vrātya Kshatriyas, that is, Kshatriyas who had lost the Saṃskāras or discontinued Aryan religious ceremonies owing to the loss of contact with Brahmins. These Vrātya Kshatriyas Manu enumerates in the following śloka :—

झट्टो महश्च राजन्याद्रात्र्यानिच्छाविरेव च
नटश्च करणश्चैव खमो द्रविड एव च ॥ (मनु X, 22).

This śloka clearly contains the names of those outlying foreign peoples whose kingly families were admitted to be Vrātya Kshatriyas. The Dravidas are the well known Chola-Pandya-Kerala kings of the south, while the Nichhavis or Lichhavis and the Khasas are well known peoples of the north. (Nata, Karana and Zalla are lost to history while the Mallas are also lost probably, though Malla kingdoms are mentioned in the Mahābhārata list). Both the Khasas and Lichhavis are historical peoples and undoubtedly belong to the Mongolian race. The Lichhavis were rulers in India also and were allied to the Sākya in which clan Buddha was born. They were included within Aryanism in most ancient times and a Lichhavi princess was the mother of the Gupta line of emperors of India. Perhaps she was a Nepal princess. It is not therefore strange that in later history the Lichhavis were practically treated as Kshatriyas and had marriage relations with most undoubted Aryan Kshatriya families like the Maukharis. The Khasas will be noticed in the next note.

(2) MINOR HIMALAYAN STATES.

Between Kashmir and Nepal there were then and there are even now many minor hill states in the Himalayan region. The chief in-

habitants of this region were the *Khasas* or *Khasas* mentioned even in the *Manusmṛiti* as one of the *Vrātya Kshatriyas*. This people are certainly Mongolian in race and at one time must have had their own kings in these regions. The Aryans, however, viz. Brahmins and Kshatriyas migrated into these regions probably about the time of the Greek or Śaka or Kushān invasions of the Panjab and the Kshatriyas founded Aryan kingdoms which have subsisted almost to this day. As has often been said these Himalayan dynasties of kings are very long lived like meat or fruit preserved in ice. These dynasties in the cold regions of the Himalayan mountains continued undecayed and undisturbed for centuries and many of them subsist to-day. They have also preserved old manners and traditions very faithfully and we can often go to the Himalayas for the purpose of ascertaining old customs which once prevailed in India. Some information relating to these states is given below from Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Report* (Vols.V and IX)

Chambū :—The ancient name of this state is *Champā* as mentioned in the *Rājataranginī*. The state occupies the whole course of the Ravi and its tributaries within the mountains. The Raja there is a *Sūrya-vamśi* king and his Purohita has preserved a genealogy of the reigning family which as usual begins with *Brahmā*. Some inscriptions at *Barmāvar* or *Varmāpura* on the Ravi preserve a few names of kings and the *Rājataranginī* also mentions some. The inscriptions mention the *Vamśa* as *Moshanāśva Gotrādityavamśa* (मोचनाश्वगोत्रादित्यवंश), a gotra name which we do not find in the modern lists of *Gotras* which is a remarkable fact. The *Rājas* as usual are worshippers of *Śiva*, *Parvati*, *Ganeśa*, *Lakshmī* and *Nārāyaṇa* or *Vishṇu* and have founded many temples to them at *Barmāvar* and *Champā*. The names of the kings all end in *Varmā* and we give the following names pertaining to our period from the list given by Cunningham, of course from the lists supplied by local *Rajas* (*Arch. S. R. Vol. IX p. 114 and 115*) (1) *Adi-varmā* (2) *Deva V.* (3) *Mandra V.* (4) *Kāntāra V.* (5) *Parakalpa V.* (6) *Aja V.* (7) *Meru V.* (8) *Suvarna V.* and (9) *Lakshmi V.* said in the local list to be killed in an invasion of *Mlechhas*. This invasion Cunningham strangely enough, takes to be that of *Sankarvarman* of *Kashmir* in 890 A. D. Taking 30 years as overage for each reign in this Himalayan line of kings we may take it that these nine kings ruled for about 270 years and that *Ādiv.* began to reign in about 620 A. D. The next king mentioned is *Moshana V.* (who may perhaps be the *Moshanāśva* of the inscriptions.)

The names of later kings need not be given but those kings who are mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* are the following, 1 *Śala* killed by *Ananta* of *Kashmir* in 1030 A. D. 2 *Aśata* whose sister was married by *Kalaśa* (A. D. 1060) and 3 *Udaya* who is mentioned about 1121 in this history of *Kashmir*.

Nurpur :— The ancient name of this state was Udumbara. The chief city is now called Pathānkot which is situated in a narrow neck of land 16 miles in width which divides the valleys of the Bias and the Ravi. It is a great emporium of trade between the villages of Chambā and Kangra in the hills and Lahore and Jullandar in the plains". The name Pathān is also written Paithan which is clearly an abbreviation of Pratishthana and is the same name as that of Paithan on the Godavari.

The old name of the country Udumbara is mentioned in Varāhamihira's list of countries along with Kapisthala who are the *Kambistholi* of Arrian's Indica. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, the name is mentioned with Trigarta and Kulinda which are Kangra and Kulu of modern days. The present Rājas are called Pathāniyas and trace their origin to twenty generations back. Probably before that time the small kingdom was under Jālandhara. The local list of kings given by Devi Sāh Brāhmin to Cunningham commenced with Jayapāla who is said to be a Pundir or descendent of Pandu i. e. a Tomar Rajput descended from Arjuna. The list extended from Jayapāla of about 1095 A. D. to Jaswantsing of 1846. These Rajas of Nurpur were of great note during Mahomedan times from the days of Raja Bakhtamalla who sided with Śikandur Sur against Akbar and who was put to death by Bairamkhan who placed his brother Takhtamalla on the *gadi* in his place.

Mandi :— The mountain course of the Bias is divided between the three kingdoms of Kulu, Mandi and Kangra; Kangra being lowest, Mandi in the middle and Kulu, highest up. The Mandi family is a younger branch of the Suketa family the separation having taken place about 1200 A. D. as the story of the family tells. But the copper-plate inscription of the temple at Nirmand gives four names all of whom take the suffix Sena which is peculiar to the family of Suketa and Mundi and these four correspond to certain names in the local list of kings. The date of the last (Samudrasena) of the four is probably Samvat 1227 or 1170 A. D. which agrees well with the succeeding 27 names upto the death of Bala Birasena in 1857.

The letters of the inscription at Nirmand are of the Gupta type which has misled some to believe that it must be dated in the 4th or 5th century A. D. " But these Gupta characters have been always in use in the hills between the Jumna and the Indus. They are found on the coins of the Kangra rajas so late as the time of Trailokya Chandra contemporary of Jehangir and in all inscriptions of Kashmir, Kangra, and Mandi whose king Jālamsena died in 1838 and the sati pillars in his reign bear the words Mahārāja in the same Gupta characters. In fact the Banias of Mandi still keep their accounts in Gupta characters and a Bania could easily read Samundra Gupta's inscription on the Allahabad Pillar when shown to him." This illustrates what we

have said in the beginning viz. that things in the snows of the Himalayas are long preserved.

The genealogy given by Cunningham from the local list begins with Virasena whom he places about 765 A. D. from whom Samundrasena the recorder of the Nirmand inscription above noted is the 17th and his date is 1166 A. D. The genealogy comes down to the 45th generation in Vijayasena of 1851 A. D. The number of sati pillars here is very large indeed the last being so late as 1838 A. D.

Kulu and Simla states—In all these States especially between Nepal and Kangra are spread the Kunet people who are a bratch of the Khasas. They are very numerous in these regions. These are, according to Cunningham, the ancient Kunindas mentioned by Varāha Mihira and the Kulindas mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāṇa. Kulindas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata list of peoples also but as no locations or even directions are mentioned in that list it is impossible to decide whether these Kulindas are the Himalayan Kunets. When the Aryan immigration among them took place cannot be determined. But the following observations of Cunningham may be given here. “The Kunets and the Khasas both profess to have been the masters of these hills before the Aryan immigration which followed the Mahomedan conquest. All the ancient remains within the present area of Kunet occupation are assigned to a people who are called Mois or Mons and all agree that these were the Kunets themselves. The fact is that Mon is simply their Tibetan name while Kunind or Kunet is their Indian name” (Arch. S. R. Vol. IX p. 127). Further “in Dvāra Hāth in Garhwal there are a number of monuments like tombs built of large flat tiles which the people attribute to the Mois or Mons. These I take to be the ancient Kunets before they were driven from Dvāra Hāth to Joshimath”.

Here is a possible explanation of the riddle in the Purāṇas already noticed as to who the Monas were whose mlechha rule is said to follow that of the Śakas and Tukharas. It seems that these Monas of the Purāṇas were the very ancestors of the Kulindas who were a Tibetan people and who ruled for some time even in the plains of the Panjab and Cis-Sutlej provinces after the Kushans. They are said properly to be the ancestors of the modern Kunets because they were then unmixed mlechhas and the modern Kunets appear to be mixed Aryan and non-Aryan people or they may have been Khasas proper who also are now mixed. But the Kunets themselves use that name (Mona) for the ancient possessors of these hills. These Cis—Himalayan Monas may also, Cunningham thinks, be connected with the Mundas of Eastern India; and strangely enough their name also appears in the Kaliyuga future kings of mlechha race. The following line from the Vishṇu Purāṇa has been quoted already. ततश्चाष्टौ यवनाश्चतुर्दश तुरुष्कारा मुण्डाश्च त्रयोदश एकादश मौना एते वै पृथिवीपतयः पृथिवीं दशवर्षशतानि नवत्याधिकानि भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ (वि. अंश ४ अध्या. २४. ५३). The period 1090 years is absurd but probably it represents the total of

the reigns even if they were contemporaneous. However, the Mundas and the Monas mentioned here may well be identified according to Cunningham with these Eastern Indian and Cis-Himalayan peoples who may have become predominant after the Turushkas or Tukharas i. e. the Kushans were overthrown.

Whatever that may be, the Kunindas were certainly a noted people in the days of Varāha-mihira (500 A. D.) who mentions them among the north-west section of India peoples and who even mentions them separately as pointed out by Cunningham (p. 134 ditto) where the evil influence of bad planets on each set of triple Nakshatras is mentioned. "The following in regular order will perish viz. Pāñchāla, Magadha, Kalinga, Avanti, Ānarta, Sindhu-Sauvira, Hārahūna, Madra, and finally, king of the Kunindas." Therefore there must have been in even Hiuen Tsang's days a Kuninda powerful separate kingdom. Cunningham identified their country with Srughna, the capital of which near Bāria on the west of the Jumna has been identified as Sugh by him. It comprised the greater part of the Kunet country, the remaining portion being divided between Kuluta or Kulu and Śatadru or Panjor. "This is the very district in which the coins of Amoghabhūti king of the Kunindas are found most plentifully. His date I have fixed approximately as B. C. 150 as three coins were found in company with 30 coins of the Greek king Apollodotus in a field near Jvālāmukhi (p. 134)."

The people of these kingdoms were then Buddhists as all Mongolian peoples generally were. Aryan influence must have therefore penetrated these hilly regions in ancient times. Who the kings were from the 7th to 12th century we cannot say. Certain it is that the Kunets the modern people of these parts are a mixed race "aboriginal Tartars by the mother's side but Aryans by the fathers," sons of Brahmins and Kshatriyas born of Kunet or Khasa women who as mentioned in Nepal history were never unwilling to form such connections. Their progeny was and is treated as Kshatriyas; a fact which seems to western scholars inexplicable. But the simple explanation is that the Khasas were from Manu's time treated as Vrātya Kshatriyas (see the śloka already quoted) and the marriage of Brahmins and Kshatriyas with them was never illegal in ancient times down even to the mediæval period. The progeny was of course treated as Kshatriyas. Marriage was formal but binding, the Kshatriya Khasas being Vrātya. Hence there was no setting aside of Śastra in this custom which prevailed in the Himalayan regions where the emigrating Aryans, Brahmins and Kshatriyas having necessarily few women with them had perforce to take Kunet wives.

* Another ancient king of Srughna is mentioned in inscriptions at Barhut where Cunningham has found an inscription on a Torana or gateway mentioning a Srughna king Dhanabhūti, whose inscription also was found in Mathura and who Cunningham says was contemporaneous with Apollodotus and Agnimitra. The Kunindas thus had once extensive sway upto Barhut in C. See Cunningham's Barh. pp. 127-130.

CHAPTER XIX

THE KINGDOMS OF THE PANJAB.

(We now come to the history of the Panjab—the land par excellence of the Indo-Aryans,—during the first portion of the mediæval Hindu period. That history is certainly very meagre and it is hence that we are taking it the last. It seems there were no powerful kingdoms in the Panjab during this period and the details too that are to be found in the records of adjoining countries are scanty and fitful. Yet, we may make an attempt to understand the history of this important part of India from such materials as are at present available.)

Hiuen Tsang mentions in the Panjab the following kingdoms or rather tracts that were independent kingdoms at one time ; for many of them in his time were subject to Kashmir. He mentions on coming into India proper after crossing the Indus:—1 Taxila (Rawalpindi) 2 Sinhapura (Salt range tract bounded on the west by the Indus) and 3 Uraśa (Haripur or Hazara). These kingdoms were formerly subject to Gāndhāra but were then under Kashmir. The fact appears to be that when the Hun empire fell, Kashmir made itself master of most of its Indian provinces. The seat of the Hun power was at Gāndhāra and it had even engulfed Kashmir; but Kashmir regained its independence under Pravarasena when Mihirakula was defeated by Yaśo-dharman of Mandsaur about 500 A. D. Kashmir grew stronger still under the Karkota dynasty before the very time of the visit of Hiuen Tsang, i. e. about 600 A. D. and ruled over Taxila, Sinhapura* and Uraśa. The next kingdoms mentioned by him are 4 Punach and 5 Rajapuri or Rajauri. These were also subject to Kashmir and were in fact normally so. The

* Sinhapur of Hiuen Tsang has been identified with the Salt Range mountain region by Cunningham properly enough. He thinks that the capital was at Mallot where there are ruins. The fort is situated on a precipitous outlying spur of the Salt Range overlooking the plains at a height of about 3000 feet above the sea-level. The temple and gateway which are the only remains of antiquity here are in the Kashmirian style of architecture showing that the country as stated by Hiuen Tsang was in possession of Kashmir for some time. (Arch. Surv. of India, Vol V).

next kingdoms mentioned are 6 Tekka 7 Chinabhukti, 8 Jālandhara 9 Kulūta and 10 Śatādru. We do not know much of Chinabhukti which was probably only a province (Bhukti) and is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang because it was once inhabited by some Chinese princes. We know very little also of Kulūta and Śatādru where no kings are mentioned and which probably were subject to Kanauj in his time, for Hiuen Tsang mentions that the Sutlej was to the west of this Śatādru kingdom. We get some information about Tekka and Jālandhara from contemporary records which we proceed to relate.

Taking Jālandhara first, a name still surviving in the Jalandhara city we find the following short notice of it by Cunningham which we take from his "Coins of Mediæval India" (pp. 99-100) "The rich district of Jālandhara originally comprised the two Doabs lying between the rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. The capital of the country was Jālandhara and Kot Kangra was its chief stronghold. The name is derived from the Dānava Jālandhara killed by Śiva.* The dead demon stretched: it is said, across the Panjab. The Titan's mouth is said to be Jvālāmukhī and his feet are at Multan; and the part about Jālandhara is said to be his back and hence it is called Jālandhara Pitha a name slightly altered by Akbar to Jālandhara Bit. Another name for this country is Trigarta i.e. watered by the three rivers Ravi, Bias and Sutlej. Hemachandra in his Kośa says जालंधरात्रिगर्ताः स्युः and this name Trigarta is also still in use being handed down from the days of the Mahābhārata. The royal family of Trigarta believes that they are descended from Suśarman of the Mahābhārata fame (who with Duryodhana made a raid on Matsya cattle) and who fought in the great war against the Pāndavas. They are lunar race

*The story of the demon Jālandhara is given in the Padma Purāṇa. He is said to be a son of the Ganges by the Ocean and was blessed by Brahmā who asked the Ocean to recede and make room for him and the sea accordingly receded from the Himalayas. The story is like the story about Konkan based on the geological aspect of the Panjab seashells being still found at the foot of the Himalayas. The idea of the demon stretching across the Panjab is well explained by Cunningham by the running of the two rivers Satlej and Ravi in ancient times parallel to each other upto Multan.

Kshatriyas and take the suffix of Chandra to their name all along. An inscription in the temple of Baijanath at Kīragrāma dated A. D. 804 names Jayachandra as the Rāja of Jālandhara. The Rājataranginī states that Prithvi Chandra the Raja of Trigarta fled before Śankar-varman. Kalhana again mentions one Indra Chandra as the Raja of Jālandhara about 1040 A. D. Their coins show the same symbol viz: a horseman which symbol is used by most coins of the Panjab and of Kabul and Prithviraj of Delhi and even Mahomedan kings like Mahmud and Ghorī copied it".

The kings of Trigarta were sometimes dependent and sometimes independent throughout Mahomedan times and we shall have to relate the taking of the precipitous fort of Kangra in the history of Mahmud's expeditions in the next volume. As in many hill kingdoms e. g. Assam, one and the same dynasty seems to have ruled over Jālandhara from the most ancient times down to the modern for reasons which we have frequently mentioned before. Jālandhara was lost as a kingdom in Mogul days though Kot Kangra still preserves the dynasty as one of local Rajas.

We go on to the Tekka kingdom. Hiuen Tsang says that the former capital was Sialkot or Sākala and that Mihirakula ruled there. It appears that the Hun kingdom of Sialkot which was destroyed by Yaśodharman was subsequently seized by a new dynasty of Kshatriyas called Tāk or Takshaka. This name is mentioned even in the Chachanāma. The kingdom lay between the Ravi and the Chinab i. e. to the north of the Jālandhara kingdom. The description given by Hiuen Tsang accords well with this position but the remark that the Indus was on its border seems somewhat strange unless we believe that the kingdom stretched across the Panjab from the foot of the Himalayas to the Indus. The people he says were not Buddhists a fact which agrees well with the story of the persecution of the Buddhists by Mihirakula who was himself a worshipper of Śiva and who hated Buddhism thoroughly though he was a foreigner. The Tāks were of

course Hindus and remained so throughout their history. The famous chronicler of the Rajputs says that they were one of the 36 royal families of Kshatriyas but that they have left no trace of themselves now as they were entirely converted to Mahomedanism in Mahomedan times

It is not quite clear if Thakkiya mentioned in the reign of Śankarvarman of Kashmir by Kalhana is the same kingdom of Tāk; apparently this Tāk kingdom is referred to here though Kalhana uses the word थक्किय which is not equivalent to Tāk (ताक). The थक्किय was assailed by Bhoja, king of Kanauj and was assisted by Śankarvarman. This is the only notice we get of the Tāk kingdom during two centuries. We do not know the name nor any detailed history of any king. That it was a powerful kingdom and did really extend up to the Indus is however clear from Hiuen Tsang's description of Multan, which he visited on his return journey after Sind. Multan, he records, was then subject to Tekka; as also another kingdom to the north which he calls Pofato. After Hiuen Tsang's days i. e. after Harsha's death, when Chacha became the ruler of Sind, he conquered Multan and added it to his dominions. In fact many parts of the Panjab were then either subject to Kashmir or to Sind, only two kingdoms being independent viz. Tāk or Tekka and Jālandhara in the eastern portion of the province.

We may here abstract an interesting account of Multan from Cunningham's Archeological Survey Report Vol. V pp 115-120: "The ancient fortress of Multan is situate about 4 miles on the left bank of the Chinab river. Originally it stood on an island in the Ravi which joined the Chinab in ancient times below Multan but which now joins it 32 miles above it. The Bias river also flowed in ancient times in an independent channel to the south of Multan though now it joins the Sutlej far higher up. In approaching Multan from Sind, Chacha had thus to cross first the Sutlej and then the Bias and he reached the left bank of the Ravi at Sikka which was a fort just opposite Multan on the south bank of the Ravi. The Chachanama always mentions Sikka-Multan which were on opposite banks of

the Ravi. In Chacha's days the kingdom of Multan was ruled by a Tāki and was subject to Tāki in Hiuen Tsang's time. The Tāki ruler must have remained under Chacha as tributary for we find when Mahamad Kasim invaded Multan in 712 A. D. there was one Bajhra Taki ruler in Sikka who opposed him but who eventually left the place and crossed the Ravi over to Multan. Multan fell before Kasim and remained a Mahomedan kingdom throughout the mediaeval period.

Though this ends the history of Multan we may relate the history of the sun temple in Multan, a little further. Multan was also called Sāmbapur and the temple of the sun there was said to have been built by Sāmba a son of Shri Krishna when he was afflicted by skin disease. The sun is the god who is supposed to cure all skin diseases including leprosy and the temple of the sun at Multan was visited by Hindus chiefly from Sind and the Panjab but also from other parts of India. The temple was very rich. It is described by Hiuen Tsang as also by the Chachanama; by Biladauri again who writing about 815 A. D. says "The people circumambulated it and shaved their heads and beards". "The temple" says Istakheri in 975 A. D. "is situated in the most populous part of the city in the market of Multan between the bazaar of ivory dealers and coppersmiths. The idol has a human shape and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of bricks and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some say that the body is made of wood. The eyes of the idol are precious gems and the head is covered with a crown of gold." Some time after 976 A. D. Multan was captured by a Karmatian chief of Zelem, son of Shaiban, when the priests of the temple were massacred, the statue of the sun god was broken to pieces and the temple itself was converted into a mosque.

"But the zeal of the Hindus and the avarice of the Mahomedan rulers (for they profited from the offerings of the devotees) restored the sun god and a temple seems to have been built near the old one (as everywhere else in

India e.g. at Benares, the Visveśvara temple and at Ujjain, the old Mahākāla temple or at Ayodhya). Therefore although when Abul Rihan visited the city of Multan there was no temple nor statue, the worship of the sun god was flourishing when Idrisi wrote in 1130. Apparently in his time the Ravi had changed its course and it was now a little river—only an overflow from it in the rainy season. Kazwini in 1263 gives the same account but adds that the great mosque was *near* the temple i.e. in the very middle of the fort. The temple is described by the French traveller Therenot who visited the place in A. D. 1666. He describes the idol as clothed in red leather with a black face and two pearls for eyes. This was before Aurangzeb had begun his bigoted persecution of the Hindu religion. The final destruction of the temple and the idol is rightly attributed to him and the temple and the sun god exist no more. It may be added that this worship of the sun is Indo-Aryan and not borrowed from the Persians, as some believe. In the first place the Persians do not worship idols and the idol of the sun can only be Hindu. Its covering red leather, its ruby eyes and the halo crown round its head with its curing skin diseases are also Hindu ideas. Even on coins the sun is represented in this way. Thus says Cunningham* (Arch.S.R. Vol.V. p.122) describing

* Cunningham describes the fort of Multan minutely. There are no remains of ancient structures, for in Multan stone is not available and buildings are built only of bricks. He therefore in order to find the history of the fort sank a well until undisturbed 'mother' earth was reached about 40 feet below the surface all of which was the accumulation of ages and he has given a most interesting description of the layers of debris found. "The accumulation of debris seems to be about one and a half feet per century. Two coins were discovered at a depth of about 10 to 12 feet, the upper one of Kaikobad A. D. 1298 the lower one of Sāmanta Deva of Kabul A. D. 900 or 950. Bricks found increase in size as one goes deeper. This shows that the ancients used larger bricks. But the two interesting discoveries made in this Archaeological well were the great masses of ashes found at two different depths. The upper one was about 3 feet thick and found below 15 ft. The position of this deposit corresponds with the period of Mahamad Kasim's conquest of Multan in 712 A. D. when the fort was stormed and burnt. The other layer of ashes was found at a depth of 32 feet which corresponds nearly with the period of Alexander's capture of the capital city of the Malloi. It is possible that this layer may be the remains of some conflagration that attended the massacre of the inhabitants committed by Grecian soldiers enraged at Alexander's wound! Even below this layer of ashes were found a shoemaker's sharpening stone and a copper vessel filled with about 200 coins square in shape but unrecognisable, being entirely corroded". The last proves that coins were current in India long before Alexander's invasion (p. 129).

a coin "The reverse is a bust of a god which Prinsep refers to as the Mithra of the Persians, but which I believe to be the Multan sun god called Āditya. The head is surrounded by rays after the Indian fashion and quite different from the head dress of the Persian Mithra. (This coin Cunningham believes to belong to Dewaij founder of the dynasty which ruled in Sind before Chacha about the year 500 A. D.).

A second coin bears the same head and the name of Khushru Parvej of Persia showing that some parts of Sind were conquered by that king as even the Chachanama states. And the third coin bears the same sun god's head. On the obverse is a legend with the words "king of Multan" at the end and on the reverse the rayed head of the sun with the name in Nāgari of "Shri Vāsudeva" and "Fanchan Zabulistan". This shows according to Cunningham that a king by name Vāsudeva ruled in Multan sometime very near the days of Chacha. He was probably the same as the Tāki mentioned in the Chachānamā.

Multan was known also for another temple and thence called Pehladpuri. The city was also called Kāśyapapura noticed in Greek histories as Kaspeira. Kāśyapa is supposed to be the father of Hiraṇya-Kaśipu and it is believed this demon ruled here and wanted to kill his son Pralhāda for worshipping Viṣṇu. The temple of Pralhāda at Multan was long famous, an annual mela being held about it on Narasiṃha's birth-day. This temple was blown up by an explosion of a powder-magazine in its vicinity about 1859 A. D.

NOTE

WHY THE PANJAB IS STILL INDO-ARYAN

The meagre details we have recorded regarding the three kingdoms of Tekka, Jālandhāra and Multan raise the question why in the Panjab which is the undoubted home of the Indo Aryans and which has always been warlike, no flourishing Hindu kingdoms are found in this mediaeval period of Indian history. The fact appears to be that since the invasion of Alexander that province has usually been under the rule of foreign races. Indeed the Panjab has been the buffer province of India, always trampled down by conquering hordes from the north-west. When Alexander came he found here many kingdoms and peoples, more warlike than those he had met with in Asia thitherto. About 70 peoples are mentioned in the Panjab by Arrian as having opposed Alexander. The ancient Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata too mention many kingdoms in the Panjāb; some names still surviving to the mediaeval period. Gāndhāra, Takshaśilā, Kekaya, Madra, Trigarta, Mālava Kshudraka, Śibi, Ambaśtha, Yaudheya, and many other warlike Kshatriya tribes had thus kingdoms in the Panjab when Alexander invaded India. Most of them were conquered and many Kshatriya warriors were massacred. Invasion after invasion followed Alexander's conquest. For a few years only the Panjab was subject to Chandragupta and Aśoka but since 200 B. C. Bactrian Greeks (200-100 B. C.) Sakas (100 B. C.—100 A. D.) Kushans (100-300 A. D.) and finally Huns 400 A. D.) invaded India and ruled in the Panjab. Thus while Alexander had almost destroyed all Kshatriya kingly families, the Panjab was devoid of native rule from 200 B. C. to about 500 A. D. When the Hun power was overthrown native rule again established itself; but there were no powerful Kshatriya kingly families to assert themselves again and the province was therefore chiefly divided between Kashmir and Sind, while Gāndhāra to the west of the Indus and a seat of Hun power was, as we have seen, taken possession of by the powerful Kshatriya family of Kabul. Taxila and Sinhapur were in the apossession of Kashmir; and Multan and Pofato were in that of Sind their boundaries being conterminous. In eastern Panjab there were as stated above the two kingdoms of the Tekka which had seized the Hun kingdom of Sākala or Sailkot and Jālandhara.

How did then the Panjab remain Indo-Aryan as ethnology and tradition unmistakably prove, down to the present day? That is a most interesting question which rises here. Notwithstanding foreign rule for 1200 years in pre-Mahomedan times and Mahomedan rule for nearly 700 years again from 1000 A. D. to 1700 A. D. Panjab still is par excellence the land of the Aryans as Sir H. Risley has found. He has clearly shown that it is in the Panjab and Rajputana alone that the population is Indo-Aryan almost from the highest to the lowest strata. To understand this condition of things correctly we must go back to the Vedic period and trace the history of the Indian Aryans down to modern times.

When the Indo Aryans came to the Panjab in their migrations to the south in Vedic or Avestic times they found a land just to their hearts' desire, a land plain and fertile devoid of hills and ravines. These Aryans were an agricultural people and coming from the plains of Central Asia they were probably averse to living in a mountainous country. They liked a land which Manu designates Jāngala and which he describes as a fertile plain devoid of forest and with a dry climate like their Central Asian habitat. They found the Panjab just as they had wanted, but as the Avesta says it was extremely hot and full of serpents. The aboriginal Dravidian population here seems to have been sparse and as the Aryans settled and took to cultivation, that population receded southwards. It is hence that the Panjab is populated from the highest to the lowest strata by an Aryan population throughout its different layers. It may be remarked here that a country cannot be said to be inhabited by a people unless the cultivators belong to the same race as the rulers. In the Panjab the cultivators or the Vish aré Aryans as has been said over and over again and it is hence that the Panjab is a land of the Indo-Aryans par excellence. The lowest strata or labourers and menials were probably of the Dāsa or Dravidian race but the province down to Alexander's conquest was generally full of the Aryan population which in this fertile land as in America in a short time must have multiplied and filled the whole country.

This people belonged to the first race of Aryan invaders or the solar race according to our view. The second race of Aryan invaders the lunar race people came subsequently through Gilgit into the valley of the Ganges like a wedge in the Indo-Aryan land then extending from Gāndhāra to Ayodhyā along the foot of the Himalāyas, a tract which has a milder climate than the parts west-wards. The new invaders could not expand either in the Panjab or in Oudh and hence spread southwards along the banks of the Jumna as far as the Vindhya range of mountains i.e. from Jubbulpore and Ujjain in the south to Allahabad and Ghazipur in the north. In this tract, however, the aboriginal population was denser and stronger and it remained practically the cultivator of the soil except in Kurukshetra, the tract where the lunar Indo-Aryans first settled. The condition of this southern tract, therefore, differed from that of the Panjab as the people consisted of two layers of population, the lower Dravidian and the higher Aryan. While the warriors and preists and traders were Aryan the cultivators and the artisans and labourers were Dravidian. The Aryans in this tract intermarried to a larger extent with the lower Dravidian population and hence grew up that mixture of Aryan and Dravidian races which characterises the population of the present United and Central provinces (as noted by Sir H. Risley.)

In Bengal the Aryans went later. Only some Brahmins went of themselves as religious teachers and some were even called

by native kings. But into the Mahārāshtra the Indo-Aryans went in larger numbers. For as we have said they were fond of a dry open fertile plain and the plains of Mahārāshtra were just of this kind. There was a forest there no doubt but the country was not very hilly and the Indo-Aryans settled in this land with great enthusiasm. These were of course Aryans of the second horde of invaders viz. of the lunar race and with their *peculiar tendency* they inter-married with the local Dravidian population. That population, was sparse and not thick. Hence the Indo-Aryans though they became mixed to some extent in Mahārāshtra imposed their language and their religion easily upon the people. Hence also it is that Mahārāshtra including Vidarbha or Berars is *notably* a land of the Indo-Aryans though not *par excellence* yet to large extent. As remarked above a land can be said to be inhabited by a people when the agriculturists belong to that people. In Mahārāshtra next after the Panjab the cultivators are Aryans or rather mixed Aryans; and hence it is that the yeomanry of Mahārāshtra has signalised itself so often in the history of India as a martial people.

To the further south i. e. in the Madras Presidency the Dravidian population was thick along the sea-coast and much more advanced in civilization than their brethren in the rest of the country. Brahmins alone, therefore, migrated into this land or were specially invited. Though they gave their religion to the people they could not give their language to them but on the contrary adopted the language of the latter. In Konkan on the west coast though the cultivators are Dravidians that Dravidian population was sparse and hence the Aryans imposed their language upon it but on the east coast i. e. in Āndhra, the Dravidian population was too numerous to be impressed and the Indo-Aryans chiefly mixed Aryans, eventually adopted the language of the people.*

Such in short is the history of the Aryan settlement of India down to the days of the last recasting of the Mahābhārata, which as we have shown elsewhere was contemporaneous with the invasion of Alexander. India was certainly fully populated in his days. It contained even then as the Mahābhārata Bhīshmaparva chap. 9 itself states, *an Aryan*, a *mixed-Aryan*, and a *Mlechha* population. The Aryans were in the Panjab and Oudh. The mixed Aryans were in U. P., C. P. C. I. and Mahārāshtra and in Aparanta (or modern Konkan) and even in Āndhra which the Mahābhārata list of countries includes among the Bharata-khanda peoples. To the south of this were the Dravidian Mlechhas (Pandya, Chola, Kerala, and others) and beyond India to the north were the other Mlechhas, Śaka, Barbara, Kāmboja and others. It is necessary to add that Bengal (Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and Odra) was also included among Indian countries and had probably mixed Aryan populations. Let us now see what happened when inroads of foreign

* We may say that even in Āndhra the language of the higher classes was Indo-Aryan for a long time, see note on the subject

Mlechhas began to come, in the wake of Alexandre's invasion and almost destroyed all the Kshatriya kingdoms in the Panjab. We know from verified history that though after Alexander the Panjab was for a time included in the Maurya empire of Pātaliputra yet from 200 B.C. successive waves of foreign Mlechhas came into the Panjab and established strong kingdoms there. First came the Bactrian Greeks, then the Śakas, then the Yue-chi who under Kanishka had a wide empire over lands as well beyond the Panjab to the north as extending southwards into the present United Provinces. Naturally all Aryan ruling families in the Panjab were either destroyed; or were forced southwards. The Mālavas and other warlike independence-loving Kshatriyas in this way migrated into the plains of Central India. But the settled population of the Panjab remained Indo-Aryan as before. As water poured over a pot full of water cannot enter or disturb the water within, so the successive waves of invaders passed over the head of the settled population of the province. It no doubt carried away the ruling families but could not disturb or destroy the settled population of the country.

To understand this phenomenon we must try to realise how conquering nations and peoples in later times have moved and fared. In the primitive stages of the human evolution no doubt, *settling* expeditions of men, women and children are found and these usually settle in vacant or almost vacant tracts. In later history, however, *conquering* peoples usually come into tracts already fully peopled and settle therein not as *cultivators* but as superimposed *ruling peoples*. The cultivation of land and other work of labour and art are left to the already settled people. The conquerors generally reside in capital cities and towns and disperse over the country not into each village but over large divisions as Jagirdars or barons. This is what happened for instance when the Norman conquest of England took place. This is what we see actually happening in India under the British conquest of the country. Even when the conquering people are one in religion with the people already settled, though not in race, the conquering people remain above the country's old population like a separate layer. Living examples of this are met with even in the India of to-day. The Marathas of Scindia, Holkar or Gaikwar or the Moguls of the Nizam have not mingled with the population of their territories and they still remain as distinct layers superimposed, living mostly at the capital and in the larger district towns, as officers or greater landlords. Now it will be clear to anybody that such a population does not by the very laws of nature thrive. When the land is vacant, the population increases by leaps and bounds and within a couple of centuries fills the land. But a superimposed population enjoying the *luxuries* of a ruling people does not increase. For instance, the Maratha population of the Indore or Baroda State or the Mogul population of Hyderabad is practically stationary and has not increased though near two centuries have passed since their rule was established over their respective territories.

Now consider what will happen supposing their rule is overthrown. The superimposed layer of the ruling people, separate as it is, will disappear without impressing the people in the least. The English, for example, will completely disappear if they lose their rule in India; for they not only do not increase but do not even make India their home. The Marathas of Baroda or the Moguls of Hyderabad will mostly retire to their respective home lands and those that have made the new country their home will remain if they do remain as a distinct people. Their number may even dwindle away under the adverse circumstances of their condition. The hypothetical case which we have here described was what must have actually happened in the Panjab during the successive waves of conquest over it. The Greek Bactrian rule was overthrown by the Śakas and left no remnant of its population. So was the succeeding Śaka rule overthrown by Vikramāditya of 57 B.C. and left no trace in northern India and the Panjab. Even the Kushans who enjoyed a long extensive rule in the Panjab and adjoining lands from 150 A. D. to later than 300 A. D. left no remnant. The Kushans even if numerous were overlords spread in cities and towns and could not have increased in population and when overthrown must have left the land or dwindled away. The Huns came in about 400 A. D. were supreme for about a hundred years and were overthrown about 500 A. D. Their Gāndhāra kingdom went to the Kshatriya kings of Kabul as we find from Hiuen Tsang and their second kingdom in the Panjab about Sākala was changed into the Tekka kingdom. A Huna kingdom appears to have been left in India somewhere, for a Huna Kshatriya family is mentioned later on. But they did not impress the rural population which remained uncontaminated. And even if some remained the facility afforded by the Indian social tendency towards the formation of subcastes bound by interdiction of marriage must have prevented all intermixture of races. If we therefore consider carefully how foreign conquests in historical times affect populations fully established, we can see that the *later conquering* peoples, the Greeks, the Śakas, the Kushans and the Huns have disappeared rather than that the *original settling* Indo-Aryan population fully settled in the Panjab could have disappeared leaving the later Scythic peoples in the country as many Indian antiquarians seem to believe. This is the true explanation of the undoubted ethnic fact that the population of the Panjab is still almost pure Indo-Aryan though successive waves of conquest from the Greek down to the Mogul have from time to time passed over it.

Two important inevitable consequences, however, followed from these successive foreign invasions and foreign rules. The people of the Panjab Indo-Aryan as they are lost that love of independence which always everywhere characterises the Aryan people. Strong in physique and warlike and brave in their temperament, the people of the

Panjab yet rarely asserted themselves in later history and became independent. The Indian theory of politics explained in the first book also came in to aid viz. that kingship is given by God to those only who have performed austerities in former lives; that the people have nothing to do with the form and the personnel of government and that their duty is to obey rulers established by divine will. The warlike people of the Panjab, therefore, fretted very little if the Arabs ruled from Multan or the Kashmirians ruled from Sri Nagara. Many Kshatriya families no doubt still remained in the land as overlords of one village or groups of villages. Nay, many Rajput families appear to have come back into the Panjab from Rajputana and elsewhere as we shall have to show in the next volume, during the period of native rule between 500 and 1000 A. D.; but they never tried to establish new Hindu kingdoms, and remained content with their petty overlordships. We have often said a Kshatriya or rather Rajput (for the word Kshatriya or Khatri in later times became degraded in the Panjab and applied to Kshatriyas taking to mercantile occupations) must have some place, a petty village at the least, where he may be called a *rajā* and bowed to by a barber or a tenant. As even the Bhagavadgita observes, *Īśvarabhāva* or the attribute of lordship belongs to the Kshatriya by his very nature. Yet in the Panjab even among the Rajputs this natural instinct does not seem to have developed into a strong irrepressible desire for establishing self-rule. The people for a long while had become accustomed to foreign rule and did not care who ruled them so long as they were left in the enjoyment of their hereditary lands and villages with their hereditary customs and manners.

The other point of importance to be noticed is that during the first period of 1200 years' subjection to foreign rule in the Panjab, there was no difference of religion between the rulers and the ruled. The foreign invaders were with one exception Buddhists and they too were half Hindu and half Buddhists. There was, therefore, no bitterness of religious difference added to the gall of foreign rule during this period. The Huns of Mihirakula were not Buddhists but were Śaivites. But that too was in response to and in consonance with the changed sentiment of the people. A reaction had already set in against Buddhism and Mihirakula did not offend the majority of his subjects when he persecuted the Buddhists as related bitterly by Hiuen Tsang. Under Mihirakula too, therefore, there was no religious difference between the people and their foreign rulers and it is hence perhaps that the warlike sturdy people of the Panjab remained reconciled to foreign rule. The tendencies generated by this long subjection to foreign rule consequently were too strong to be suppressed by even the difference in religion when Mahomedan conquest under the Turks of Mahmud came over the land in 1000 A. D. How it affected the people little we shall see in our next volume.

THE END.

APPENDIX

Some Inscriptions in the original

(1) APHSAD STONE-INSRIPTION OF ĀDITYASENA

(Corp. Ins. Vol. III No. 42 p. 200.)

ॐ आसीद्वन्तिसहस्रगाढकटको विद्याधगाध्यासितः ।
 सद्वंशः स्थिर उन्नतो गिरिविव श्रीरुष्णगुप्तो नृपः ॥
 दृप्तारातिमदान्धवारणघटाकुम्भस्थलीः सुंदता ॥
 यस्यासंख्यरिपुप्रतापजयिना दोष्णा भृगेन्द्रायितम् ॥ १ ॥
 सकलः कलंकरहितः क्षततिमिरस्तोयधेः शशांक इव ॥
 तस्मादुदपादि सुतो देवः श्रीहर्षगुप्त इति ॥ २ ॥
 यो योग्याकालहेलावनतदृढधनुर्भूमिबाणौघपाती ।
 मूर्तेः स्वस्वामिलक्ष्मावसतिदिमुखितैरीक्षितः साश्रुपात्रम् ॥
 धोराणामाहवानां लिखितमिव जयं श्लाघ्यमाविर्दधानो ।
 वक्षस्युद्धामशस्त्रव्रणकठिनकिणत्रास्थिलेखाच्छलेन ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीर्जयितगुप्तोऽभूत् क्षितीशचंद्रामणिः सुतस्तस्य ॥
 यो दृढवैरिनारीमुखमलिनवनिकशिशिरकरः ॥ ४ ॥
 भुक्तामृक्तपयःप्रवाहशिशिरासूतुंगतालीवन- ।
 भ्राम्यद्वन्तिकरावलनकदलीकाण्डासु वेलास्वपि ॥
 द्योतस्कारतुषारनिर्झरपयःशान्तिऽपि शैले स्थितान् ।
 यस्योच्चैर्द्विपतो मुमोच न महाघोरः प्रतापज्वरः ॥ ५ ॥
 यस्यातिमानुषं कर्म दृश्यते विस्मयाज्जनौघेन ।
 अद्यापि कोशवर्धनतटात् प्लुतं पवनजस्येव ॥ ६ ॥
 प्रख्यातशक्तिमाजिषु पुरःसरं श्रीकुमारगुप्तमिति ।
 अजनयदकं स नृपो हर इव शिखिवाहनं तनयम् ॥ ७ ॥
 उत्सर्पद्वातहेलाचलितकदलिकर्वाचिमालावितानः ।
 प्रोद्यदधृलीजलोघभ्रामितगुरुमहामत्तमातंगशैलः ॥
 भीमः श्रीशानवर्मक्षितिपतिशशिनः सैन्यदुग्धोदसिंधु- ।
 लक्ष्मीसंप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दर्गभूय येन ॥ ८ ॥
 शौर्यसत्यव्रतधेग यः प्रयागगतो धने ।
 अम्भसीव करीषाग्नौ मग्नः सत्पुष्पपूजितः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीदामोदरगुप्तोऽभूत्तनयस्तस्य भूपतेः ।
 येन दामोदरेणेव देत्या इव हता द्विपः ॥ १० ॥
 यो मौखरेः समितिपूद्गतदूणसैन्या ।
 वल्गुघटा विघटयन्तुरुवारणानाम् ॥
 सम्मूर्छितः सुरवधूर्वरयन्वमेति ।
 तत्पाणिपंकजसुखस्पर्शाद्विबुद्धः ॥ ११ ॥
 गुणवद्द्विजकन्यानां नानालंकारयौवनवतीनाम् ।
 परिणायितवान् स नृपः शतं निसृष्टाग्रहाराणाम् ॥ १२ ॥
 श्रीमहासेनगुप्तोऽभूत्तस्माद्वीराग्रणीः सुतः ।
 सर्ववीरसमाजेषु लेभे यो धुरि वीरताम् ॥ १३ ॥
 श्रीमत्सुस्थितवर्मयुद्धविजयश्लाघापदांकं मुहु- ।

र्यस्यायापि विबुद्धकुन्दकुमुदक्षुण्णाच्छहाराततम् ।
 लोहित्यस्य तटेपु शानिलतलेषूत्कुलनागद्रुम- ।
 छायासुप्तविबुद्धसिद्धमिधुनैः स्फीतं यशो गीयते ॥ १४ ॥
 वसुदेवादिव तस्माच्छ्रीसेवनक्षोदितचरणयुगः ।
 श्रीमाधवगुप्तोऽभून्माधव इव विक्रमैकरसः ॥ १५ ॥
 — — — अनुस्मृतो धुरि रणे श्लाघावतामग्रणोः ।
 सौजन्यस्य निधानमर्थनिचयत्यागोद्वराणां ध (व ?) रः
 लक्ष्मीसत्यसरस्वती कुलगृहं धर्मस्य सेतुदृढः ।
 पूज्यो नास्ति स भूतले — — — सद्गुणैः १६ ॥
 चक्रं पाणितलेन सौख्यद्वहत्तम्याऽपि शार्ङ्गं धनु- ।
 नाशायासुहृदां सुखाय सुहृदां तस्याभ्यसिर्नन्दकः ॥
 प्राप्ते विद्विषतां वधे प्रतिहत (—) तेना प [— — —] ।
 — — — — धरिम [— —] न्याः प्रणेमुर्जनाः ॥ १७ ॥
 आजौ मया विनिहता बलिनो द्विपन्तः ।
 कृत्यं न मेऽस्त्यपरमित्यवधार्य वीरः ॥
 श्रीहर्षदेवनिजसंगमवाञ्छयाच ।
 — — — — ॥ १८ ॥
 श्रीमान् बभूव दलितारिकरीन्द्रकुम्भ- ।
 मुक्तारजःपटलपांसुलमण्डलायः ॥
 आदित्यसेन इति तत्तनयः क्षितीश ।
 चूडामणिर्द्वि — — — ॥ १९ ॥
 — — — — मागतमरिध्वंसीत्यमात्रं यशः ।
 श्लाघ्यं सर्वधनुष्मतां पुर इति श्लाघ्यं परां विभ्रती ॥
 आशीर्वाद्परंपरा चिरसरुद् — — — — ।
 — — — — यामासभ ॥ २० ॥
 आजौ स्वेदच्छलेना ध्वजपट शिखया मार्जितो दानपकंम् ।
 खड्गं क्षुण्णोन मुक्तां शकल सिकतिली कृत्य — — — — ॥
 — — — — मत्तमातंगघातम् !
 तद्रंधारुष्टसर्पद्वहलपरिमलभ्रान्तमत्तालिजालम् ॥ २१ ॥
 आबद्धभीमविकटभ्रुकुटी कठोर- ।
 सग्राम — — — — ॥
 — — — — व दलभभृत्यवर्ग- ।
 गोश्यापु पेशलतया परिहासशीलः ॥ २२ ॥
 सत्यमर्तृव्रता यस्य मुखोपधानताप्सी ।
 परिहास — — — — ॥ २३ ॥
 — — — — ज्ञः सकलरिपुचलवंसहेतुर्गरीयान् ।
 यात्रिंशोत्खातघातश्रमजनितजडोऽप्युर्जितस्वप्रतापः ॥
 युद्धे मत्तेभकुम्भस्थल — — — — ।
 — — श्वेतातपत्रस्थगितवसुमर्तामण्डलो लोकपालः ॥ २४ ॥

आजौ मत्तगजेन्द्रकुम्भदलनस्फीतस्फुरद्द्वयुगो ।
 ध्वस्तानेकगिप्रभाव — — — यशोमण्डलः ॥
 न्यस्ताशेषनरेन्द्रमौलिचरणस्फारप्रतापानलो ।
 लक्ष्मीवान् समराभेमानविमलप्रख्यातकीर्तिनृपः ॥ २५ ॥
 येनेयं शरदिन्दुबिम्बधवला प्रख्यातभूमण्डला ।
 लक्ष्मीसंगमकाक्षया सुमहती कीर्तिश्विरं कोपिता ॥
 याता सागरपारमद्भुतरसा सापत्न्यैवैरादहो ।
 तेनेदं भवनोत्तमं क्षितिभुजा विष्णोः कृते कारितम् ॥ २६ ॥
 तज्जनन्या महादेव्या श्रामत्या कारितो मठः ।
 धार्मिकेभ्यः स्वयं दत्तः सुरलोकगृहोपमः ॥ २७ ॥
 शंखेन्दुस्फटिकप्रभाप्रतिसमस्फारस्फुरच्छीकरम् ।
 नक्राकान्तचलत्तरंगविलसत्पक्षिप्रनृत्यत्तिमि ॥
 राज्ञा खानितमद्भुतं सुतपसा पेपीयमानं जनै — ।
 स्तस्यैव प्रियभार्यया नरपतेः श्रीकोणदेव्या सरः ॥ २८ ॥
 चावच्छन्द्रकला हरस्य शिरसि श्रीः शार्ङ्गिणो वक्षसि ।
 ब्रह्मास्ये च सरस्वती कृतं — — — — ॥
 भोगे भूर्भुजगाधिपस्य च तडित्यावद्घनस्योदेर ।
 तावत्कीर्तिमिहातनोति धवलामादित्यसेनो नृपः ॥ २९ ॥
 सूक्ष्मशिवेन गौडेन प्रशस्तिर्विकटाक्षरा ।
 — — — मामिता सम्यग्धार्मिकेण सुधामता ॥ ३० ॥

(2) DEO-BARNAK* INSCRIPTION OF JIVITAGUPTA II

(Corp. Ins. Vol. VII No. 46 p. 213)

.. ...नमः । स्वस्ति शक्तित्रयोपात्त-जय-शब्दान्महानौहस्त्यश्वपत्तिसंभार
 दुर्निवाराज्जयस्कन्धावारात् गोमतिकोटकसमीप वासकात् श्रीमाधवगुप्त
 तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारिकायां राइयां महादेव्यां श्रीश्रीमत्यामुत्पन्नः
 परमभागवतः श्री-आदित्यसेनदेवः । तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारिकायां राइयां
 महादेव्यां श्रीकोणदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वर परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीदेव-
 गुप्तदेवः । तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारिकायां राइयां महादेव्यां श्रीकमलदेव्यामुत्पन्नः
 परममाहेश्वर परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीविष्णुगुप्तदेवः । तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानु-
 ध्यातः परमभट्टारिकायां राइयां महादेव्यां श्री इज्जादेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम ... परम-
 भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीजीवितगुप्तदेवः कुशली नगरभुक्तौ वालवीवैषयिकश्री-
 ...वा पद्मलिक्षान्तष्पाति वारुणिकग्रामसंगोष्ठान कुलतलावाटक-दूत सीमाकर्मकर-
 मया तक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्यमहा ... क्षतिक-महादण्डनायक-महाप्रतिहार-महासा.
 प्रमात्तसा कुमारामात्य-राजस्थानीयोपरिक धिक-चोरोद्वाराणिक-
 ण्डिकदण्डपाशिक ... क ... णिवल-व्यापृत-किशोरवा टकग्रामः द्

* This word is spelt as Baranark by the Corp. Ins. It seems how-
 ever that rk must be changed into k in Prakrit. Moreover in the original
 Sanskrit name there is no r here.

...त्...यणिकग...पतिकर्म...रसक...त्-आस्मन्पादप्रसादोपजावि-
नश्च प्रतिवासिनश्च ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्-महत्तर कक्षिपुर ... विज्ञापित-श्रावणवासि-
भट्टारक-प्रतिचद्र भोजक-सूर्यमित्रेण उर्ध्वरलिखत...ग्रामादिसंयुतं परमेश्वरश्री
बालादित्यदेवेन स्वशासनेन भगवश्री वरुण वासिभट्टारक...क...वपरिवाहक
... भोजकहंसमित्रस्य समापत्या यथाकालाभ्यामिभ्य एवं परमेश्वरश्रीशर्ववर्मे
...भोजक-रूपिमित्र ... यतकम् एवं परमेश्वर श्रीमद्-अर्जुनवर्मणा
पूर्वदत्तकमवलब्धं...महागजाधिगज-परमेश्वर...शासनदानेन
भोजक-दुर्धरमित्रस्यानुमोदित ... तेन भुज्यते तदहं किमपि...एवं
...मतिमान...आनुपामोदितमिति सर्वसमा-पना एता...पयु
...वरुणवास्यायतनं तदनु दत्तम्...त्यक्ष...सोद्वेगं सोपगिरं सदशा-
पराधपञ्च...

(3) ASIRGADH SEAL OF SARVAVARMAN

(Corp. Ins. Vol. III No. 47 p. 219.)

चतुस्तमुद्रातिक्रान्तकर्तुः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्वराजो वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापन-
प्रवृत्तचक्रव्यक्रधर इव प्रजानामार्तिहरः श्रीमन्महाराजहरिवर्मा । तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो
जयस्वामिनी-भट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराजादित्यवर्मा । तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो
हर्षगुप्ताभट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः श्रीमहाराज-ईश्वरवर्मा । तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यात उपगुप्ता-
भट्टारिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिगज श्रीईशानवर्मा तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो लक्ष्मी-
वतीभट्टारिकामहादेव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वरो महाराजाधिराजश्री-शर्ववर्मा भोखरिः ।

(4) VALABHI INSCRIPTION OF DHARASENA

(Corp. Ins. Vol. III No. 38, p. 164.)

ओम् स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारात् वंदितपल्लीवासकात् प्रसभप्रणताभिन्नाणाम्
मैत्रकाणाम् अतुलबलसंपन्न-मंडलाभोग-संसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापात् प्रतापोपनतदानमा-
नार्जवोपाज्जितानुरागात् अनुरक्तमौलभुनश्रेणीबलावासरज्जयश्रेयः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटा-
र्कात् अव्यवाच्छिन्नराजवंशात् मातापितृ-चरणारविन्दप्रणतिश्रविधौताशेष-कल्मषः शैश-
वात् प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुः एव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वानिकपः तत्प्रभा-
वप्रणतारतिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परि-
पालनप्रजाहृदयरजनान्वर्थराजशब्दः रूपकान्तस्यैवगाम्भार्य्यद्वाद्विसम्पातीभिः स्मरश-
शाङ्काद्रिराजोदधिचिदशगुरुधनेशान् अतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवत्
अपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफलप्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दिताविद्वन्सुहृदप्रणयिहृदयः पाद-
चारि इव सकलभुवनमंडलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनः तस्य सुतः तत्पाद-
नखसंततविसृतजान्हवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिरातसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूप
लोभात् इव आश्रितः सरभसमाभिगमिकैः गुणैः सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिता-
खिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिनिसृष्टानाम् अनुपालयिता धर्मदायानाम् अपाकर्ता प्रजोपघात-
कारिणाम् उपप्लवानाम् दशयिता श्रासगम्बत्योः एकाधिवासस्य संहतिरातिपक्षलक्ष्मी-परि-
भोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोऽस्तगतविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः तस्य सुतः
तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमृद्धस्यगिनासमद्रादिडूमंडलः समरश-
नविजय-शोभासनायमंडलप्रयुतिभासुरतगान् सर्पादिगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्वविद्या-
परावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिः अपि सर्वसुभाषितलयेन अपि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः

समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्यहृदयः अपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः
 खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपातिपथाविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्तिः दम्भानुपरोधोज्ज्वलतरीकृतार्थसुख-
 सम्पदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशिलादित्यः तस्य अनुजः
 तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वयम्भुपेन्द्रगुरुणा इव गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयाम् अपि राज-
 लक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्ताम् परमभद्रः इव धुर्य्यः तदाज्ञासम्पादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन् मेदसुखरति-
 भ्याम् अनायासितसत्त्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपदृशाकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नछायोपगूडपादपीठः
 अपि पगवज्ञाभिमानरसानाशंकितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिम् एकाम् परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभि-
 मानैः अपि अगतिभिः अनासादिनप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसं-
 हृतिप्रसभविद्यदितसकलकालिविलासितगतिर्नाचजनाधिगोहितिः अशेषैः देवैः अनामृष्टा-
 त्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशल्यतिशयगणतिथविदक्षक्षितिपार्तिलक्ष्मी-स्वयं
 ग्रहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसेव्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरश्चास्त्रग्रहः तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानु-
 ध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्त्वसम्पदा त्यागो-
 दार्येणच विगतानुसन्धाना शमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्ग सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रक-
 लाथोकचरितगन्धराविभागः अपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिः अकृत्रिमप्रथयविनयशोभाविभूषणः
 समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रहवाहृदंडविध्वसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पादयः स्वधनुः
 प्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमंडलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वर श्रीधर-
 सेनः तस्य अनुजः तत्पादानुध्यातः सुचरितातिशयसकलपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साध्यानाम्
 अपि प्रसाधायिता विषयाणाम् मूर्तेमान् इव पुरुषकारः परिहृङ्गुणानुरागनिर्भरचित्त-
 वृत्तिभिर्मनः इव स्वयम् अभ्युपन्नः प्रकृतिभिः अधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमाननिवृत्ति
 हेतुः अकलंककर्मदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्वन्सितध्वान्तराशिः सततो-
 दितस्मविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्त्यवन्तमतिवृत्तिथप्रयोजिनानुबन्धम् आगमपरिपूर्णं
 विदधानः सन्धिविग्रहसमसनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थाने अनुरूपम् आदेशम् ददङ्गुणवृद्धि-
 विधानजनितमंस्कारः साधूनाम् राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोः उभयोः अपि निष्णातः
 प्रकृष्टविक्रमः अपि करुणमुद्वहृदयः श्रुतवान् अपि अगर्वितः कान्तः अपि प्रशनी
 स्थिरसौहृदयः अपि निरसिता दोषवताम् उदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुराग-
 परिपिहितभुवनसमर्थनप्रार्थतवालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परमाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनः कुशली
 सर्वान् एव यथासम्बन्धमानकन् समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वः संविदितम् यथा मया माता-
 पित्रोः पुण्याध्यायनाय उदुम्बरगह्वरविनिर्गनाय नकाग्रहारनिवासीदशपुरत्रैवियसामान्य-
 पाराशरसगोत्रमाध्यंदिनवाजसेनेयसब्रह्मचारी ब्राह्मणबुधस्वामिपुत्रब्राह्मणदत्तस्वामि-
 तथागस्तिकाग्रहार्गनिवासिउन्ध्यमानचातुर्वियसामान्यपाराशरसगोत्रवाजसेनेयसब्रह्मचा-
 रिब्राह्मणबुधस्वामिपुत्रब्राह्मणकुमारस्वामिभ्याम् मालवके उन्ध्यमानविषये चन्द्रपुत्रकया-
 मे दक्षिणर्षाम्नि भातशतप्रमाणक्षेत्रम् यस्य आघाटनानि पूर्वतः धम्मणहाडिडकाग्राम-
 कडूटः दक्षिणतः दक्षकुलपाटकग्रामककटः अपरतः वीरतरमंडलिमहत्तरक्षेत्रमर्यादा
 उत्तरपश्चिमकोणे निर्मंडी तडाकिका उत्तरतः वीरतरमंडली एवम् एतत् चतुराघाटनवि-
 शुद्धं भक्तीशतप्रमाणक्षेत्रम् शोदङ्गं सोपरिकरणीयम् समुत्तवातप्रत्यायम् धान्यहिरण्या-
 देयम् सदृशापरम्पदम् गोपप्रमाणविष्टिकम् सर्वराजकीयानाम् अहम् प्रक्षेपणीयम् पूर्वप्रत्त-
 देव ब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविशतरहितम् भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन आचन्द्रार्कपूर्णवक्षितिसमेत्पर्व-
 तसमकालीनम् पुत्रपौत्रान्यभोग्यम् उदकातिसर्गेण धर्मलयो निसृष्टः यतः अनयोः
 उचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुजंतः रूपतः कर्मयतः प्रदिशतोर्वा कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्तित-

व्यमागामिभद्रनृपातिभिः अपि अस्मद्वंशजैः अन्यैः वा अनित्यानि ऐश्वर्याणि अस्थिरम् मानुष्यम् सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलम् अवगच्छद्भिः अयम् अस्मद्वाय अनुमतव्यः परिपालयेतव्यः च इति उक्तं च बहुभिः वसुधा भुक्ता राजाभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ यानि इह दारिद्र्यभयात् नरेन्द्रेः धनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि । निर्मुक्तमाल्य प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनः आददाति ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदेः । आच्छेता च अनुमन्ता च तानि एव नरके वसेत् इति । दूतकः अत्र राजपुत्रः श्रीखरग्रहः लिखितम् इदम् सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवन्नभट्टिपुत्रदिविरस्कन्दभट्टेन ॥ सं ३०० २० १ चैत्र व ३ स्वहस्तोमम ॥

(5) AMSUVARMAN'S INSCRIPTION OF S. 39 or 635 A. D. .

(Ind. Ant. IX p. 170.)

ॐ स्वास्ति कैलासकूटभवनान्निशि निशि चानेकशास्त्रार्थविमर्शावसादितासद्-
शनतया धर्माधिकारस्थितिकारणमेवोत्सवमनतिशयं मन्यमानो भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टार-
कपादानुगृहीतो वप्पपादानुध्यातः श्रयंशुवर्मा कुशली पश्चिमाधिकरणवृत्तिभुजो वर्त-
मानान् भविष्यतश्च यथार्हं कुशलमाभाष्य समाज्ञापयति विदितं भवतु भवतां पशुपतौ
भगवाञ्छरभोगेश्वरोऽस्मद्भागिन्या श्रीभोगवर्मजनन्या भोगदेव्या स्वभर्तृ राजपुत्रशूर-
सेनम्य पुण्योपचयाय प्रतिष्ठापितो यश्च तद्दुहित्राऽस्मद्भागिनेय्या भाग्यदेव्या प्रतिष्ठापितो
लडितमहेश्वरो यश्चैतत्पूर्वजैः प्रतिष्ठापितो दक्षिणेश्वरस्तेषामधः शालापाञ्चालिकेभ्यः
प्रतिपालनायातिसृष्टानामस्माभिः पश्चिमाधिकरणस्याप्रवेशेन प्रसादः कृतो यदाच
पाञ्चालिकानां यत्किञ्चन कार्यमेतद्गतमुत्पस्यते यथाकालं वा नियमितं वस्तु परि-
हापयिष्यन्ति तदा स्वयमेव राजभिरन्तरासनेन विचारः करणीयो यस्त्वेतामाज्ञामतिक्र-
म्यान्वथा प्रवर्तिष्यते तं वयं न मर्षयिष्यामो भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिर्धर्मगुरुतया पूर्व-
राजरुतप्रसादानुवर्तिभिरेव भवितव्यमिति स्वयमाज्ञा दूतकश्चात्र युवराजोदयदेवः
संवत् ३९ वैशाख शुक्लदिवा दशम्याम् ॥

(6) MAYIDVOLLU INSCRIPTION IN PRAKRIT OF PALLAVA
KING SIVASKANDAVARMAN (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 86)

(कां)चीपुरातो युवमहाराजो भारदाय सगोत्तो पलवानं शिवखंडवम्मो धनकडे
वापतं आनपयाति अम्हेहि दानी अम्हवेजयिके (धं)मायुबलवधानिके य बम्हनानं
अगिवेससगोत्तस पुवकोटुजस अगिवेस सगोत्तस गोनांदिजस अंधापति (धि)यग्रामो
विरिपरं अम्हेहि उदकादि संपदतो एतस गामस विरपरस सब बम्हदेय परि(हा)रो
वितराम अलो(स्वा)दकं अरठसं(वि)नारिकं अपरंपरा बलिव(दं) अभडपपेसं अकूर-
चोलक विनासि खतासंवासं एतोहि अनाहिच सब बम्हदेय मजादाय सबपरिहारोहि परि-
हारितो परिहरथ परिहारापेथ च जो अम्हसासनं अतिछितून पीला बाधकरेज्जा (वात)-
कारावेज्जा वा तस अम्हो सारीरं सासनं करेजामो सबछरं दशमं १० गिम्हा पखो
छटो ६ दिवसं पंचमी ५ आनति सयाति दत्ता पट्टिका.

THE END.

INDEX

A

- Abbapura 235
 Abdul Rahim 192-3
 Abhayadatta 70
 Abhimanyu (Kashmir king) 226
 Ādhikaraṇika 249
 Adhyakshas 150; 306
 Adityasena Magadha 36-7; 370; 395
 Adityavarmā 34
 Afghans 190-1-3; 209
 Agham Lohana 163
 Agnihotra 69; 105
 Agnimitra 80
 Agni-praveśa (custom of) 95
 Agnivamśa 71-2; 81-2
 Agni-worship by Bāṇa 106
 Agrahāra 233-6; 267
 Āhāra 129; 140; 157; 282
 Ahichhatra 86;—Bhukti 130
 Ahimsā, doctrine of 112-4; 173; 221
 247; 274
 Aihole inscription 140; 159; 275-6
 Aikshvāka (sun-race) 71
 Aila (moon-race) 71
 Aiyangar K. S. 153; 291; 317
 Aśvara-kāraṇikas 111
 Ajanta caves 270-2; 265
 Ajitāpīda 218
 Ājñyaptā 305-6
 Akshapatalika (Patil) 234
 Alafi (Arab renegade) 170-9
 Alaf Tegin 193
 Ālakhāna (Gujar) 194; 201; 222
 Al-Beruni 185 190-4-6-7 9; 200-1; 246
 Alor (capital of Sind) 161-2-6; 175-
 7-8; 184-7-8; 248
 Alūpa 271
 Amma I 303; II 302-3-4
 Ammarāja 302
 Amātya 149; 157; 248; 306
 Amoghabhūti (of Kunindas) 381
 Amśuvarma of Nepal 369; 372
 Ānandapāla 199; 201
 Ānandapura 252-3-6
 Anangapāla 27; 227
 Anangāpīda 208
 Anantavarman 34
 Anantadeva (of Kashmir) 195;
 227; fights Turks 228; 229; 233
 Ānarta 253-4
 Āndhra (Warangal) 32; 81; 104—
 mandala 140; 159; 262 3-5; 275,
 297; 304-5
 Āndhrabhṛitya 80; 262-3
 Aparājita 293
 Aparānta 79
 Aphsad inscription 24; 33-4-7; 40;
 97; (original) 395-7
 Apte Prof. (astronomical calcu-
 lations for Harsha's birthdate) 42
 Arachesia 191
 Arabs 18; 19; 59; 90; 117-8; 161-3;
 188-9; 191-3-9; 200-1; 214; 238; 248-
 9; 252-3
 Arabic (language) 161
 Aramshah 187
 Āratta 143
 Ārhātas 109; 111

- Arjuna or Arunāśva 222
 Āryabhatta 275
 Aryans 26; 54; 69; &c.-characteristics 60-3; advance into South India 314-7 settlement in the Panjab 390;-in Mahārāshtra 79; 391; in Madras Pr. 391
 Aryo-Dravidian 80-2
 Āśirgadh seal 33-7-9-41; 398
 Āśoka 19; 23-7-9; 79; 80-1; 207; 234; 261-2-3; 282
 Āsandī or royalseat 153
 Āśvamedha 105-6; 113; 204; 265-25-9; 273-7; 285-6
 Āśata 235
 Assessment of land 132; 158
 Aulikara 155
 Avantivarmā (of Kanauj) 8; 26 34-9 (coins) 41
 „ (of Kashmir) 221; 240
 Avesta 95
 Āyuktaka (an officer) 159; 249
- B**
- Bachbrai 172-3-4; Taki 184
 Bādara (of cotton) 91
 Bādāmi capital of Chalukyas 258; 264; 277; 286; 297; 32; 72; 81; 105
 Bahvricha (Rigvedi) 68
 Bāgamati, river in Nepa 1365
 Bāi (sister and wife of Dahar) 167; 180-1-7
 Bakkhar (town in Sind) 189
 Bālāditya 20-3-6; 1; 17; 33-4-9; 40-4
 Ballāpur (Kashmir) 235
 Bāṇa 5; 11; 13; 17; 21; 27; &c.
 Baravāsi 32; 80; 153; 258; 262-6; 277
 Banias, Gūjar 85
 Bānskheda grant 130; 150
 Bappa Rāwal 19; 25; 282
 Barahātakin 199
 Baramulla (Kashmir) 238
 Barbara (language) 354
 Bhagadattā (of Assam) 332
 Bhagavanlal Indraji 370
 Bhagavadgīta (S e Gita) 63; 111; 205; 222;
 Bhāgavata Purāṇa 155; 352
 Bhallata (a Kashmir poet) 224
 Bhāndārkar D. R. 13; 83-4-5-6-7
 Bhāndārkar Dr. (Sir R. G.) 81-2; 78-9; 258-9; 265; 270-2-3
 Bhandi (uncle of Harsha) 4; 6; 35-6-8; 148
 Bharukachha (Broach) 21-5; 252-6
 Bhāskarvarman (Kumāra) 29; 30
 Bhata (suffix) 72; 136; 158
 Bhatārka 20; 243
 Bhatta 69; 273
 Bhattāraka 244-5-6; 277; 307
 Bhatti (poet),—kāvyā 247
 Bhau Dāji Dr. 265
 Bhavabhūti 209
 Bhavagopa 284
 Bhikshu 231
 Bhima,—pāla,—shāh—deva 195-7-9; 201; 226
 Bhimagupta (of Kāshmir) 226
 Bhima (of Vengi) 302-5-9; 311
 Bhinmāl 21-2; 83-4; 251-5-6; 356
 Bhitaura (coins found at) 40-7
 Bhoga 79-80; 149; 157; 249
 Bhogavarman Maukhari 370
 Bhogika 149; 157;—oddharanika 157
 Bhoja (of Kanauj) 222
 „ (of Malwa) 223-228; 231
 Bhojas (people) 81; 341; 362
 Bhukti 129; 130-7; 140-1; 306; 361-2
 Bhūmi 135;—padāvarta 157
 Bhuti (suffix) 62; 66; 73
 Bhuvanachandra 222
 Bhuvaneśvara (Śiva temple in Orissa) 321
 Bigha (land-measure) 133
 Bilhāṇa 81; 230-6; 267
 Biruda (kingly titles) 307
 Bollakeshivallabha 268
 Bodyguards (king's) 153
 Brihaspati (king of Kashmir) 240
 Brahmachāris 109; 111
 Brahmagupta (astronomer) 21; 40; 275; 356-7
 Brahmanābād (Sind) 161 2-3-4-5-6 172-7; 180-2-3-7-8

Brahmarāja traitor of Kashmir 228
Brahmins (caste) 59 ; 61-2-5 ;
 (characteristics) 70-2-4-5-6; 85-
 6-7-8; (food) 94; 105-7; 110-3; 122;
 133-4; 161; 173; 145; 152-5; 162; 173;
 185-7 196-7-8-9; 200-1-4-5-6; 215-
 6-8; 221-5-6-8; 232-3-4 (of Konkan
 and Kashmir) 239; 254-5-8; 262-5-
 7; 273-4-8; 285; 305; —Kshatriya
 marriage 381—sanyāsis 108
British rule 125-6-9; 154
Brihatphalāyana gotra 285
Broach 13; 242; exports 259; 356
Buchanān Dr. 361
Budhagupta 24; 245; 362
Budhia 172
Buddhism 100-1-5; 112; 206; 213; 221
 272-3
Buddhists 4; 7; 8; 18-9; 38-9; 46-7-8;
 66-9; 73-4-5; 96-9; (temples) 102;
 (recluses) 109; 100-1-3; 123; 162-
 3-4-6-7-8-9; 171-2-3; 183-8; 187; 191-
 2-3-9; 204; 217; 247-9; 255; 263-5-6
 486; 296
Burn (coins) 40; 4-7

C

Cape Comorin 269; 275; 279
Caste system in India 85; 86
Chacha 18; 20; 162; 164-6; 168; 174;
 183-5; 189; 197; 201; 205; 122
Chachanāmā 18; 19; 28; 122; 161-2;
 163-68; 170-1; 174-5; 177; 181; 189;
 202; 206; 208; 211; 214; 240
Chāhumāna 87
Chohān 70
Chakrāyudha 360
Chakravarman 224
Chakravarti 10; 11; 247
Chālukyas of Bādāmi and Veng
 12; 13; 72; 80-2; 86-7; 115; 140; 143;
 248; 252-59; 264; 276; 278; 283-92;
 297-311
Chamars 75; 88
Chammak plate 69; 132; 134
Champā 29; 235; **Himalayan State**
 378

Chāṇakya 65
Chāṇḍālas 75; 143
Chandikā 104
Chandra 19; 20; 64; 87; 166-7; 184; 283
Chandrāditya 270
Chandragupta 19; 24; 26; 61; 65;
 151; 154; 263; 286
Chandrāpīda 207-8; 224; 240
Chandravanśa 71
Chankuna 212
Chāpa, -otkata 354-6 ; (history)
 358; -votaka 253
Chāta 130-56; -bhata 249
Chhatrapur 212
Chaurahas or Chuhras 75; 88
Chauroddharanika 249; 156; 8; 138
Chāvadas 254
Chedis 269
Chellur grant 308; 300
Chhattisgarh or Kosala 348-9
Chichito 24
Chinā Bhukti 49; 383
Chinese 192; 240
ChippataJayāpīda 218
Chitor 19; 25; 113
Chitrakantha 271; 277
Chola or Nellore 32; 260; 271; 274;
 275; 277-79; 292-3; 299-307
Cholamandala 129
Christian 63; 73; 233
Christianity 101; 108; 173; 180
Chudāsamas 254
Coins of mediæval India 190; 197
Cunningham Sir, A. 16; 290; 196; 240

D

Dadda (of Broach) 21; 25; 196;
 247; 251; 253; 194; 201; 356
 —family genealogy 22
Dāhar 19; 20; 166-71; 175-187; 208; 210
Dāharsia 116
Dakṣiṇāpatha 80; 159; 210; 268-9
Dākshinātyas 211
Dalavamir 291
Dāmaras 205; 224-5; 228; 235; 363
Dāmodāra Gupta 33; 216
Dānarṇava (or Dānanripa) 302-3

INDEX

iv

- Dandakāranya 79; 260
 Dandanāyaka 235
 Dandapāsika 156; 249
 Dantidurga 81; 272
 Dantivarman 291-2-3
 Daradas 222; 223; 228; 236
 Dārvābhisāra 222
 Debal 162; 169; 170-2; 187
 Deccan 159; 307
 Delhi 187; 189; 220; 224
 —its vicissitudes-27; 40
 Deo Barnāk 138; 158
 —inscription of 33; 34; 397
 —Malwa genealogy of 37; 39
 Deśa 129; 140
 Deva, suffix, 67
 Deva Gupta :3; 24;—history of 34-8
 — 40; 46
 Devaśarmā 216
 Dewaij 18
 Dhakkā 277
 Dharmapāla 351
 Dhanakakata or Vengi, kingdom
 of 32; 263
 Dhārā 22; 232
 Dharapatta 246-7
 Dharasena 131; 133; 245-6.—III
 —247—IV 247—copperplate in-
 scription of-398-9
 Dhruva 131; 156; 242; 249
 Dhruvabhata (Valabhi), son-in-
 law of Harsha, 20; 22; 25; 45-6;
 61; 62; 70; 247-48
 Dhruvasena 243; 246-7
 Dhvaja 106; 155
 Diddā 226-27
 Digvijaya 90; 145; 163; 207; 211; 223;
 271—of Śankaravarman 222—of
 Harsha-6; as per Bāna 43
 Dikshit-astronomical tables-43;273
 Dinnārās 215; 216; 221; 235; 239; 257
 Divākaramitra 6; 110
 Divira (secretary) 235
 Drāṅgika 156; 249
 Dravida or Kānchī 32
 Dravidians 60; 65; 67-9; 74-79; 80-2;
 86; 104; 121; 258; 260-62; 266; 274;
 279; 281; 285; 305-6-7; 293
 Droṇa (measure) 150
 Droṇasinha 72; 246
 Dubreuil 265; 279; 282-3; 287-8; 290-93
 Dukūla 91
 Durlabhaka 206-8; 240
 Durlabhav. 17; 44; 202; 205-6; 253
 Dūta,—kara 138; 149
 Dvārādhipa-pati 234-5

E
 Ekaśaṅkha 267
 Ekavādi 273
 Ekāṅgas 226; 235
 Encyclopædia Britannica 83
 Eunuchs 154
 Eran 24; 362 (capital of Zajoti)

F
 Female education
 Ferdusi 188
 Fleet Dr. 132-3-6; 150-3-8; 288; 298;
 300-1-8
 Fowler Sir William 78
 Funeral ceremonies 98-9

G
 Gambhirasinha 236
 Gaṇapati 104
 Gāndhāra, 1; 17; 190-1-2; 196; 200
 Ganga (people) 268; 271; 275; 292
 304-5-8;
 Gangā 267—Yamunā 277; 308
 Gangavādi 158
 Ganjas (markets) 234-ādhipa 235
 Garuda Purāṇa 98
 Gauda 11; 30; 66-7-8; 70; 209; 219-
 4-5; 238; 323
 Gautamīputra 12; 263-6
 Gehlots 246; 254
 Gītā 256
 Godāvāri 79; 246; 258-9; 280; 304
 Gonardīya (dynasty of Kashmir)
 17; 45; 202-3
 Gopālavarmān 194; 224
 Goparāshtra 259
 Gorā (anvaya) 68
 Govinda 266

Grahavarmā 2; 8; 21; 33-4-5; 68-9
 40-1-6-7; 61; 70; 243
 Grāmakāyasthas 241
 Grāmakūta 157
 Greek 123; 191; dress 89 language
 354; 285; 290
 Gūhāditya 25
 Guhasena 246
 Gupta 69; 73; 100; 122; 158; 173;
 186; 204-5 243-4-5-6-7; 266; 286;
 106; 156; 360—of Malwa 3; 24-6
 genealogy, 33; 37; 39; 40-1-7
 Gupta characters 379-empire 106;
 123; 156-era 246; 276
 Gurjara or Gūjar 11; 21-2-5, 63-4-5;
 83-4-5; 118; 194; 201-5; 222-3; 236;
 242-5; 257; 269; 297; 355-6—of
 Bhinmal 355; 358—of Broach 251-7
 Gūjar Gaud 65; 74; 88
 Guṇaka Vijayāditya 219
 Gurkhas of Nepal 366

H

Haihayas 252; 271; 272-2-4; 315
 Hajjaj 169; 170; 171; 173; 175; 179;
 180; 182; 184; 192; 193
 Harigana 222
 Harirāja 227
 Hāritiputra 265; 268; 269; 274; 72; 81
 Harivaṇśa 80
 Harivarmā 32
 Harsha 85; 206-09; 242-44-47; 288
 as a king 123;—his horoscope
 acc. to Prof. Apte 42; his exploits
 43; his caste 68; his life and rule
 1-15; 40-41—era 11-27-6; 372
 Harsha of Kashmir 229-232
 Harshagupta 24
 Hastivarman 286
 Hazara 223
 Helaraja 202
 Helmand 191
 Hermatalia 161
 Himalayan states 363 minor 378-81
 Hinduism 100; 101; 112; 274
 Hindus 84; 87; 88; 102; 112; 117; 188
 —converted 189—dress of sanyā-
 sis 91

Hiraṇya 46
 Hiranyaparvata (Monghyr) 29
 Hiuen Tsang 151; 152; 169 &c.
 Hoernle Dr. 35; 37; 38; 39; 46; 47
 Holala (or Horala) 90
 Huṇs (Hūṇas) 83; 84; 87; 117; 126
 173; 200; 203; 242—invasion of
 Thanesar, defeat 2; 17; 20—over-
 throw of Gupta empire by 24; 34;
 35; 39; 45; 46; 54
 Hultzh 298; 305
 Hunter Sir W. (Orissa) 318-9 &c.
 Ibbetson, Sir D. 88, 189

I

India 83; 84; 86; 88; 89; 91; 115; 116
 117; 118; 120—in A.D. 630 as des-
 cribed by HiunTsang 48-57—people
 of—59—castes, marriage, occupa-
 tions—60 63-68—Kshatriyas of—70;
 Vaishyas—73—ancient geography
 of—191—Civil administration and
 criminal—138—Political condition
 of—122
 Indian-representative institutions
 124—dress—89-92—women 180; 181—
 cavalry 142-3—army 142—patrio-
 tism 123—State and their weaknes-
 ses 125—philosophy 111—manners;
 and custome 93-99—kingdoms 117—
 religious condition 100-114—dress
 appearance 92-3—ornaments 92
 Indo-Aryans 31; 58; 76; 77; 88; 109
 118; 120; 128; 190-1; 259
 Indo-Scythians 239
 Indrajit 181
 Indrarāja of Vengi 298; 309
 Indrāṇi (idol of, Orissa) 323
 Indravishṇu 105
 Indus 17-18
 Īsāna Maukhari 27; 33-4; 47
 Iskania 163
 Ispahadad 193
 Īśvaravarmā 22; 37—coins of—40-41

J

Jadejas 254
 Jadhavas 82
 Jahin Budh 171; 177

INDEX

vii

- Jainism 100; 109; 273; 274; 206
 Jains 66; 111; 255; 274—pandits-273
 —recluses and their dress 91; 109
 Jaisiah 171; 172; 175; 177-81; 184
 Jajja 215
 Jālandhara 228; 383
 Janapada 129
 Jāngala land 390
 Jats (Jartas) 87; 161; 164; 165-67;
 174; 177; 178; 183; 205—appearance
 and characteristics 63; 87-88—
 treatment by Indian and Euro-
 pean scholars-64; 65; 74; 76-88
 Jaunpur, Inscription-39; 41; 22
 Jayabhata I 22-2 ; 251-III ; 251
 Jayachandra 384
 Jayadeva—king of Nepal 369; 375-6
 Jayanta 215
 Jayapāla 201; 199; 197
 Jayāpīda 215-18; 236; 278
 Jayapur (Brahmin settlement in
 Orissa) 322
 Jayasinha 210; 269-70; 300-01; 232
 Jayavarman 285
 Jējāka Bhukti 130; 361-2
 Jhim (battle of) 177; 187
 Jhūsi 198
 Jīvita Gupta II stone inscription
 of 33; 397
 Jodhpur inscription 85
- K**
- Kābul 104; 190-201; 226; 223; 227
 236; 240
 Kaobha 253
 Kadambas 32; 82; 86; 157; 207; 256;
 266; 268; 269; 275
 Kāhala 144; 153
 Kailāsanātha temple in Kānchi 289
 Kainkila or Kailakila Yaranas 350-2
 Kajugal (Rajmahal) 29
 Kaksa 184
 Kalabhra 287; 241; 271-4-8-9-7
 Kalachūri 305; 252
 Kalaśa 229; 230; 235;
 Kalhana 17; 44-47; 122; 139; 199; 202;
 204; 206; 208; 209; 212; 213; 217;
 225; 227; 229; 232; 233; 236; 239;
 240; 278; 307;
 Kāli (image of, in Orissa) 223-4
 Kalinga 209; 210; 261; 304; 305; 308
 Kalinga or Rajamahendri-Kingdom
 of-31; 32
 Kalivarjyas 105
 Kallar 197; 199; 201
 Kallata 221
 Kamalādevī 215
 Kamalavardhana 225
 Kamalu 197; 199; 201
 Kambojas 211
 Kampanādhīsha 234
 Kāmarūpa 10; 29; 43
 Kānādas 111
 Kanakasena 244
 Kanauj 1; 3; 9; 10; 25; 27; 67; 68; 83;
 122; 124; 164; 162; 167; 185; 186;
 206; 209; 210; 215; 223; 240; 242;
 243; 277—You want Kanauj-28—
 kings of 6 33-6. genealogy 37; 39;
 40; 41; 61
 Kanāujia Brahmins 339; 342
 Kānchī 32; 210; 258; 269; 270; 271;
 272; 278
 Kanchukī 158
 Kanarese 258; 266; 305
 Kangra 383
 Kanishka 196; 199; 200
 Kāntipura, capital of Nepal 365
 Kāpilas 111
 Kapilavastu 28; Kapiśa 101; 17
 Karahāta 262
 Karaṇa 130
 Karandhamas 111
 Kongu Mandala 129
 Karkota 17; 44; 221; 233
 chronology of-dynasty 239; 240
 Karmasthāna 234
 Karṇa 251
 Karṇasuvārṇa 3; 11; 30; 31; 122
 Karṇāta 207; 210—ka 230; 270
 Karur 163
 Kashmir 101; 104; 113; 129; 139; 163;
 167; 179; 184; 185; 187; 194-5 199;
 201; 249; 271; 278 298; 300; 301;
 363; 382—geography of—238. The
 Karkotakas of-202-219—The peo-
 ple of—17; 18; 20-1; 25; 36; 43; 44;

- 45; 46; 205—Chronological list of
kings of—236-37—Political condi-
tion of—205-206; 233-236
- Kasnmiri Brahmins 239
- Kāshthavāta 236
- Kāshyapapura 388
- Kasim Bereed 163
- Kasim (see Mahamad)
- Kausāmbi 28
- Kausheya 90
- Kautilya Arthaśāstra 133; 130; 154
- Kāyasthas 76; 203; 217; 224; 226;
234; 238
- Kerala 260; 260; 277 274; 278; 279; 287
292; 299
- Kesālunchakas 111
- Kesari dynasty 31; 318; 326
- Khalimpur grant 344; 352
- Kharagraha 247-48
- Khāri 221
- Kharmaryaka 197
- Khasas 226; 370; 380
- Khatris 217; 70
- Khazars (Khizars) 77; 83; 84; 85;
87; 88
- Khetaka Ahāra 130
- Khoh grant 131; 1 36
- Khushru II 270
- Kipiśi 240
- Kīrtini 235
- Kīrtivarman 105; 268; 272; 269; 275;
277; 278
- Kishangangā—(Krishnā) 238
- Kollabhiganda Vijayāditya 299;
309; 311
- Koṇadevī 329
- Kongadu or Ganjam, kingdom 31
- Kokkili 210; 300; 301
- Konkanas 209; 210; 217; 238; 258;
261; 266
- Konkanapura, Kingdom of—32
- Konkanasthas 239
- Kosalas 120; 297 kingdom of K. or
Raipur 32
- Kramarājya 216; 219; 235
- Kramu (Kurrum) 190
- Krishnā 112; 270; 280
- Krishnagupta, starter of Gupta
family 36
- Kshatriyas 80; 81; 82; 84; 86; 87; 93;
94; 105; 114; 121; 151; 161; 162; 165;
175; 197; 189; 191; 196; 198; 200;
204-5; 217; 226; 233-4; 238; 242; 243-
5; 254; 262-66; 285; 289; 274; 281;
284; 304-5—characteristics 70-2;
74; according to Hieun Tsang, 59;
61-2; 65-6
- Kshauma 91
- Kshemapāla 227
- Kshemendra 262
- Kshemagupta 226; 194; 196; 201
- Kshirasvāmin 215
- Ktesias 255
- Kubhā (Kabul river) 190
- Kubjavishnudvardhana 297; 298;
303-5
- Kulakarana 310—i 159
- Kumārapāla charita 159
- Kulaputras 144-45
- Kulinda or Kuninda (Kunet) 380
- Kulu, Himālayan State 380-3
- Kumāra 104; 143; 267—rāja 10; 29;
30; 36; 38-40; 43 44
- Kumāra Gupta 33; 35; 97; 246
- Kumarilabhatta 273
- Kumāra Vishnu 283; 284; 285
- Kundala Kesari 321
- Kuntāditya 305
- Kundalas 259; 262; 275; 289; 299
- Kuram, Pallava grant, 190; 294; 296
- Kuru, Kurus 120
- Kurukshetra 261
- Kushanas 64; 104; 173
- Kushīnagara 28
- Kuttinīmata 216
- Kuvalayāpīda 214
- L
- Ladi 179; 184
- Lagaturman 199
- Lākhas 86
- Lalitāditya Muktaṭpīda 204; 207-15;
218; 238; 240; 271; 300; 301
- Lalliya, 194; 196-7; 199; 201; 222-3
- Lampāka 17; 191; 192
- Lānchhana 155; 308
- Laubitya (Brahmaputra) 1

Laukika era 17; 44; 194; 202; 222
 Lavata 224; 236; 241
 Letham R. G. 88
 Lichhavis (of Nepal) 375-7
 Lohara 195-7; 226-7; 231; 235-36
 Lokāditya 290
 Lokamahādevī 303;
 Lokāyatikas 111
 Lohānas 183; 161; 164-66; 189
 Lunar race 71; 72; 80; 82; 261; 268 .

M

Mādhava 143--gupta 34-40-sena 80
 Madhyadeśa 26; 80
 Madhubana inscription 35; 38
 Madhurāntakī 299
 Magas 256
 Magadha 103; 173; 212
 —kingdom of 29; 34; 37; 39; 67
 Mahābalipura 290
 Mahābhāśya 215
 Mahādandanāyaka 138
 Mahākāla 104; 210
 Mahākshapatalika 131
 Mahammad Ghorī 188; 197
 —Kasim 19; 20; 165; 169; 170-186
 192; 205; 208; 248
 Mahmud of Ghazni 27; 117; 187-8
 194; 197; 199; 228; 200; 201; 216
 Mahāpratihārī 209
 Mahārāja 131; 154
 Mahārājādhirāja 34; 154; 307
 Mahars 260
 Mahāratha, Mahāratta 262 &c.
 Mahārāshtra (Dandakāranya) 12;
 64-5; 79; 80; 116; 129; 140-1; 158;
 239; 254-5; 258; 262-5; 269 271;
 273-5; 283-8; 286-8; 292; 302; 304
 306; 308; Settlement of—391—
 Political history of—80-82
 Mahāsāmanta 22; 31-2; 34; 246
 Mahāsāndhivigrahika 209
 Mahāsena Gupta 33-38
 Mahāttāra 145; 156
 Mahāśvaśāla 209
 Mahendravarman 260; 287; 288
 Mahendravādi 290; 291
 Maheśvarapura 24; 362

Mahī 252
 Māhishmatī 80
 Mahomedanism 18; 182; 191; 213
 Mahomedans 88; 26; 40; 72; 92; 116
 125-6; 130; 150; 154; 160; 169; 171;
 175; 177-86; 188; 192-4; 212; 227;
 232; 233; 235; 239; 240; 275
 Maitrakas 242-245
 Makara Torana 267; 308
 Malwa (Molapo) 13; 22; 24; 25; 36-
 7; 38; 40-7; 153; 209; 228; 249; 253;
 269; 360-1
 Malla-Vishnuvardhana 308
 Malaya 158; 260
 Malayakūta or Madura 32
 Malkhed 292; 305; 306
 Mallot (capital of Sinhapur) 382
 Māmallapura 289; 290
 Māmandur 290-91
 Mamasch or Mamach (map of) 191
 Mammata 236
 Mānavya 72; 81-6; 265-6; 274; 269; 284
 Mandala 129; 130; 137; 140; 141
 Mandaleśvara 137
 Mandi (Himalayan state) 389
 Mandsaur 87; 208
 Mangi Yuvarāja of Vengi 309; 311
 Mantris 148; 306
 Manucci 145
 Marathas 63; 64; 67; 68; 74; 76-88;
 125; 145; 210; 212; 224; 249; 258;
 262-66; 269-70; 272; 281; 286; 305-7
 Marcus Aurelius 14
 Maskaris 111
 Mātangas 260
 Mathurā 80; 286
 Matipura 28
 Matrigupta 36; 45; 46-7
 Matsya Purāṇa 352
 Mattah 163
 Mattavilāsa prahasana 291
 Maukharis 1; 3; 26; 33; 34; 36; 39;
 40; 41; 61; 62; 70; 122; 243
 Mauna or Mona 380
 Maurya 19; 154; 161; 253; 269
 Max Muller 109; 114
 McCrindle's Ptolemy 151; 161; 191
 Megasthenes 61; 90; 151
 Meghavāhana 113; 203; 221

Mekran (Indus) 163; 170; 192; 211
 Mewad, kingdom of-25
 Mid-India 25-26; 242
 Mihirakula 18; 46; 117; 120; 200; 203
 Mīmāṃsā 112; 273; 111
 Mihiradatta 206
 Mitra 243
 „ sarmā 209; 215
 Mlechha 261; 203; 392;
 Mokah Bassaya 175-78; 181-2
 Molapo 113; 243
 Mongolians 83; 84; 173
 Moshanāśva gotra (Champā) 378
 Mukṭāpīda 207-8 (see Lalitāditya)
 Mūlasthānapura (Multan) 18; 20
 Multan 102; 163; 183-89-Fort of-384-
 87 note. temple of the sun at-386-7
 Mummuni 216
 Mundas 351-2; 381

N

Nādu (Tehsil) 285; 129; 140
 Nagarkot 223
 Nagarādhīsha 234
 Nāgas 262-3; 80 -vamśa 82-86; 203
 -vana 135-264; 284
 Nandigupta 226; 274; 292
 Nandipotavarman 289; 278;
 292-3
 Nandipura 251
 Nasik inscriptions 284; 295; 261; 133
 Narendra Mrigarāja 305
 Narasinhavarman 288-9; 290; 278;
 281; 32
 Nath (nose ornament) 145
 Nāgara 254-6; 176; 156
 Nāgāditya 25
 Nāndi (a drum) 153
 Navasari 252-3; 297
 Nepal 278; 216; 43 (history of-)
 364-376 (-era) 376
 Newars (people of Nepal) 365
 Nerun (town in Sind) 188; 191;
 172-4
 Nesfield, opinion of-77
 Nila 271 Nilapītha 139-mata 202
 Nivartana (or Bigha) 133
 Nolambavādi 158
 Nonaka 230
 Nona Matha 206

Northern India 113; 206; 209; 198;
 238; 218; 158; 10-1
 North Kanara 269
 North Konkan 269; 79
 Nriparudra (of the Haihaya
 family) 305
 Nripatunga 293
 Nūrpur (see Udumbara)
 Nyāya 109

O

Odra or Orissa 319; 304—kings of
 318-326
 Officers' pay 141
 Ordeals, Kinds of-139
 Ondh 40; 73; 245

P

Pādapītha 153
 Padāvarta 133; 157
 Padhihāra 85; -rihāra 83; Pra -223
 Paithan 73; 79; 159; 259; 260-1-2-4-5;
 282-6; 379;-ikas
 Palakka 286;-ada 289
 Pālidhvaja 277-ketana 267
 Pallavas 32; 210; 258; 266-8-9; 270-
 1-2-4-7-8-9; 287; 290-2-7; 304
 Pālave 258
 Palhava theory 280
 Pāṇchāla 26; 120-2; 87
 Pancha-Dravidas 67-Gaudas 67
 Panchamahāśabda 152
 Pāncharātrikas 111
 Panchāyats 138; 263
 Pancha Pradhānas 306
 Pārakhi Shāstri 37-8
 Pāndu -rāshtra 314
 Pandyas 32; 260-1; 271-3-4-5-7-8-9;
 290-1-2-5-7; 305
 Pānini 79; 259; 262
 Panjab 1; 11-7-8; 60-1-3; 74-5-6-7; 81-
 8; 100; 143; 162; 186-7-9; 190-1-7
 201-5-6; 217-8; 223; 238; 242-4; 253-
 6; 382-8. Why still Aryan 389-
 394; accustomed to foreign rule
 though Aryan 394
 Parama Bhattāraka 2; 11; 154; 248
 Paramāras 22; 81-7
 Parameśa, -śvara 33; 1-4; 248 288;
 290-1; 307
 Parānta 252
 Pārāśaris 107-8-9

INDEX

x

Pārasāva 62
Pārasika 277; 343
Parihāsapura 212-3; 238
Parishad 139
Parivrājaka 155
Pāriyatra 28; 70
Pārtha (Kashmir king) 284-5
Parvagupta 226
Parvata 18 20
Paśupati (temple in Nepal) 367
Pāśupata 104-9 122
Pātaliputra 24-7; 154; 163; 262
Patañjali 80; 215
Patels-Patils 130-1; 145
Pāthak Prof. 153-7
Pathankot (Paithan) 379
Pattabandha 152
Pattavardhana 85; 305
Patwari 130-1
Paundravardhana 29; 215; 334
Persians 151-4 161-8-9; 190 1-2-7;
209; 232; 255; 280
Pilośana 28; 49
Police (chāta) 132; 156
Prabhākara,-vardhana 2; 18; 21; 36-
8 41; 83-5; 91-7-8; 137; 152
Prabhākaradeva (Kashmir) 194;
201; 223-5
Prabhāsa 255-6
Prabhu 307
Pradhāna 306
Prāgjyōtishapura 211
Prāgvamśa 137
Prahāda temple (Multan) 388
Prapā 135-7
Pratapāditya 45 (Kashmir) 207
Pratāpaśila 40-6-7
Pratihāri; 153-4
Pratisāraka 157; 249
Pratishthāna 79; 194; 259; 262; 286;
379
Pravarasena 44-5-6; 203; 238
,, (Vākātāka) 150; 133; 352
Prithu (Kashmir) 225
Prithvīchandra 222
Prithvirāja 27; 81; 175
Prithvīvallabha 155; 269; 277
tolemy 261

Pulakeśin I 269; 273-7; 266; 298
Pulakeshin II, 32; 81; 141; 154; 270;
288; 297 (Gujarat Br.) 252
Pulumāyin 280
Punāch 205
Pūrnavarmā 29
Purdah system 94
Purāṇikas 111
Purushapura 190-6; 200
Pushyabhūti 66; 72; 104; 122

R

Rajapura or Rajaori 205; 223; 235
Rajamahendra (of Kānchi) 304
Rajarāja 303
Rajasinha 290
Rajasthānīya 70; 137; 157; 235; 249
Rajendra 303 (Chōda)
Rajput 65; 70; 2-3; 86-7; 143-5; 165-
7; 175; 184-7-9; 191-7; 246-7; 264;
274
Rājyapāla 198
Rājyaśrī 2; 6; 21; 33; 36; 91-3-6-7
Rājyavardhana 2; 4; 24; 30; 34; 38;
Raktabāhu (of Orissa) 39
Ramal (sand desert) 167
Raṇapāla 192;-6
Raṇarāga 269
Raṇastute grant 267; 298;
Raṇāditya 44-5; 122
Ranka (traitor of Valabhi) 249
Raor (town in Sind) 178; 180-1
Rāshtra 129, 140-1
Rāshtrakūta 80-2; 117-8; 265-9;
274-7; 292-3; 306-6-7-8; 361
Rāshtrapati 157-8; 249
Rāstrikas (see Rattas)
Rāsil (Sind) 167; 177
Rāthods 70
Ratnapura 80—of Kosala 346-6
Ratnākara (poet) 240
Rattas 80-1; 210; 301-5
Rattā queen of Vengi 301
Raverty Major (historian o
Afghanistan) 190-2
Ravikīrti 70
Records 139
Revolution in Sind 1
Risley Sir H. 63; 75-9; 190

Rohitaka (country) 206
 Rūdhabhārodhi (Begar) 241
 Rudrapāla 195; 227-8; 239

S

- Sabak Tegin 193
 Śabarāsvāmin 273
 Śābdikas (grammarians) 111
 Sachivas (ministers) 148
 Sadāvarta 136; 157
 Sāhasī 16; 18-9; 20
 Sāhira (ŚrīHarsha) 167
 Sahtas (Sind people) 183
 Śaivas 111; 254; -aites 219; 289; 290-
 —ism 109; 286; 291
 Śakala (Sialkot) 1; 18
 Śaka 61; 79; 82-4; 282; era 275; 292
 Śalihotra 143; 159
 Śālivāhana 73; 262-3 (Śātav.)
 Sāmmas 175; 183-9; 220
 Samarapati 197
 Sāmāni 152; 193-4
 Sāmanta 144-7-8; 152; 201; 206
 Sāmantadeva (Kabul) 197
 Samatata (E. Bengal) 30; 331
 Samkshobha 136
 Samudragupta II; 73; 105-6; 207-8
 210; 283-4
 Sāndhivigrahika 149; 234
 Sanghārāma 108
 Sangrāma 195; 201; 224-6-7
 —-pāla 235; -āpīda 215-8
 Śankara 30; 339
 Śankaravarman 193; 201; 222-3-4,
 exactions of-240-1
 Śankha 144; 153-5
 Śankhadanta 216
 Śaktivarman 303; 310-1
 Sankāśya 28
 Śankata 224
 Saptasindhu 190
 Saptatantavas 111
 Śārādā 213-9; 238
 Śārdūlavarmā 34
 Śarvavarmā 26; 33-4-9; 40-1
 seal of-(original) 398
 Saśānka Gupta 3; 10-1; 30-1-4; 327
 Śātavāhana 80-1; 266-7; 274; 282-3
 Śātahani Ratta 282
 Sati (custom of) 97
 Satyāśraya Pulakeshin 31-2
 Śaulkika 157; 249
 Śauraśeni 254
 Saurāshtra 209; 210; 242-4-5-6; 251
 Sauvīra 162
 Scythian (ic) 61-3-4-5; 76-7-8-9; 82; 88
 Scytho-Dravidian 78-9; 82;
 Seal of Harsha 2; 150
 Senāpati 71; 155; 244-5-6; 307
 Senānandarāja 270
 Sendraka 270-5
 Śesha -vamśa 82-6; 262
 Sham (Syria) 169
 Shahī 109-dynasty 199-201
 Shah Mir 232
 Shintu or Hintu 59
 Sibi 192-3; 172
 Siddharāja 156
 Sikhs 76; 87
 Śilāditya (of Malwa) 8; 121-3; 25;
 38-9; 40; (coins of) 40; (history)
 44-5-6-7; 113; 131
 —(of Valabhi) 247-8-9
 Sind (revolution in) 161-7, conquest
 of-by Arabs 198-186
 Sindas 86; 274
 Sinhapur 17
 Sinhāsana 153
 Sinharāja 226; 194
 Sinha (suffix) 72
 Sinha Vishṇu 284-6-7
 Sisodias 19; 20; 70; 242
 Śiva (worship) 104; 206; 228; 247
 271-4
 Śivadeva of Nepal 375
 Śivaskandavarman 280
 Siwistan 162-3-7; 172-3-4
 Skandagupta 24; 60; 105; 146-8; 245
 Skandaśishya 283
 Skanda Purāṇa 251-56-9
 Smith Sir V. 196-9; 214; 228; 270
 280; 298—see Vincent Smith
 Sodha (people in Sind) 189
 Solankhi 70; 82; 254-8
 Solar race 71-2; 81-2-8; 268
 Soma 64-vamśa 82
 Spalapati 197

Śraddha 98
 Śramaṇas 30; 164
 Śrīkantha 137
 Śrughna 28; 381
 Stambhapura 256
 Stein 200-2; 210; 232-5-9; 240
 Strīrājya 211
 Stūpas 104-8
 Sungas 125
 Sudras 18; 19; 60-2-3-5-6; 71-2;
 characteristics of-75; 87; 106 120-1
 161-5-6; 173-4; 189; 205; 262-3; 292
 Sugandhā 194; 201; 224-5
 Sumras 189
 Sun-worship 255-6; 386-7-temple
 in Orissa 326
 Sungas 163
 Surasena 261
 Sūrya-varṇa 71; 82
 Sūrpāraka 79
 Sūryamati (saintly queen of
 Kashmir) 228
 Sussala 232
 Susthita Varmā 34
 Suyya, Kashmir minister 221
 Suvrati 252
 Svetapatas 111
 Svāmi 69; 213; 273
 Suvastu (Swat) 17

T

Tādapa (E. Chalukya king) 302
 Tailoring introduced by Turks 90
 Tājikas (Arabs) 253
 Tamil 129
 Tāmralipti 122; 301
 Tantris (Kashmir soldiers) 224-6;
 234
 Tārāpīda (Kashmir king) 207-8
 Tantric Śiva worship 104
 Taxila 7; 205; 176
 Taxation 120; 128
 Tekka (Takshaka) 17; 18; 20; 25;
 384-5; 206—Deśa 222-3 235
 Telagu (language) 262; 290; 304-5
 Telanga 304
 Tellaru (battle of) 293
 Thakkiya 222-3; 216
 Thaneśar, Kings, Genealogy of-37;
 41; 47; 72

Thatta (Sind port) 187
 Tīrthikas 103
 Tonda Māṇḍala 129
 Toramāṇa 46; 223; 201; 196; 194; 197
 Toṇi 183-4; 252
 Trātā (suffix) 72
 Traikutakas 252
 Treachery or treason 124
 Trigarta (Jālandhara) 383; 222-3
 Trikalingas 304-5
 Trilochana Pallava 267-Pāl (Kash-
 mir) 227; 207; 195-7 198-9
 Tripura 269
 Tujjina 224
 Tukkharaś 211-3
 Tuluva 357
 Tunga (a Kashmir general) 226; 195
 Turan 211; 200
 Turks or Turushkas 227-8; 236; 117-
 8; 83; 191; 211; 213; 200; 195; 195;
 199; 223
 Turki Shahiya kings 199

U

Ucohala (king of Kashmir) 231
 Udayana 267-8
 Udabhāṇḍapura (Wahind) 200; 222
 Udbhata 213; 237-6—āṇkārā 215-
 Udumbara 379
 Udranga (land-tax) 132
 Ugradanda 290
 Ugrasena 286
 Ugrians 83
 Ujjain kingdom of-23-5; 36; 38; 47;
 65; 216; 275; 263; 277; 286; 360
 Umra, Umrakot 189
 Untouchables 75
 Uraśa (country) 7; 223; 265; 235-6
 Uśavadāta 282
 Utkarsha, Kashmir king 230; 235
 Utkocha (bribe) 239
 Utpala 218-dynasty (Kashmir) 21

V

Vaiśyas 59; 74; 84; 105; 114; 121;
 152; 165; 173; 203; 205-6; 226; 233;
 243; 256; 266
 Vajrāditya 214
 Vajrāyudha of Kanauj 340
 Vākātaka 69; 105; 150 155; 265; 272
 Vākpatirāja 209

Valabhi (Kathiawar eastern) 14;
 ...20; 21; 251; 45; 46; 70; 71; 72; 210;
 235; 25; 253 256 used Gupta era;
 40 dynasty genealogy 250-admini-
 stration 156-58
 Valas 254
 Vallabha 210; 267; 308
 Vāmana 216
 Vanga 31; 122; 330-1
 Varāhamihira 129; 143; 252; 275;
 Vārāhi, idol of-(Orissa) 323
 Vardhanas of Molapo, 104; 122; 173
 203; 256; family 26; 33; 36; 62; 66; 73
 Varmās 235; 37; 39; 41; 62; 69; 72
 Varṇas 244; 307
 Varṇa-mixture prevented 71
 Varṇis 109; 111
 Varshavara or eunuch 154
 Vartmapāla 157; 249
 Vārunika or Deo Barnak 33
 Vasantadeva of Nepal 371
 Vāsishthī-putra 264
 Vātāpi 210; 263; 271; 272; 269; 288; 297
 Vatsarāja 172, 278
 Vāyu-Purāṇa 352
 Vedic, times—state of-120 sacri-
 fices 273—sanyāsa 107
 Vellur plate 283; 291
 Vengi 210; 269; 267; 275; 289-Rāsh-
 tra 206
 Veṇī (hair braid) 95
 Viśiṣā 361
 Vijayāditya 210; 267-8 272, flight
 of-277; 305
 Vijayamalla 230
 Vijayapāla or Vijayasena 244
 Vikramāditya 270-273; 288 289; 290
 292; 44; 47; of Pandava clan in
 Nepal 360; 370; 379
 Vikrama Samvat 276; 386
 Village administration 134; 137
 Vimalāditya 29; 267
 Vinayāditya 29; 216; 271; 277; 288
 Vindhyaśakti 265; 352
 Vincent Smith, Sir—on Maukha-
 ris 369 on Bāna 58 on Gujars 83,
 condition 11, ...
 Shahis of Kabul 199; on Turks
 in Kashmir 228; on Arjuna after
 Harsha of Kanauj 333
 Virachoda 300; 303; 308

Virakūrcha 284
 Vishaya or Tahsil 129; 130; 137-
 8; 140-41; 158; 306
 Vishaya-pati 137; 157; 259
 Vishṇu Gupta king 329
 Vishṇugopa 283; 286
 Vishṇumati river of Nepal 263
 Vishṇu Purāṇa 265; 352
 Vishṇuvardhana Kubja 208; 267-8;
 287; 295; 300
 Vivita 135
 Vrātya Kshatriya 244; 379
 Vrishadeva, king of Nepal 371
 Vyāghramukha 21; 25; 321; 325; 356

W

Wahind (Udabhānda) 200
 Watson Major on Valabhi line 245
 White India (Kabul) 191-2
 Widow, braid-95 clothes white 95-
 remarriage prohibited 95, tonsure
 not practised 95
 Wright Dr. historian of Nepal
 366-8

Y

Yaduvamśa 261; 307
 Yādavas 26; 81-2; 189
 Yajña or sacrifice 105; 273
 Yajnasena 80
 Yajnavarmā 34
 Yākub Lais 199; Saffavi 207
 Yaśaskara (Kashmir) 225-6
 Yaśodharman, 36; 45-7; 87; 153;
 208-9; 359
 Yaśomatī queen of Tharasar 3; 38-9
 Yaśovarman of Kanouj 214
 Yayāti Kesari 320
 Yavanas 257; 263; 351-nis 151-4;
 Yekangabaj (soldiers) 235
 Yoga 103 & c.
 Yudhāmalla, king of Vengi 302
 Yudhishtira II (Kashmir) 44
 Yue-chi 84; 88
 Yuvarāja

Z

Zabul (Ghazni) 160
 Zajoti Kingdom of-24
 Zantabil, title of Kabul kings 196
 Zim battle of-(Sind) 187

ERRATA

Incorrect	Correct	Page	Line
Yaśodharma	Yaśodharman	1	21
India a	Indian	16	24
यत्तीतेषु	व्यतीतेषु	30	4
Mahārājādhirāā	Mahārājādhirāja	34	38
brother-in-law	brothers-in-law	35	55
भृन्मूर्ध्नि	भूभृन्मूर्ध्नि	39	29
his	its	44	6
Yaśodharma	Yaśodharman	45	14, 26, 37
on	son	46	29
Yaśodharma	Yaśodharman	47	7 &c.
अन्यत्रा	अन्यैरत्रा	47	38
Budhist	Buddhist	48	2
Laghman	Lamghan	48	9
capita 'a-	capital Śa-	48	25
besides	beside	52	15
them	Sanghāramas	52	14
Dravid	Dravida	54	16
gingle	jingle	58	30
Honorific	honorific	69	10
that	and that	82	35
can did	candid	83	27
months	mouths	84	13
county	country	84	14
Yaśodharma	Yaśodharman	87	29
at	as	88	15
fellow	below	89	31
seems	seem	105	3
Kalivarjas	Kalivarjyas	105	10
of such worship	worship of such	106	8
ino	into	113	24

ERRATA

Incorrect	Correct	Page	Line
much	even	117	36
सोपाकृतः	सापकृतः	132	23
mondapas	mandapas	137	11
is	was	138	7
गज्यकामात्यनट	राज्यलामात्यनट	149	22
मन्तव्यका	सन्तकाः	150	33
विश्रुत्य पूर्वा	विश्रुतपूर्वया	150	34
Lanchanas	Lanchhana	153	9
a'toun	a, town	161	21
whosoever	whomsoever	178	21
wholly wholly	wholly	189	42
Kharmarayaka	Kharmaryaka	197	26
ajaouri	Rajaori	205	38
Mitraśarma	Mitraśarman	209	17
Succintly	succinctly	220	4
प्रमये	प्रमयं	227	40
Scholars	scholars	242	32
him	Dhruvasena	243	18
Mankari	Maukhari	243	27
qualification's	qualifications †	243	30
decent	descent	244	7
Pratāpava-	Prabhakarav,	244	13
Bhattarta	Bhatārka	245	34
theee	these	245	44
Dhruvasena	Dhruvasena	246	25
कच्छेल	कच्छेल	253	38
मौये	मौर्य	253	38
क्षिणापथ	दक्षिणापथ	253	39
Vaishtiputra	Vāsisthīputra	264	4
Kamorin	Comorin	269	30
which	in which	272	31
state	examine	230	8
Mayadavollu	Mayidavollu	234	3
Kndurāhāra	Kudurāhāra	285	6
Pengi	Vengi	286	32
Dubreuil	by Dubreuil	287	20
भरति	भवति	294	20
पूज्या	पूजा	294	24

ERRATA

Incorrect	Correct	Page	Line
use in	speak	294	29
Smith's	South	298	11
Ind.	Ins.	301	11
reaccord	accord-	302	21
torn	took	314	31
in	on	316	30
Kamaha	Kamaka	316	40
adventures	adventurers	319	25
Oundh	Oudh	325	31
latter	last	328	35
Decca	Dacca	331	11
thatthey	that they	332	10
Assam	Assam ;	332	13
preceeds	precede	334	27
Parśurāma	Paraśurāma	344	25
prepondering	preponderating	348	24
They	There	349	44
गान्धकीरै	गान्धाङ्कीरैः	351	23
Kāinkila	Kainkila	352	34
भूपतया	भूपतयो	352	4
desappeared	disappeared	356	15
Vaiśayas	Vaiśyas	356	32
in	into	358	12
Chāpat	Chāpas	358	21
Valabhis	Valabhi	360	
tills	hills	364	28
Buddhits	Buddhists	367	28
Chachānamā	Chachanāmā	388	20
large	a large	391	14
Mahārathra	Mahārāshtra	391	18
rajā	rājā	394	19

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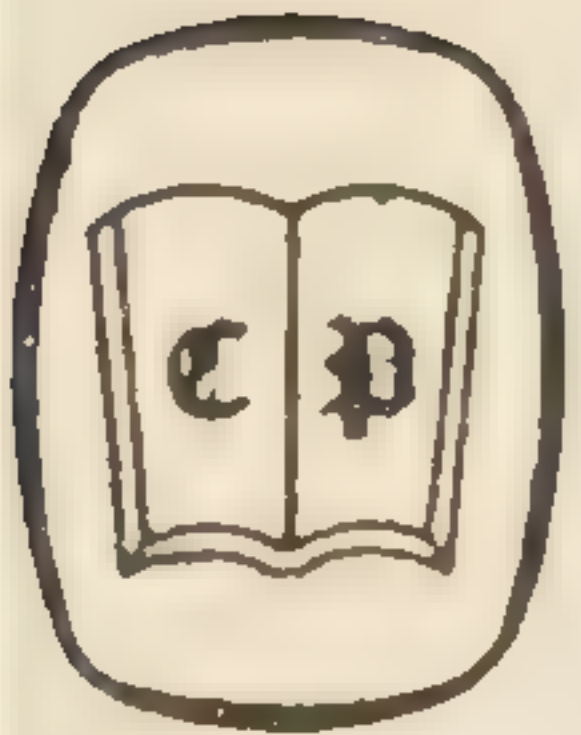
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CONTENTS.

BOOK III.

THE ORIGIN OF THE RAJPUTS.

CHAPTER.	Subject.	PAGE.
1.	The Rajputs	1
2.	Theory of Foreign Descent	7
3.	The Exploded Myth of Agnikulas	12
	NOTE—The Value of the Prithvirāja Rāsā	18
	„ The 36 Rajput Clans or Royal Families	22
4.	Are Agnikulas Gujars ?	27
	NOTE—The Skanda Purāṇa list of countries	39
	„ The meaning of the word Rajput.. .. .	43
5.	The Gotras of the Rajputs	49
	NOTE—Gotra and Pravara	56
6.	Aryan Settlements in Rājputāna	64

BOOK IV.

THE SECOND SET OF HINDU KINGDOMS.

1.	The Guhilots of Mewad and Bappā Rāwal	70
2.	The Successors of Bappā	77
	NOTE—Are the Guhilots foreigners ?	83
3.	The Chāhamānas of Sambar	90
4.	The Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj	98
5.	The Chāvadas of Anhilwad Pātan	114
6.	The Paramāras of Dhar	117
7.	The Chandellas of Bundelkhand	124
	NOTE—Smith's wrong view about the origin of the Chan- dellas	130
8.	The Kalachūris of Chedi	134
9.	The Pālas of Bengal	138
10.	The Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan	144
11.	The Other Kingdoms of India	157
12.	Contemporary Arab writers	162

BOOK V.

GENERAL SURVEY.

CHAPTER.	Subject.	PAGE
1.	Language	167
	NOTE—Extracts from Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India	173
2.	Caste and social Condition	175
	NOTE—The Smṛiti Law of Anuloma Marriage	193
3.	Religious Condition	196
4.	Kumārila and Śaṅkara	206
	NOTE—Date of Śaṅkara	218
5.	Political Condition	220
6.	Civil and Military Administration	229
7.	The 9th and 10th centuries A.D. the happiest period of Indian history	247

APPENDIX.

I.	The Solar and Lunar Races of Kshatriyas in the Vedas ..	259
II.	Some Inscriptions in the original	301
III.	Extracts from important Smṛitis showing the freer social intercourse of the period	308
IV.	Genesis of the dictum कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः.. .. .	312
V.	The Mahārāshtra kingly families were Marātha Kshatriyas ..	313
VI.	Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha on Bappā Rāwal ..	332
VII.	Recent Research and new light on the history of the period.	389
VIII.	List of contemporary kings from 750 to 1000 A.D.	
IX.	Map (religious and political) of India ..	
	Index	i—xxi

PREFACE

In this second volume of our history is presented to the reader the history of the second sub-period of mediæval Hindu history of India. As stated in the beginning of the preface to our first volume, the mediæval Hindu period of Indian History extends, according to our view, from 600 A.D. to 1200 A. D. roughly, i. e. from the accession of Harsha, the last Buddhist Emperor of India to the death of Prithvī-rāja, the last Hindu Emperor of India. This period of about 600 years curiously enough falls into three sub-periods of about 200 years each, in which appear on the stage of Indian history different sets of Hindu kingdoms. In the first volume we presented to the reader the history of the first set of Hindu kingdoms led by the Varmās of Kanauj and the Chālukyas of Badāmī. Indeed, throughout the Hindu period, Kanauj in the north appears to have been the acknowledged capital of India and there was always a competing kingdom in Mahārāshtra struggling to divide imperial honour with it in the south. These first imperial Hindu kingdoms at Kanauj and at Badāmī disappear about 800 A. D. with other kingdoms, and the second set of Hindu kingdoms come in, led by the Pratihāras in the north and the Rāshtrakūtas in the south. These again disappear about the end of the second sub-period, i. e. about

1000 A. D. and the history of this second set of Hindu kingdoms is presented to the reader in this volume. A third set of Hindu kingdoms appear hereafter led by the Gaharwārs of Kanauj and the later Chālukyas of Kalyan in the north and the south respectively ; and their history will be given in our third volume.

The most remarkable thing about the second set of Hindu kingdoms is that they are ruled by kings who call themselves Rajputs. In fact, the Rajput clans which exist today in India trace their descent to kings who established their rule about this time. And hence this period is conspicuously characterised by the rise of Rajput families. We have consequently given a second name to this volume, namely, the *Pristine History of the Rajputs* ; and this volume chiefly contains the initial account of several Rajput families. Even Tod, the historian of the Rajputs could not give this history in sufficient and well authenticated detail owing to the absence of the epigraphic material which has since been so amply collected. This history, therefore, will be particularly interesting to Rajputs and to all those who admire the noble qualities of that heroic race.

Who were these Rajputs is a question which has puzzled almost all European scholars and many Indian antiquarians. For most of the historians and researchers who have laboured to collect and interpret the epigraphic evidence relating to this period have been misled in this respect by the theory first put forward by Tod that the Rajputs are the descendants of the Getœ and other foreign races,

which invaded India from the first to the sixth century A. D. Kielhorn, Fleet, Smith, Buhler and Johnson and Bhandarkar D. R. and other Indian scholars who have laboured in this field and whose labours must be thankfully acknowledged here as on their elucidation of the epigraphic records of this period, this history is chiefly based, have been misled by this theory of the foreign descent of the Rajputs, and have represented them as descended from foreign peoples like Śakas and Hūnas, or in some cases aboriginal peoples like Gonds and Bhars of Central India.

But the riddle of the appearance of the Rajputs on the stage of Indian history about the middle of the eighth century A. D. has to be solved differently. The history of India is nothing if not religious. The march of events and the change of social or political conditions in India are dominated by religious upheavals, and thus the appearance of Rajputs at this stage of Indian history is to be explained by the nature of the religious events which took place in India at this time. Not only was the supplanting of Buddhism by the philosophy of Kumāṛila instrumental in reforming and re-enforcing Hinduism about 700 A. D. but the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, moving over the then known world under the influence of a new virile religion sent a shock through India and roused the forces of opposition to foreign faith and domination among the orthodox population. The Rajputs came forward under this impulse from among the ranks of the orthodox Khshatriyas of what is modern Rājputana

and Central India, where Hinduism was particularly strong (See Map attached to the first volume). And their successful efforts led to the establishment of new kingdoms under new kingly families. Thus about 750 A. D. the Guhilots of Mewad under Bappā Rāwal, the Chāhamānas of Sāmbhar under Sāmanta and the Pratihāras of Māndor under Nāgabhata, as the reader will see in this volume, obtained renown by their opposition to the Mlenchhas surging eastwards from Sind towards Rājputana for conquest as well as conversion. We find from inscriptions that these leaders of opposition were all orthodox Hindus worshipping Śiva, and we are led to conclude that the Rajputs were descendants of orthodox Vedic Aryans who fought for their independence and their ancient religion against the ferocious onslaughts of Mahamedan Arabs.

In Book III, in the beginning of this volume on the origin of Rajputs, we have, therefore, first answered the arguments which are usually advanced to support the theory of a foreign origin. And then we have given in chapters V and VI those arguments which strike one as going to prove affirmatively that the Rajputs are the descendants of Vedic Aryans. The reader's attention is particularly drawn to the chapter on the exploded myth of the Agnikulas or Fire-born septs, which had been the principal support of the theory of foreign extraction of the Rajputs, and which has now been proved to be baseless from the ancient records of the very families which believe themselves to be fire-born.

In the next Book IV we have given the history of the several Rajput kingdoms which were founded about this time and notably of the Guhilots of Mewad and the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj. In particular, it was necessary to examine the theory put forward by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar about the Guhilots of Mewad that they were Nagar Brahmins and hence Mers or foreigners !!! This theory suggested by the general idea about the foreign origin of the Rajputs, no doubt, finds apparent support (at least with regard to Bappā Rāwal, the founder) in the ancient records of the family. But this view cannot be sustained, as we have shown at length, on a careful examination of these records. And Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha has also no doubt that the Guhilots are Solar race Kshatriyas, as shown in a special note on the subject in the Appendix. It may further be mentioned that the date of Bappā Rāwal as traditionally believed in in the Mewad family, namely Samvat 191, was difficult of explanation, even from the days of Tod, and the solution which we have offered of this difficulty will, it is hoped, generally recommend itself to our readers. Finally, the statements of Arab writers about the various kingdoms of this period have been collected together and explained in a special chapter. Their evidence is very valuable for this period, as the evidence of Hiuen Tsang was with regard to the previous period.

As in the first volume, we have in the last book (V) taken a general survey of the condition of India during this period, and dealt with several important

topics such as language, caste, religion, political ideas and administration civil and military. It is necessary to draw the special attention of the reader to the chapter on Kumāṛila and Śankara, two master-minds which gave to Aryanism its present form after overthrowing Buddhism in India. Hinduism, as it exists today, was then formed and this religious upheaval led not only to the remodeling of religion, but also of the social and even political condition of the country. In fact, as stated before, the rise of the Rajputs was due to this religious upheaval and the idea firmly gained ground that only Kshatriyas or Rajputs could rule. These Rajput rulers were naturally of a highly religious turn of mind (witness Bappā Rāwal and others) and were men of high moral character. They were, what is strange to our sight, even abstainers from wine. Arab travellers have recorded that kings in India abstained from drink; and any one indulging in it was considered unfit to rule. This religious revival was instrumental in raising the moral fibre not only of kings, but of the people also and there being only one religion in the land, namely Hinduism, this period was according to our view, the happiest period in Indian history. In the last chapter, we have tried to show at length how this period was the happiest in many ways. In fact, in our Marathi edition of this history, we have styled it the history of the rise, the prosperity and the fall of Hindu kingdoms; and truly enough, this period is the period of the highest prosperity of Hindu kingdoms, from which, in the next

period they declined and eventually fell. Why they did so, is a very interesting and difficult question, which we shall have to deal with in our third volume.

We look upon the Rajputs as undoubted descendants of Vedic Aryans of the solar and lunar race, and there was no third race or *Vamśa*, according to our view (namely the *Agnivamśa*). In the Appendix, we have, therefore, re-published our paper read before the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S. on the Solar and Lunar Kshatriya races in the Vedas, which will show how this idea of two races goes back even to the Vedas. Next, some important inscriptions are given in the original Sanskrit for the benefit of Sanskrit-knowing readers. A question raised by Mr. Rajawade, the well-known historical researcher of Mahārāshtra, about the ruling families of the Deccan in this period, is next examined, as he has doubted their being treated as *Marāthās*. Rai Bahadur Gourishankar Ojha's views on Bappā Rāwal have been discussed in a special note, and some facts discovered in recent research and not embodied in this history have been noticed in a special appendix. A map of India, giving the political divisions in this period and showing in different colours the prevailing religions has been appended, and will be found as useful and interesting as the map appended to the first volume.

This volume is printed in Monotype and effort has been made, as far as possible, to secure correct printing for which thanks are due to Mr. C. R. Naidu, the Monotype-operator of the Jagaddhitecchu press,

Indian printing, however, has yet to make good progress and an errata is yet a necessary evil which has to be tolerated by the reader. An index, prepared by Mr. N. N. Kulkarni B. A., of the Bhandarkar Institute for which my thanks are due to him as also to Mr. M. R. Moghe B.A., LL.B., for the preparation of the index of the 1st Volume, has been added which will facilitate easy reference. The attention of the reader is particularly drawn to the statement, given at the end, of contemporaneous kings prepared for the period 750 to 1000 A.D. which will show at a glance what kings ruled in the several kingdoms of India at any particular time, and thus will assist the reader in understanding the history of India as a whole during this period (800-1000 A.D.). Lastly I have to thank Dr. N. G. Sardesai L.M. & S., Manager, Oriental Book Supplying Agency Poona for carrying the book through the press.

POONA,
February 15, 1924. }

C. V. VAIDYA.

BOOK III.

THE ORIGIN OF THE RAJPUTS

CHAPTER I.

THE RAJPUTS.

With the beginning of the ninth century A. D., the face of Indian history completely changes. Aryan India and Aryo-Buddhistic India have ended and Hindu India, as it practically is at present, is presented to us. Buddhism has entirely disappeared from the land, except in a few isolated places like Magadha. While, in the map appended to the first volume of this history, the reader finds about three-fourths of India painted rose, being Aryo-Buddhistic, in the map appended to this volume, nearly the whole of India is painted soiled red, being Hindu. But if Buddhism has disappeared from the land, Vedic Aryanism too exists no more. The sentiment of aversion to animal sacrifice had been too deeply implanted in the Indian heart to allow the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā doctrine which supplanted Buddhism to remain long supreme. In fact Buddhism and Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, so to say, killed each other. While respect for the Vedas revived and gained strength, respect for Vedic sacrifices was gone. The doctrine of the efficacy of the Vedic sacrifices inculcated by the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā no doubt gained credence for a time after the death of Harsha about 650 A. D.; but by 750 A. D., the aversion to animal sacrifice had again asserted itself so strongly that Vedic animal sacrifices died again and died finally. Modern India with its Hinduism does not countenance these sacrifices

and the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā doctrine is dead so far, along with Buddhism which it killed. The founders of the first set of Hindu kingdoms generally signalised their assumption of royal greatness by the performance of the Aśvamedha; the second set of Hindu kingly families which now began to establish themselves were indifferent to these sacrifices. The new kings were devout worshippers of the Puranic gods now enthroned supreme viz., the five deities of modern Hinduism, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Devī, and Gaṇeśha and chiefly of the first. The Śiva cult too of modern India is different from the same cult as it flourished in the previous period of Indian history. Its nature assumed a less revolting form and the offensive practices and the absurd doctrines which belonged to the Tāntric worship of Śiva of the days of Pushyabhūti, the founder of the Thanesar dynasty, were no more in vogue or obtained popular favour. Thus, religiously considered, modern Hindu India practically commences from about the beginning of the ninth century of the Christian era.

One most prominent feature of this Hinduism, a feature which subsists to-day in all its strength, is the strengthened belief in the sacredness of the cow and the bull. The cow has been sacred indeed from Vedic times; but Vedic ritual included the sacrifice of cows and bulls. The now strongly entrenched sentiment of Ahimsā, made the slaughter of cows and bulls even for Vedic sacrifices one of the five most heinous sins and even the maiming of cows came to be looked upon as sinful. Both Śiva and Viṣṇu worships which were now enthroned supreme contributed to this strong belief in the sacredness of the bovine animal. The bull was sacred to Śiva and the cow to Viṣṇu in his highest incarnation as Śrī Kṛiṣṇa. That great root cause of the terrible conflicts between Hindus and Mahomedans acquired its supreme influence at this time, an influence which subsists to-day in all its strength. In all Hindu States the killing or maiming of cows and bulls is even to-day a heinous crime under the Penal Code.

Socially also, modern Hindu India can be traced back to the beginning of the ninth century A. D. Caste was till then not so exclusive as it is at this day, nor had castes sub-divided them-

selves into minor ramifications. The final overthrow of Buddhism and the inclusion of people who had previously professed that faith in the Hindu society probably led to the formation of sub-castes in the next sub-period within the main castes and though the modern sub-castes can not be traced back to the ninth century or rather the second sub-period of Mediæval Hindu India, the origin of it and its probable cause may be traced to that sub-period, viz., the difference of local tendencies due to the conversion of Buddhists into Hindus worshipping Puranic deities. The food of the people again generally became vegetarian and the accentuation of this fact contributed its share to the formation of more sub-castes within castes in the next period.

What is more remarkable still is that the language of the people too changed markedly from this time. The modern vernaculars of India arose about this time for reasons which we shall try to elucidate in a separate chapter. It is sufficient here to state that the history of the modern vernaculars of India can be traced back continuously to this period and not beyond it; and hence it may be said, speaking historically, that the modern languages of India began to be formed about this time. While in previous centuries the ancient Prākṛits Sauraseni, Māgadhī, Mahārāshtrī and Paiśāchī or their Apabhraṇśas appear to have still been spoken, from the ninth century onward we find Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati and Panjabi appearing as new developed spoken languages of north, east, south and west India.

But the greatest phenomenon of this period was the rising into political prominence of new kingly families—families which subsist as kingly families down to this day. It may in fact be said that modern *political* Hindu India as it is to-day also commences from this period. This phenomenon is marked by Indian historians and Sir V. Smith among them properly observes that the Rajputs about this time enter upon the stage of Indian history. The former kingly families are gone. The Guptas and the Vardhanas who were probably Vaiśyas were the leading kingly families of India during the Aryo-Buddhistic period and there were foreign kingly families

also such as the Yavanas, the Śakas and the Hūnas. These gradually disappeared in the first sub-period of Mediæval Hindu India. There were some Kshatriya families then also who are described as Kshatriyas even by Hiuen-Tsang, but these did not call themselves Rajputs and the Maitrakas of Valabhī or the Varmas of Kanauj in the north and the Chālukyas of Badāmi and the Pallavas of Kāñchī in the south are styled Kshatriyas but not Rajputs. These too disappeared about this time and new Kshatriya families arose all over India at this time which delighted to call themselves Rajputs, not a new name, however. And the wonder is that these Rajput kingly families subsist, though with diminished importance, as kingly families to this day. Indeed there are no other kingly families at this date in the whole world which can trace their pedigree back in a continuous line to the 9th century A. D. For this reason alone if not for anything else, the Rajputs of India deserve a prominence peculiarly their own.

But the Rajputs deserve much greater renown than this. In fact their greatness as a chivalrous and valiant people has not adequately been realised by us. They shed a glory on the history of this time which deserves as great a record in the history of the world as the glory of the most heroic peoples in that history. The Śisodias of Mewad and the Chāhamānas of Sāmbar deserve the foremost mention in world's history for chivalry and heroism, for the orthodoxy of their faith and for the persistence of their struggle against a foreign faith and dominion. In fact, the flood of Arab conquest which westward inundated the north of Africa and pouring even over the straits of Gibraltar rushed into Spain and crossed the Pyrenees into France was only dashed to pieces against the rock of the valour of the Franks on the banks of the Loire. The flood of the same Arab conquest led by the same fanaticism of a new religion, which rushed eastward and engulfed Mesopotamia, Iran, and Baluchistan and crossing the Indus submerged Sind in India received its shattering at the hands of the heroic Gehlots. Had it not been for Bappā Rāwal who justly deserves the veneration in which his name is held by the Rajputs and who can fitly be styled the Charles Martel of India, the whole of India would have fallen before the Arabs and

to use the eloquent words of Gibbon, professors of the Arabian faith might to-day have preached to a circumcised population in the city of Benares. But this fate was averted by the heroism of Bappā Rāwal and his Rajputs and it is refreshing to observe that his descendants throughout their long and glorious history down to this day have always upheld the banner of independence and of Hinduism against the Mahomedan conquerors. The last upholder of Svadharma and Svarājya in Indian history was a descendant of this hero viz., Sivaji who fought with the Mahomedans in the Deccan and re-established the independence and the religion of the Marathas.

There is, however, one great difference between the Aryans of the west and the Aryans of the east. The Spaniards remained in a deadly grip of fight for a thousand years nearly with the Moors on the banks of the Tagus in Spain when suddenly the Moors lost in strength and were immediately overthrown by the Spaniards and driven out of Europe. In India the Arabs followed by the Turks remained similarly grappled in conflict for about five hundred years, near about the Indus, with the Rajputs, the Indo-Aryans. In this tug-of-war, however, the Rajputs eventually gave way and were overthrown by the Turks and the Afghans about the end of the third period of our history. Though the Rajputs preserved their independence and their honour, their religion and their valour in the sands and hills of Rajputana, India as a whole lay prostrate at the feet of the Mahomedan conquerors. The Mahomedans were not only not beaten back out of India as in Spain but they eventually engulfed the whole of this country. Why unlike their Aryan brethren of the West, the Rajputs of India failed is a question which the historian of Mediæval Hindu India has to answer and we shall try to do so in the volumes which are now before us.

Who are these Rajputs who arose at this time and for five hundred years at the least beat back the Mahomedan onslaughts and whence did they come? We have already said that they were Indo-Aryans, the most chivalrous representatives of the Vedic Aryans of India. They defended their ancient faith with heroism and may well be called the defenders of the Hindu faith.

Were they new proselytes to Hinduism from the ranks of foreigners, the remnants of Huns and Śakas, of Yue-chi and Geetœ as many European and native antiquarian researchers think? We propose to discuss this subject at great length in this book as in spite of the verdict of anthropometry that the facial characteristics of the Rajputs show them to be true Aryans, noted historians like Sir V. Smith still adhere to the theory that the Rajputs are the descendants of foreign peoples who invaded India about the sixth century A. D.

CHAPTER II.

THEORY OF FOREIGN DESCENT.

The Rajputs who now came to the front and who by their heroism diffuse such glory on this period of Mediæval Indian History can not but have been descendants of Vedic Aryans. None but Vedic Aryans could have fought so valiantly in defence of their ancestral faith. It is true that converts sometimes exhibit more virulence and more violence in the defence of their adopted religion but this is more by way of exception than the rule. It is, therefore, natural to infer that these Rajputs were the descendants of Vedic Aryans. Their own traditions also declare that they belonged to the well-known Solar and Lunar races of Kshatriyas, or as we have elsewhere interpreted the terms, that they were the descendants of the two hordes of Aryan invaders who in pre-historic times entered India by way of the Panjab and the Gangetic valley. Thirdly, anthropometric measurements taken at the time of the census of 1901 fully substantiate the claim of the Rajputs to Aryan descent. Their straight noses, their long heads and their tall statures unmistakably show them to be Aryans, as these characteristics of Aryan races have been marked all over the world. And many European observers like Nesfield and Ibbetson have no doubt whatever about the truth of this claim of the Rajputs to be treated as Aryans, as descendants of those ancient Kshatriyas who settled in India in Vedic times.

But inspite of ethnology, of tradition and of probabilities, other European historians and scholars and many Indian antiquarians believe and maintain that the Rajputs who now began to figure on the stage of Indian history were the descendants of foreign barbarian races. Tod the famous historian of the Rajputs no doubt started this theory but in his days historical research and the science of anthropometry were in their infancy,

were perhaps non-existent. But that historians like Sir Vincent Smith, after the discovery of so much historical material and the present progress of anthropometry, should still seek to forward the same theory is to be wondered at, nay, deplored. Setting aside the conclusions of ethnology "as of no use to the historian" Sir V. Smith observes (E. H. I. 3rd Edn. P. 322) on the origin of the Rajputs, "In this place I want to draw attention to the fact, long suspected and *now established by good evidence* that the foreign immigrants into Rajputana and the upper Gangetic valley were not utterly destroyed in the course of their wars with the native princes. Many of course perished but many survived and were mixed in the general population of which no inconsiderable part is formed by their descendants. These foreigners like their fore-runners the Śakas and the Yue-chi universally yielded to the wonderful assimilative power of Hinduism and rapidly became Hinduised. Clans or families which succeeded in winning chieftainships were admitted readily into the frame of Hindu polity as Kshatriyas or Rajputs and there is no doubt that the Parjhārs and many other famous Rajput clans of the north were developed out of the barbarian hordes which poured into India during the fifth and sixth centuries. The rank and file of the strangers became Gujars and the castes ranking lower than Rajputs in their precedence. Further to the south, various indigenous or aboriginal tribes and clans underwent the same process of Hinduised social promotion in virtue of which Goṇds, Bhārs, Kharwas and so forth emerged as Chandels, Rathors, Gaharwars and other well-known Rajput clans duly equipped with pedigree reaching back to the sun and the moon." The extract is long but necessary to show how European scholars and historians interpret the appearance of Rajputs in the history of India about this time and how they treat the most famous Rajput clans of the present day, the Guhilots and the Rathors, the Chandels and the Pratīhārs, as in reality either barbarians (Huns etc.) or aborigines (Goṇds etc.) in origin, in spite of their vaunted claim to Aryan descent.

Whether these Rajput clans which play so brilliant a part in Indian history both in mediæval and modern times are Aryan by descent or Scythian or Dravidian does not really matter in the

least. That they are a virile and a chivalrous people cannot be denied and their importance does not diminish by the supposed *descent* in their ancestry. But we are really concerned here with history, with the question whether this view of the origin of the Rajputs is historically correct. This view is supported if not originated by some Indian researchers like Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and naturally enough is also accepted by the last erudite editor of Tod's Annals of Rajastan. Mr. William Crooke who has just edited this famous history with notes based on up-to-date research thus observes in his introduction: "Recent research has thrown much light on the origin of Rajputs. A wide gulf lies between the Vedic Kshatriyas and the Rajputs of mediæval times which it is now impossible to bridge. It is now certain that the origin of many clans dates from the Śaka or Kushān invasions or more certainly from that of the White Huns who destroyed the Gupta empire about 480 A. D. The Gurjar tribe connected with the latter people adopted Hinduism and their leaders formed the main stock from which the higher Rajput families sprang. When these new claimants to princely honour accepted the faith and the institutions of Brahmanism the attempt would naturally be made to connect them with the heroes of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. Hence arose the body of legend recorded in these annals by which a fabulous origin from the sun and the moon was ascribed to these Rajput families" (P. XXXI). Mr. Crooke further on remarks "The group denoted by the name Kshatriya or Rajput depended on status rather than on descent and it was therefore possible for foreigners to be introduced into these tribes without any violation of the prejudices of caste, which was then only partially developed. But it was necessary to disguise this admission of foreigners under a convenient fiction. Hence arose the legend how by a solemn act of purification or initiation under the superintendence of the ancient Vedic Rishis, the *fire-born* septs were created to help the Brahmins in repressing Buddhism and other heresies. This privilege was confined to four septs known as Agnikula or fire-born—viz., the Paramār, Parihār, Chālukya and Chanhān." This long extract would also show how the latest English researchers do not believe in the generally accepted

view of the Rajputs that they are the representatives of Vedic Kshatriyas and it also shows how the now generally accepted legend about Agnikula Rajput families is twisted into a support for the theory of foreign descent started by western scholars and antiquarians.

We have tried in our first volume to refute many of these arguments. We have shown in that volume how Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's theory that the Gujars are foreigners (Khizars) who came along with the Huns in the beginning of the fifth century is baseless, inasmuch as it is admitted by even Smith that there is no historical evidence either of native tradition or foreign record to suggest, much less to prove that the Gujars *came* into India from outside about this time and further because we find that the history of the Khizars proves that they never left their own country. We also showed that the characters of the two people are diametrically opposed. While the Khizars are stationary in habits and traders by profession, the Gujars are of roving habits and cattle-grazers by profession. It was also shown that the Gujars of India are distinctly Aryan by features, that their noses are more prominent than the noses of even Parisans, that in short the whole theory based on the premiss that Gujars are foreigners is mistaken for the Gujars are not foreigners and Scythians but are distinctly Aryans. We will, therefore, not repeat in this volume what we have urged already in refutation of this theory. We have also shown that foreigners like the Huns and the Śakas could ~~not~~ have left many descendants behind, that ruling races generally disappear when their rule is gone. We will, however, address ourselves in this volume to the second part of Mr. Bhandarkar's theory accepted by Sir Vincent Smith and Mr. William Crooke that it is established *on good evidence* that the Rajputs are the descendants of Gujars. In fact we may say that while we have refuted the second premiss of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's argument in our first volume, we will in this volume try to refute his first premiss. For Dr. Bhandarkar's argument may in syllogistic form be stated thus: "1st The Rajputs are the descendants of Gujars; 2nd the Gujars are foreigners. Therefore, 3rd the Rajputs are the descendants of foreigners." We have already shown that the

Gujars are not foreigners but are true Aryans, and hence even if the Rajputs are descendants of Gujars they cannot be classed as Non-Aryans. But we go further and will prove in this volume that the Rajputs are not descended from Gujars but from Kshatriyas who may well be believed to be the representatives of the Vedic Kshatriyas. Dr. Bhandarkar's theory has been elucidated principally in his papers on the Gujars (J. Bom. R. A. S. 1903) and on Foreign Elements in the Indian Population (Ind. Ant. XXI). Many of his arguments advanced in these papers have been accepted by historians like Smith and Crooke from whom we have quoted above at length. These arguments have always derived a strong support from the tradition relating to the Agnikulas current among the Rajputs themselves. It is here that we see the immense value of research. For research has already established that this tradition or myth of Agnikulas is indeed a myth, a creation and a modern creation of a poet's brain ; and we see here how false traditions once set up by poets and accepted in popular belief not only delude the people themselves but even historians like Smith and Crooke and researchers like Bhandarkar and Johnson. Indeed one can demonstrate the value and usefulness of historical research by the example of this very baseless myth of fire-born races which has so strongly supported the theory of the foreign descent of the Rajputs.

CHAPTER III.

THE EXPLODED MYTH OF AGNIKULAS.

Gibbon, in explaining the doctrine of Transubstantiation, remarks truly that in popular belief what is originally rhetoric becomes subsequently logic. Most popular traditions arise in this way in poetical fancies which are eventually accepted as undeniable truths. No sane man believes that human races could have sprung from the sun or the moon. Such beliefs are certainly absurd, but the tradition of solar and lunar origins of Indo-Aryan races is of very ancient date and even goes back to the *Rigveda*. This tradition, therefore, absurd as it is, has a historical importance and we have already elsewhere noted the inference derivable from this tradition viz., that the Indo-Aryans must have come into India in two different hordes, an inference first suggested by Sir R. Grierson on linguistic grounds. The traditions similarly of the origins of different Rajput clans have some historical importance if they are of long standing and unvarying character. The tradition about the origin of Agnikulas might thus have been of use historically and might have supported the theory of foreign peoples being incorporated into Hindu society, if it had not been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that it originated in a poet's brain, nay it may be shown further that it is based on a misconception of that poet and is finally of quite recent date. Research has amply shown this but unfortunately western scholars have not sufficiently recognised the fact and drawn the necessary inference from it.

As is generally known, this story of four warrior clans having been created out of fire by Vaśishṭha was first told by Chand the bard of Prithvirāj in his epic the *Prithvīrāj Rāsā* on the exploits of this last chivalrous Rajput king. The story shortly is that when this world was oppressed by Rākshasas or Mlech-

chas, Vaśiṣṭha created from his sacrificial fire four warriors in succession viz., first the Paramāra, then the Chālukya, then the Parihāra and when these could not destroy the Rākshasas, the terrible Chāhomāna from whom the poet's hero Prithvīrāja was descended. This story along with the Rāsā became by and by extremely popular and was eventually accepted by all Rajputs and what is strange by the descendants of these four clans themselves. Naturally the great historian of the Rajputs Col. Tod accepted it and incorporated it in his history. These four clans, it is now currently believed, cannot trace their pedigree to the sun or the moon as the other Kshatriyas do, but are fire-born thus giving colour to the theory that these clans are really foreigners who have been transformed into Kshatriyas by the Brahmins by a fiction of purification by fire.

Now it will be a revelation to many to know that this story is not only a poet's fancy but further arises from a misconception of even that fancy. For as a matter of fact it seems that even Chand himself did not wish to represent that these Kshatriyas were *newly created* Kshatriyas. For epigraphic evidence unequivocally proves that these four or at least three of these, in the ninth century A. D., represented themselves as and were believed to be descended from the solar and lunar Vamśas. Thus the Pratihāra clan which established its empire at Kanauj which Dr. Bhandarkar and others strive to show to be Gujar in origin and therefore foreign is distinctly said in a stone inscription of the 10th century to belong to the solar line. This Gwalior Bhoja inscription is very important in this connection and states that the imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj were descended from Lakshmaṇa brother of Rāma, the hero of the solar race, Lakshmaṇa being Rāma's Pratihāra or door-keeper. As already stated we attach no value to such traditions except in so far as they represent the beliefs current at particular times. This tradition proves that the Pratihāra clan was in the ninth century treated as solar in race. How can Chand then in the 12th century represent these Pratihāras as Agnikulas? Similarly the Chāhamānas are also said in records previous to Chand's Prithvīrāj Rāsā distinctly to belong to the same solar line. The Harsha stone inscription (Ep. Ind. II. p. 119) gives the line of the

Chāhamānas from one Gūvaka and to our mind clearly conveys that this clan is solar in descent. (तन्मुक्त्यर्थमुपागता रघुकुले भूचक्रवर्ती स्वयम्.) Mr. Harbilasa Sarda of Ajmere has, in his paper in R. A. S. 1903 on Prithvīrāj Vijaya—a poem by a contemporary poet in the Darbar of Prithvīrāj himself, shown that the poem describes Prithvīrāj as born of the solar line. Hammīra Mahākāvya again declares that the Chāhamānas were descended from the sun, as also a stone inscription in the Ajmere Museum. It is, therefore, certain that from the ninth century down even to the thirteenth and the fourteenth, the Chāhamānas were considered to belong to the solar line of Kshatriyas. The third clan Solankhi or Chālukya of Anahillapāṭaṇ is, in epigraphic records described as belonging to the lunar line. It must be remembered that the Chālukyas of Badāmi were different from these. Here it is sufficient to state that these Chālukyas belong to the Bhāradvāja gotra and are so described even in the Prithvīrāj Rāsā. Now this gotra of these Chālukyas is given in an inscription of the Haihayas of Chedi. The Bilhari stone inscription (Ep. Ind. I. p. 253-9) states that Keyūravarsha Haihaya married Nohalādevī, daughter of Avanivarman Chālukya of the Bhāradvāja gotra. This inscription which has been assigned to the beginning of the 11th century A. D. gives a different version about the origin of these Chālukyas from that of the southern Chālukyas given by Bilhana as also by Eastern Chālukya kings and states that the first ancestor of these Chālukyas was created out of the water in his handful by Droṇa Bhāradvāja for *killing Drupada*, and hence belonged to his gotra. As Bhāradvāja belonged to the lunar line, the Chālukyas of Bhāradvāja gotra also belonged to the same line. Now since in this inscription, the Chālukyas were believed to belong to the lunar line and were also believed to be created by Droṇa, how can Chand in the 12th century represent these same Chālukyas as created by Vaśishṭha from his fire?

These three clans, it is now admitted by researchers (see introduction by Mr. Crooke himself to Tod's Rajasthan page XXXI) do not belong to the Agnikula creation origin, but the necessary inference from this is not drawn by them. If the Chāhamānas and the Pratīhāras, the two most important clans who

were supposed to be Gujars transformed into Kshatriyas by purification, are proved to be no longer Agnikulas but on the contrary were believed to be solar in descent in the 9th and 10th centuries, does not the whole theory of foreign descent fall to the ground? But this is not all. Even the fourth, the Paramāras are not Agnikulas as represented by Chand. In fact stone inscription records of these Paramāras from the 12th century though giving the origin of the Paramāras from the fire of Vaśishṭha, do not give the story of the Rāsā, but an entirely different story. Vaśishṭha is said therein to have created the first Paramāra to *chastise Visvāmitra* who was taking away the divine cow belonging to the former. The Udepur Praśasti for instance (Ep. Ind I.) gives this story and states that the gotra of the Paramāras is consequently Vaśishṭha. This gotra is still claimed by the Paramāras all over India and is also given by Chand.

How can then the story given by Chand in the Rāsā be taken to be a correct representation of the traditions prevailing in his time and in earlier centuries about the lineage of Pratihāras and Chāhamānas, of Chālukyas and Paramāras, and recorded even in contemporaneous poems? The only explanation is that either the Prithvīrāja Rāsā is a forgery, a later work produced in Mahomedan times when inscriptions had been forgotten, or that the story as given by Chand in his poem is misinterpreted. The authenticity of the Rāsā as a poem written by a contemporary poet is questioned by Shyamaldas Pandya. Our views on the subject will be given in a note as it is not necessary to discuss this subject here at length. For one can see and say that the Rāsā merely gives here a poetical *imaginary* story which has subsequently been taken to be a real story. These four races, we know, came to the front by their fights with the Mlechhas and hence have been brought together in this story. But it seems that the story even as given by Chand is misinterpreted and it appears that Chand did not intend here to set forth a third lineage for Kshatriyas viz., the fire in addition to the two well-known Puranic lineages the solar and the lunar. This is clear from the fact that Chand mentions only three lineages (1) the solar (2) the lunar and (3) the Yādava for the famous thirty-six

royal families enumerated by him. He does not give the Agnikula lineage at all but assigns the four supposed Agnikula clans the Parihāra, the Paramāra, the Chāhamāna and the Chālukya under the old two or three lineages. The enumeration of the 36 Rajput families in the Rāsā begins thus रवि ससि जाधव वंस । ककुत्स्थ परमार सदावर । चाहुआन चालुक, । छंदक सिलार आभियर ॥ Here it is clear that he puts the three Paramāra, Chāhamāna and Chālukya under the three old recognised Vamśas, the solar, the lunar and the Yādava. We think Chand's story has entirely been misconstrued. In describing the four warriors, Paramāra, Pratihāra, Chālukya, and Chāhamāna as coming out of fire at the call of Vaśishṭha, he did not intend to convey that these warriors were heroes *newly created* by Vaśishṭha. He simply wanted to convey that four warriors out of the already existing clans came out of the fire at Vaśishṭha's bid to fight the Rākshasas.

This story of Chand being so misinterpreted gained popular credence from the 16th century A. D. along with his now generally accepted Epic so much so that these four clans forgot that their ancestors in their historical records on stone represented themselves nowhere as Agnikulas but as solar and lunar race Kshatriyas. And their bards too forgot the fact so completely that a new Chand viz., Surajmal Bhata of Bundikota wrote another Hindi epic poem in glorification of his patron's family the Chāhamāna clan in which he completed the mischief caused by this misinterpretation of Chand, by assigning five Vamśas for the Kshatriyas. In this Vamśa-Bhāskara by Sūrajamal of Boondi we find the story of the Yajnakunda of Vaśishṭha given with greater detail, nay with the exact date when the first Chāhamāna warrior was created from the fire (the date comes to about 6632 B. C. being 3531 years before Kali began) and the following verse gives the five Kshatriya Vamśas which now for the first time were enumerated as भुजभव, मनुभव, अर्कभव, ससिभव, छत्रन वंश । है चउतिम, शुचैवंस हुव पंचम प्रथितप्रशंस. The Hādās of Boondi-Kotā accepted the new Vamśa assigned to them by their poet and thus the myth of Agni-Vamśa which at the earliest commenced in about 1200 A. D. became a logical fact in about 1700 A. D. when the four clans themselves accepted a new Vamśa for themselves. Col. Tod could not but believe

in this tradition and he set his final seal upon it by his well-known history of the Rajputs.

Such is in short the story of this Agnikula myth, a story begun in a poet's brain and being misconstrued by another poet finally commanding acceptance even from the deluded Rajputs themselves. The value of historical research cannot be illustrated more vividly than in the exploding of this myth from stone and copper records of these clans themselves. And we now clearly see that no such story was really put forth by Chand and that these four clans* represented themselves as and were believed to be solar or lunar by race in the 9th to the 13th century A. D. The theory of the foreign descent of these Rajput clans loses, therefore, its strongest support viz., the myth of purification by fire ; though it may still be contended by the propounders of this theory that these clans might as well have affiliated themselves to the solar or lunar race, as they are known to be Gujars from various records. We have, therefore, to examine the question whether there is any argument to prove that these clans of Rajputs are Gujars by descent.

* Even the Paramāras seem to be treated as solar race Kshatriyas, for the Paramāras among the Marāthas who have the same Vasishṭha gotra are treated as Solar-race Kshatriyas in their Vamśavalis

NOTE

THE VALUE OF THE PRITHVĪRĀJA RĀSĀ.

The *Prithvīrāja Rāsā* purports to be a poem composed by Chand Bardai, a friend and contemporary of *Prithvīrāja* who fought the last battle of the Hindus with Mahomedans for independence on the usual battlefield of India viz., the plain of Panipat in 1191 A. D. Kavirāja Śyāmaldās questioned the authenticity and the antiquity of this poem in a learned article published in *J. R. A. S. Bengal* Vol. V (1887), pointing out many inaccuracies of date and even of the histories of the several Rajput royal families of Rājastān and notably the fact that Samarasi king of Mewad, mentioned by the *Rāsā* as contemporary and brother-in-law of *Prithvīrāja* lived many years after him and could not have fought along with him at Panipat. The recent editors of this poem (published by *Nāgarī Prachārīnī Granthamālā* at Benares 1911) viz., Mohanlal Pāndya and Śyām Sunderdas, however, maintain that the poem is authentic and as old as Chand, the reputed contemporary of *Prithvīrāja* and have tried to answer the arguments adduced by Kavirāja Śyāmaldās. Sir Vincent Smith has long ago recorded his opinion that the poem has little historical value (1881 and also Note E. I. H.). It is necessary to give our view on the subject here, inasmuch as a history of the Rajputs cannot proceed without the help of this great epic in the Hindi language and especially that of *Prithvīrāj* must seek help from it.

In our opinion the epic *Prithvīrāja Rāsā* resembles the *Mahābhārata* in most essential points and especially in this question of its antiquity and authenticity. On this point truth lies half way between the two opposite views. While the nucleus of the poem is authentic and ancient, the poem has been amplified at least by two additions. As we have shown in our book-the *Mahābhārata Mīmāṃsā* in Hindi-the present *Mahābhārata* is the second amplified form of the original poem of Vyāsa (first amplified by Vaiśampāyana) given us by Sauti. Similarly it seems that *Prithvīrāja Rāsā* must have originally been written by Chand, then amplified by his son and again amplified by an unknown writer about the 17th century A. D. In many essentials too the two poems completely resemble each other. For example, the poet Chand is himself an actor in the plot of the poem in the same way as Vyāsa the poet of the great war is an actor in the great war itself. Again Chand could not have been invested with miraculous powers (expressed in the epithet Bardai) like Vyāsa by himself. It was either his son who invested him with these superhuman

powers or the last editor. And the poem is related by Chand to his wife just as Vaiśampāyana, Vyāsa's first disciple, recites his Bhārata to his patron king Janamejaya. These facts make it imperative that Chand's original work must have been amplified by others at least twice.

That we must concede an original nucleus by Chand cannot possibly be denied. This poem if fabricated by some unknown poet in the 17th century A. D. in the name of Chand, could not have attained that authority in Rajputana which the Rāsā unquestionably enjoys. In fact for the Rajputs the Rāsā enjoys an authority next only to the Mahābhārata. The Mahābhārata centres round a terrible fight, so lovable to a Kshatriya and the Rāsā too centres round the terrible fight which the Kshatriya warriors of modern India waged under Prithvirāja with the Mahomedans for independence. As Indian Kshatriyas love to trace their ancestry to some hero in the Bhārata fight like the Greeks who loved to trace their origin to the heroes of the Iliad, so the present Kshatriya families love to believe that some one of their ancestors was present in the fight of Prithvirāja with Ghorī. A spurious work cannot gain such popularity without the help of a nucleus of a generally popular well-known work of a popular reputed poet. If there had not been any poem of Chand Bardai in existence, an unknown poet could not have suddenly sprung a work upon the people under the name of Chand. Chand Bhāt like Vyāsa must have been a well-known poet among the Rajputs and subsequent poets must have only taken advantage of his name and work and tried to make additions not out of their imagination solely but on the basis of popular legends which always gather round national heroes and national bards and national events. In this respect also to our mind the Rāsā exactly resembles the Mahābhārata and as an original nucleus of the Mahābhārata composed by Vyāsa is conceded by all, so we must concede a similar nucleus by Chand for the Rāsā.

These subsequent additions to the Rāsā, it is, however, difficult to separate as in the Mahābhārata, though certain considerations can be adduced which will tolerably assure us that particular portions are additions. We have tried to indicate these considerations with regard to the Mahābhārata in our book 'The Mahābhārata : a criticism'; but we cannot make a similar attempt for the Rāsā which being in old Hindi is not as completely open to us for inspection.

It is, however, certain that the poem in being amplified has made a conscious attempt to imitate the Mahābhārata and we would point out a few glaring examples of this conscious similarity. In the first place the poem aspires to the same length as the Mahābhārata viz., 100,000 Ślokas which ponderous length appears to have become in India a traditional one. To write a शतसाहस्री संहिता* is the ambition of great poets and the Rāsā has partially succeeded in attaining this enormous length. Then again

* Mohanlal interprets सत सहस्र as seven thousand.

various outside legends have been incorporated into the poem, of great length, which of course is unavoidable if the poem is to reach its avowed portentous dimension. The great credit again of this poem as of the Mahābhārata is its numerous detailed and yet interesting descriptions of fights and battles. It is really difficult to describe ancient battles and much more difficult to invest them with different details which will invest each fight with an interest of its own. There is again a conscious attempt to describe different scenes and incidents and especially the different seasons, 'the poetic artifice employed by the Rāsā in giving a description of all the seasons together is indeed unique), to give an insight into different philosophies and into all kinds of knowledge, and to discuss the intricacies of government and administration and wordly life or Sansāra which, while it imitates the Mahābhārata, has a peculiarity and a beauty of its own establishing the claim of the poem to be called a great epic.

But what seems most interesting and similar is the conscious effort of the poet to introduce riddles after the fashion of the Kūta Ślokas of the Mahābhārata and many of these riddles are based like those in the latter on number. The most glaring example of this is the Ananda Vikrama era in which all the dates in the poem are given. We do not believe with Kavirāja Śyāmaladās that the dates given in the Rāsā are *Wrong*. The ingenious explanation of these dates given by Mohanlal Pandya appears plausible since we find that all the Samvat dates given in the Rāsā are mistaken by the same number 91 and this shows, as Mohanlal contends, that the poet has used a special era called Ananda Vikrama era which was either really in use or which the poet purposely invented. It is necessary to quote here the two verses which give the poet's first date and which in our view are riddle verses. They are as follows :— एकादससे पंचदह विक्रम साक अनंद । तिहि रिपुजयपुरहरनको भय प्रिधिराज नरिंद ॥ एकादससे पंचदह विक्रम जिम ध्रमसुत्त । तृतीय साक पृथिराजको लिख्यो विप्र गुन गुप्त ॥ २ ॥ Now Ananda here is not Ānanda as Mohanlal Pāndya rightly contends ; it does not suit versification nor can Ananda (taking benefit of the poetic license to shorten the first syllable of Ānanda) be poetically introduced here. But strangely enough the explanation given by Mohanlal does not also fit in as Ananda would simply mean less by *nine* not *ninety-one* as he tries to make out. Of course his view must be accepted that a new era has been constructed here which gives dates in the usual Vikrama era less by 91 ; but how to arrive at that figure from the word Ananda is a riddle. Then the next verse is equally a riddle. Mr. Mohanlal Pandya tries to make some sense out of it (Vol. I p. 145) by introducing Brahmagupta ; but firstly, विप्र गुन गुप्त cannot lead to Brahmagupta ; secondly, so far as is known, Brahmagupta never held that Yudhishtira preceded Vikrama by 1115 years. The Indian astronomers all hold that Yudhishtira Śaka at the beginning of the Vikrama Śaka was 3044. It is the Purāṇas, notably the Bhāgavata, which hold that Yudhishtira preceded the corona-

tion of Nanda by 1015 years. (यावत्परीक्षितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् । एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम्). It is probably this verse from the Bhāgavata which Chand has in his mind when he introduces Nanda in the first verse and Dharmasuta or Yudhishtira in the second. But it is still difficult to explain how Chand places 1115 years between Vikrama and Dharmasuta and in what manner he forms his third Śaka of Prithvīrāja. It seems that लिख्यो विप्र गुण गुप्त means that the Brahmin poet has written this in a riddle after making calculations and that there is no reference here to Brahmagupta the astronomer.

The view that Prithvīrāja Rāsā must have a nucleus by Chand himself and that it is not wholly a fabrication of the 17th century is strongly supported by the list of the 36 Royal Kshatriya families which is given by the Rāsā and which cannot be so late as the 17th century. The verse सोरोसे सतोत्तरे विक्रमसाक बदीत । दिल्लीधर चितोडपे लेवेगा बलजीति ॥ indeed records a prophecy that the Delhi Mahomedan emperor will take Chitod again in Samvat 1677 and may make this verse of the Rāsā an interpolation of the 17th century A. D. (Even in this the Rāsā resembles the Mahābhārata wherein as shown by us in Mahābhārata Mīmāṃsā there is a prophetic reference to Udayana). But that does not make the whole poem spurious and of so late a date. We will discuss the list of 36 Royal families in the next note and show that it cannot be of a date later than that of Prithvīrāja. The question whether Samarasi was a contemporary of Prithvīrāja or not we do not mean to discuss here as we shall have to discuss it in our third volume. Unfortunately we have not come across the explanation which Mohanlal Pandya has offered on this point and which he has reserved in his note on this subject (Vol. I page 145) in the Rāsā.

* If it were possible to make a guess, Nanda may stand for 91 which perhaps was the period of the reign of the nine Nandas and not 100 as stated in Purāṇas.

NOTE

THE 36 ROYAL CLANS OR RAJPUT FAMILIES.

It seems certain that from ancient times the Rajputs consider themselves as consisting of 36 Kulas or clans which are allowed to give and take daughters from one another. This confining themselves to a close group must have taken place about the end of the second or the beginning of the third sub-period of the Mediæval Hindu age, as we know that caste in the three Aryan higher grades was fluid during the first sub-period. For though the list of 36 clans cannot be traced earlier than the poem of Chand yet the number 36 is mentioned before him by Kalhana who wrote his *Rājataranginī* in 1148 A. D. (VII 1617 wherein it is said that the Rajputs in their pride would not concede a higher position to even the sun). And the enumeration by Chand seems to be as old as the days of *Prithvī-rāja* and cannot be treated a later interpolation as we shall presently show. Tod has given five lists of which one dates earlier than the *Rāsā* but he does not say how old this first list is ; it was obtained from a *Jati* in the old city of Nadol in Marwad but since it gives some names such as *Jhālā* which are of later date, it appears that the list in the *Rāsā* is really the oldest we have. The third list is from *Kumārapāla-charita* a contemporary work of Chand but it does not give 36 names. In short it seems that the *Rāsā* first enumerated the 36 and the enumeration together with the number has become traditional inasmuch as the *Rāsā* became to the Rajputs what Homer's *Iliad* was to the Greeks.

Strangely, however, there is a great discrepancy in the interpretation of these verses of the *Rāsā* and we think that even the latest editors of the *Rāsā* have misunderstood their meaning. We will first give the verses here for the curious reader and then give our rendering of them.

रवि ससि जाधव बंस । ककुत्स्थ परमार सदावर ॥

चाहुवान चालुक । छंदक सिलार अभीयर ॥

दोय मत्त (दोयमत) मकवान । गरुअ गोहिल गोहिलपुत ॥

चापोत्कट परिहार । राव राठोर रोसजुत ॥

देवरा टांक सैधव अनिग [अनंग] । यौतिक प्रतिहार दधिषट् ॥

कारट्टपाल कोटपाल हुल । हरितट गोरे कला [मा] ष मट ॥

धन्य [धान्य] पालक निकुंभवर । राजपाल कविनीस ॥

कालच्छुरकै आदि दे । बरने बंस छतीस ॥

The few variations given above in brackets are taken from the copy

of the Rāsā we personally saw and inspected at the Udepur Museum Library. Now people generally and Tod and even Mohanlal Pandya in the interpretation he has given in the recent edition of the Rāsā enumerate 1. Ravi 2. Śaśi and 3. Jādhava among the 36. But this inclusion would make the number more than 36 as we proceed to show. Let us take the list from the bottom so that we shall at once be able to see that

1. Ravi 2. Śaśi and 3. Jādhava cannot be included. These names are :—

1. Kālachchhuraka.
2. Kavinīsa (omitted by Mohanlal but not by Tod.)
3. Rājapāla.
4. Nikumbhavara.
5. Dhānya-pālaka (omitted by Tod but not by Mohanlal).
6. Mata (omitted by Tod.)
7. Kamāsha (Kalāsha).
8. Gaura.
9. Haritaṭa (omitted by Tod).
10. Hula. (Mohanlal wrongly interprets it as Huṇa).
11. Koṭapāla.
12. Kārattapāla.
13. Dadhishaṭ (Tod gives Didiot).
14. Pratihāra.
15. Yautika (Tod gives Pātaka).
16. Aniga (Tod gives Anaṅga).
17. Saindhava.
18. Tāka.
19. Deorā.
20. Rosajuta (omitted both by Tod and Mohanlal).
21. Rāthoda.
22. Parihāra.
23. Chāpotkaṭa.
24. Guhilota (Gohilaputra). [Tod mentions Gohil only.]
25. Gohila.
26. Garua (omitted both by Tod and Mohanlal).
27. Makavāna.
28. Doyamata.
29. Abhīyara.
30. Silāra.
31. Chhandaka.
32. Chālukka.
33. Chāhuvāna.
34. Sadāvara.
35. Paramāra.
36. Kakutstha.

Now we need not detain the reader on the inaccuracies of Tod as he has made out a list of 30 only by omitting many and even after incl.

ding wrongly 1. Ravi 2. Śaśi and 3. Jādhava. Let us, however, see how Mohanlal is mistaken in including these. He has first omitted (2) Kavinīsa which even Tod admits (20) Rosajuta and (26) Garua. It is not possible to suggest that Rosajuta is an adjunct of Rāthod which has already one viz., Rao (and which itself may be treated separately). And Garua cannot be an adjective of Gohila for though Guhilots were certainly famous Gohilas were not. It is thus that Mohanlal has been wrongly induced to add 1. Ravi 2. Śaśi and 3. Jādhava.

But the most convincing proof why these three cannot be included in the 36 is that these were never the names of any clans in the sense the other names are. For the chief importance of these clan names is that they are practically for Rajputs what gotras are for Brahmins in respect of marriage. No Kula or clan out of the 36 can marry in the same clan. A Chālukka cannot marry a Chālukka and a Chohan cannot marry a Chohan. Ravi, Śaśi and Jādhava, especially the first two are not clan names in this sense. They are the names of races in which the 36 clans may be grouped. The Suryavaṁśa, the Chandravaṁśa and the Yaduvaṁśa are the famous Vaṁśas of the Purāṇas and they do not indicate clans for purposes of marriage. There is no objection for a Sūryavaṁśī to marry a Sūryavaṁśī. As a matter of fact the Guhilots of Udepur and the Kachhavāhas of Jaipur are both Sūryavaṁśīs but they do intermarry. The Purāṇas also do not show that Sūryavaṁśa or Chandravaṁśa was prohibitive of marriage within itself. Rāma and Sītā were both Suryavaṁśī and so were Arjuna and Draupadī both Chandravaṁśī. In Purāṇic times the Kshatriyas were observers of gotras only and Rāma being of Vaśishṭha gotra and Sītā of Gautama gotra could marry. In modern times the Kshatriyas have adopted the clan system to determine who cannot marry whom, and as we have already shown, it practically fulfils the gotra law of the Smṛitis. The argument why Ravi, Śaśi and Jādhava cannot be treated as clans like the other names will, therefore, be clear and we are certain that Chand merely indicates here the three great vaṁśas or races in which all the following 36 were to be grouped. The word vaṁśa used here only is of importance and has a meaning different from the same word used at the end (बरने वंस छतीस).

The question may here be asked why the Yadu-vaṁśa has been separately counted when it comes under the Chandravaṁśa. But it seems that the Jādhavas were always separately counted from the other Chandravaṁśīs. Even in the Rigveda, the Yadu-Turvaśas are separately mentioned, the Turvaśas eventually disappearing. The Yādavas are again separately treated in the Purāṇas they having no right to be kings owing to the alleged curse of Yayāti. They were probably still pastoral in habits and hence their separate mention. It is, therefore, not strange that the Yaduvaṁśīs are separately mentioned from the Chandravaṁśīs. Their clans viz., Bhāti, Jadejā and others can intermarry as has already been shown and hence it is evident that Jādhava is not a clan like any of the 36.

It will be clear, therefore, that 1. Ravi 2. Śaśi and 3. Jādhava have not to be counted in the enumeration of the 36 families and the only way of making up the number is as shown above viz. , by treating Garua, Rosajuta and Kavinīsa as separate clans. The same thing is clear from the fact that Sūrajmal author of *Vaṃśabhāskara* treats Ravi and Śaśi as races and not families when he numbers them as five instead of three, viz., the old four, Bhujabhava, Manubhava, Arkabhava, Śaśibhava and the fifth Śuchibhava (fire-born). Bhujabhava means those created by Brahmā himself from his arms and Manubhava those born of Manu, while the Arka or Sun and Śaśi the moon are treated as the remaining two. We have already quoted this verse of Sūrajmal and we hold that there can be no possible doubt that Chand treated 1. Ravi 2. Śaśi and 3 Jādhava as races and not clans or families of which he has given the number as 36.

Now this list of the 36 cannot be dated in the 17th century A. D. when the *Rāsā* is supposed to have been fabricated but seems to be as old as Chand Bhāta of Prithvirāja's court. We have the mention of many clans here which had no existence in the 17th century and Tod himself is in a difficulty as to their identity. And many clans or families which were well-known in the 17th century find no mention in the list. Thus Rosajuta, Anaṅga, Yautika, Dadhishat, Kārattapāla, Kotapāla, Haritaṭa, Kamāsha, Maṭa, Dhānyapāla, Rājapāla and Kavinīsa are difficult to be traced; while Bhātī, Jhālā, Bais and other modern tribes are conspicuous by their absence. Thirdly, some names are rather obscure though their identity is not doubtful. Kakustha is equated to Kachhāvāha and Sadāvara to Tuar by Mohanlal Pandya properly, though it is very doubtful whether these names were ever in use. On these grounds it seems almost certain that this list given in the *Rāsā* is very old in fact as old as the 12th century A. D.

We may here discuss the propriety of the identification of each tribe as given by Mohanlal in his edition of the *Rāsā* (Vol. I p. 54). Chhanda is treated as Randel but this is probably a misprint for Chandel. The *Rāsā* sometimes uses the word Chand as a short form for Chandel.* Doyanata as Dāhima is again doubtful; Aniga as Anaṅga is also obscure. Parihāra and Pratihāra are both given in the list and must be distinct. Now which of the two is the Padhihar of Mandor? That question is unsolved. Kārattapāla is certainly not Kāthi who are not admitted to be one of the 36 Rajput families. Kotapāla is left unexplained and Maṭa cannot be jāt who are not admitted to be Rajputs. Lastly, Dhānyapāla and Rājapāla are not identified. We may add that Garua who are omitted by Mohanlal may be said to be Gujara which in Prākṛit would be Guar which by transposition becomes Garua. The Bīra Gujars are a well-known family of Rajputs. Gujara and Ābhīra or Ahīra are noted names of

* e. g. राज चंद नहीं जाय ।

Śūdras and Vaiśyas indeed but they have been taken as the names of certain kingly families which ruled over these people and which were, however, Kshatriya families.

Before concluding, we may notice the argument advanced by many that after all Hūṇa was admitted to be one of the 36 royal clans and thus the inclusion of foreign races as true Kshatriyas stands proved by admission; and state that Hūṇa is not one of the 36 according to the enumeration of the Rāsā. The name given there is Hula with short u and l and not Hūṇa. By no rules of transformation Prākṛit or other can Hūṇa become Hula. It may be argued that the inscriptions do mention the marriage of Kshatriya kings with Hūṇa princesses and that there is also mentioned a Hūṇa kingdom in India in the inscriptions of the time. Both these facts may be admitted but they do not prove that the Hūṇa kings were treated as Kshatriya kings. Kings then married and marry still wives from Vaiśya and Śūdra and even Mlechchha families but that does not prove that any of the latter were treated as Kshatriyas. For example some Rajput princes have taken even now Hūṇa princesses i. e. princesses from English or French or Spanish families. But none of these people are, therefore, Kshatriyas nor are the ladies themselves treated as Kshatriyas nor their progeny. And in Mahomedan times Rajput princesses were given in marriage to Mogul and other Mahomedan emperors and kings. But such relations do not establish the proposition that these Moguls or Mahomedans were treated or looked upon as Kshatriyas. It is, therefore, not possible to argue from these marriage relations that the Hūṇas were treated as Kshatriyas.

Who were the Hula mentioned among the 36? We are not bound to answer the question for there are many unidentifiable names among the 36 clans enumerated by Chand. In the Hindi census report of Marwar, however, there appears a branch by name Hula of Śisodia Rajputs. This fact shows that there was and is still the name Hula current in Marwar (see report for 1891 and 1895 Vol. III in Hindi, page 6). The name is taken as the name of a branch of Guhilots; but probably they may be a distinct clan and family by themselves. Any how the name appearing in the list of 36 by Chand is Hula and not Hūṇa and this has been verified by us even in the copy of the Rāsā in the Udepur Library. That they were distinct from Hūṇa is further proved by the fact that among the clans which assist Bappā Rāwal in his fight with Mahomedans are mentioned both Hūṇas and Hulas (see Tod's Rajasthan by Crooke Vol. I. p. 290). Although these catalogues of Rajput clans gathering frequently to assist the Guhilots of Mewad are of later date, they at least prove that Hula was a clan of Rajputs which was differentiated from Hūṇa,

CHAPTER IV

ARE THE AGNIKULAS GUJARS ?

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his paper in Indian Antiquary Vol. XL (1911) tries to prove that the so-called four Agnikula clans viz., Pratihāra, Paramāra, Chālukya and Chāhamāna are Gujars (see his paper on Foreign Elements in Hindu population). It is not difficult to show that this view is incorrect and in this chapter we propose to answer the arguments adduced by him in this paper.

The ancient Vedic history of caste and marriage has been much misunderstood by Dr. Bhandarkar and the inferences he draws in the beginning of his paper must be accepted with caution. There is no doubt that in Vedic times there was for a time a great commingling of the Aryan race with the Dravidian race which originally inhabited this country. Among the Aryans themselves, caste was then rather a class distinction, the three castes Brāhmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas freely intermarrying. But there was in this no mixture of races as the three castes were Aryan by race. When after settling in India these classes began to take Śūdra wives, then only the fusion of races began and for a time this fusion was unchecked. The Nahusha episode in the Mahābhārata (Vana Parva Chap. 180) affords distinct proof that such mixture of blood went on for a time.* But opinion soon gathered strength against the marriage of higher caste men with Śūdra women, as the result of such marriages was found to be extremely unsatisfactory. Especially Pratiloma marriage with Śūdras was found to be disastrous and this view is embodied in the following observation of Manu
जातो नार्यामनार्यायामार्यादार्यो भवेदुणैः । जातस्त्वनार्यादार्यायामनार्य इति निश्चयः ॥

* जातिरत्र महासर्प मनुष्यत्वे महामते । संकरत्वात्सुवर्णानां दुष्परीक्ष्येति मे-
मतिः । सर्वे सर्वास्वपत्यानि जनयन्ति सदा नराः । तस्माच्छीलं प्रधानेष्टं विदुर्ये तत्त्व
दार्शनः ।

“A person born of a non-Aryan woman from an Aryan man might be Aryan by qualities, but a person born of a non-Aryan man from an Aryan woman is most certainly non-Aryan by qualities.” In consequence Pratiloma marriage with Śūdras was soon stopped and by imitation Pratiloma marriage among higher castes also. Anuloma marriages with Śūdra women continued to take place infrequently no doubt but, as Yājñavalkya distinctly said that he was of the opinion that a Śūdra wife should not be taken, a prohibition began to be observed even in this direction.

Such then was the state of caste and the law of marriage in the time of Megasthenes who lived in India about 300 B. C. He distinctly states that “No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste or to exchange his profession for another. An exception is made in favour of the philosopher who for his virtue is allowed this privilege.” (McCrindle’s *Ancient India* Megasthenes pp. 85-86). This shows that caste was already a water-tight compartment in the days of Megasthenes i. e. about 300 B. C. How could then the Śakas and Yavanas have been admitted into Indian castes? Even if they became Buddhists or Hindus, they remained a distinct caste as is proved by the very fact that they are, even after becoming Buddhists or Hindus, called Śakas or Yavanas in the inscriptions quoted by Dr. Bhandarkar himself. Maga Brahmins too remained Magas and, therefore, a distinct sub-caste. We do not know whether the Magas came after Megasthenes even as the Śakas and Yavanas unquestionably did. The fact that they were and are called Maga Brāhmins shows that they remained separate and did not merge their blood with that of the other Brāhmins.

We have the historical evidence of Megasthenes relating to the state of caste in 300 B. C. We have similarly a distinct foreign piece of evidence with regard to the state of castes about 600 A. D. in the writings of Hiuen Tsang and we have already quoted his statement in our first volume. He says “the members of the caste marry within the caste” (Vol. I p. 60). Now here the exception noted by Megasthenes is not mentioned and caste appears now as an entirely confined body. Inscriptions, however, show that the Brāhmins sometimes did marry Ksha

triya women especially when daughters of kings (see Vol. I p. 61) and Kshatriya kings married daughters of Vaiśya kings. The difference, however, in the result of such marriages may be noted. In most ancient times the progeny of such marriages was treated as of the caste of the father as in the case of Vyāsa and others. In later times an intermediate position was assigned to the progeny and this led to the formation of intermediate mixed castes*. But later still, in the days of Harsha and subsequent centuries it appears from inscriptions that the progeny was treated as belonging to the caste of the mother.† This is at least certain in the case of Brāhmins. For example we are told in an inscription of the Pratihāras that a Brāhmin married a Brāhmin wife and a Kshatriya wife and the progeny of the Brahmin wife became Padhihar Brahmins while the progeny of the Kshatriya wife became Padhihar Kshatriyas. From roughly the 11th century onward, as we shall show in our third volume, marriage outside the caste was treated as illegal by a Kalivarja text. This history of the development of caste (see Note) if borne in mind will dispel many of the doubts created by stories in the Purāṇas quoted by Dr. Bhandarkar.

With these preliminary remarks we now proceed to discuss the cogency of the particular arguments adduced by Dr. Bhandarkar to prove that the four supposed Agnikula tribes were Gujars who were allied to the Huns and therefore foreigners. It is necessary at the outset to say that because a tribe is mentioned along with another and foreign tribe in any connection, therefore it does not follow that the first tribe is also a foreign tribe. Because Bāṇa says in Harsha-charita that Pratāpavardhana the Thanesar king conquered the Huns and also the Gujars, therefore it would be absurd to argue that the Gujars were a foreign

* Smṛitis generally embody this state of the marriage law. There was indeed a previous intermediate step, however, which is contained in the Manu Smṛiti. This was to the effect that if the wife was of the next caste only the progeny was to be treated as of the caste of the father. But this intermediate step soon disappeared and other Smṛitis do not contain this provision but declare the progeny to be of an intermediate mixed caste.

† Later Smṛitis such as Vyāsa contain this provision which means a further tightening of caste.

tribe allied to the Huns and came to India along with them. On this evidently fallacious argument Dr. Bhandarkar tries to prove that the Haihayas also were foreigners, simply because they are mentioned in the Purāṇas along with foreigners. "As the Haihayas are classed (?) with Śakas, the Yavanas, the Pāradas, the Kāmbojas there can be little doubt that they were regarded as Mlechhas at about the 4th century A. D. when the Harivaṃśa was composed" (p. 19). This is certainly illogical, for we must have a distinct statement to hold that the Haihayas were themselves regarded as Mlechchhas. Though they might have taken the aid of Mlechchhas in their wars, they themselves cannot thereby become Mlechchhas. But the case of the Haihayas is still stronger. For the Harivaṃśa itself and all the Purāṇas agree in stating that the Haihayas and their ancient king Sahasrārjuna were Aryans belonging to the Lunar Vamśa. Not only this, throughout Indian history and down to the present time the Haihayas are treated as some of the best Kshatriyas. As shown in our first Volume (p. 345) their anthropometrical characteristics are also distinctly Aryan*. While again the Haihayas are distinctly Aryans and are treated as Aryans and the best Kshatriyas, the Huns were distinctly mentioned as foreigners and were treated as foreigners by the orthodox Hindus. A Kshatriya recorded as marrying a Hūṇa princess in ancient days no more makes a Hun an Indian and a Kshatriya than a Native prince in these days marrying a Spanish lady makes the Spanish, Indians or Kshatriyas. The Huns were never treated as one of the 36 Royal families as we have already shown in our note and Dr. Bhandarkar like many others is mistaken in looking upon them as Kshatriyas. With these unavoidable further preliminary observations which are, however, necessary, we proceed to examine one by one the case of the four Agnikulas whom Dr. Bhandarkar believes to have been Gujars,

* Dr. Bhandarkar mentions here the unnecessary fact that the Kāyastha Prabhus claim descent from Sahasrārjuna. Perhaps this is intended to hint that these Prabhus too are foreign by race. But it is clearly proved that the Kāyastha Prabhus are Aryans by their features as also by their tradition. Perhaps Dr. Bhandarkar does not wish to leave out any higher caste from his theory of foreign descent.

even though this also would not make them foreigners. For Gujars as stated many a time before are not foreigners but are anthropometrically Aryans with the best Aryan noses and are historically the Vaiśyas of the Vedas and the Smṛitis.

The first and foremost supposed Agnikula tribe is the Pratihāra to which the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj belonged. Now Dr. Bhandarkar admits that they never call themselves Gujars in their inscriptions, that their names are Aryan names like Vatsarāja, Nāgabhata and so on, that they represent themselves in their inscriptions as Sūrya-Vamśis, that even Rājaśekhara a noted poet in their time calls them Raghukulatilakas. These facts should have induced Dr. Bhandarkar to examine carefully the arguments which appear to show them as Gujars. Instead of that, he twists these facts themselves into arguments to hold "how wonderfully soon foreign tribes were assimilated with the Hindus and were even treated as Kshatriyas and solar race Kshatriyas"!!! As a matter of fact ancient Hindus and Hindus of the 8th century A. D. too were as strongly against the amalgamation of varṇas as they are now; and Dr. Bhandarkar should rather have laid stress on these facts in order to see that the other facts which appear to show them as Gujars must be explained in another way (see p. 23 Ind. Ant. XL. 1911).

But what are these opposing facts and how are they to be explained? The first argument adduced is that a minor Pratināra dynasty ruling in the south-east of modern Jaipur territory calls itself Gurjara Pratihāra in an inscription found at Rājor. Now since the Pratihāras of Kanauj never call themselves Gujars, these Pratihāras call themselves so, simply to distinguish themselves from other Pratihāras, and the method of such distinction is the natural one viz., that based on the mention of the country of residence. As there are Nāgar and Kanojia Brāhmins i.e. of Nagar and Kanauj, these Pratihāras call themselves Gujar Pratihāras because they inhabited the Gujar country. Dr. Bhandarkar has himself shown here that this part of the country was and is inhabited mainly by Gujars. Nay, this part was alone called Gurjaratrā or Gujarat in those days and Dr. Bhandarkar is right when he says that Gurjaratrā in the 8th and 9th centuries was not modern Gujarat but southern Rajputana

extending up to the south-east part of the present Jaipur State. It is, therefore, not at all strange that these Pratihāras in order to distinguish themselves call themselves Gurjara Pratihāra from the country they ruled or resided in and not because they were themselves Gujars by caste. In any case the Imperial Pratihāras cannot be looked upon as Gujars on the basis of this inscriptional statement*.

But Dr. Bhandarkar has adduced the further argument that these Pratihāras of Kanauj were called Gujars by the Rāshtrakūṭas in their inscriptions and also by the Arabs in their accounts of travel. These two facts cannot be contested and the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Arabs often were allies in their fights with the Pratihāras of Kanauj. When the Rāshtrakūṭa grants refer to their battles with Gurjaras they mean the Kanauj kings, for these alone were powerful enough to fight with them and these indeed were the overlords of a very large part of Northern India; and so also the Arabs speak of the kingdom of Kanauj when they speak of the kingdom of Juzr. But does this fact prove that the kings of Kanauj were Gujars by caste? Because Indians call the Mahomedans Yavanas does it prove that the Mahomedans are Greeks by race or descent? In the thirteenth century and later the Rajputs called all Mahomedans Turakadā from their first fight with the Turks viz., Mahmud of Ghazni; does that show that every Mahomedan that came to India whether he be Afghan or Persian was a Turk by race or caste? The argument is in short ineffectual and cannot weigh against the facts which distinctly show that the Pratihāras were Śūrya-Vamśi Rajputs or Kshatriyas by caste. As the Arabs of Sind were on the east bounded by the Gurjaratrā country which was then the name of South Rajputana and as the country was ruled by the Pratihāras it was but natural that the Arabs called the country and the king by the name of Juzr and indeed the Rāshtrakūṭas too called them Gurjaras for the same reason.

Still more flimsy is the argument based on the legend of the Pratihāra origin given in certain inscriptions (p. 24 ditto) viz.

* The phrase Gurjara Pratihāra need not be interpreted to mean Pratihāras who were Gurjaras but should be interpreted as Pratihāras of the Gurjara country.

a certain Brahmin had a Brahmin wife and a Kshatriya wife and the progeny of the Brahmin wife became Padhihar Brahmins while the progeny of the Kshatriya wife became Padhihar Rajputs. "The marriage of a Brahmin with a Kshatriya woman with the result as noted in this inscription is curious and can only be accounted for as being of foreign importation." Such marriage with such result, as shown in the beginning of this chapter is *not* curious but is normal; but even if it were, that it should be treated as an argument for the foreign extraction of the Pratihāras is certainly very curious. In this manner indeed, any inference can be drawn from this legend, the inference e. g. that these people were cannibals and so on. Thus so far as Pratihāras are concerned we find that all the three opposing arguments which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar adduces are ineffectual and cannot weigh against the facts which show that the Imperial Pratihāras were Rajputs. Having thus far refuted Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's strong case we will proceed to examine the case of the second supposed Agnikula clan, the Chālukya or Solankhi.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar admits that there is *no epigraphic* evidence in their case but he argues that "since Gujarat of to-day bears this name since the Chālukyas occupied or conquered the country, if the Chālukyas had not been of Gujar extraction, it is inconceivable how this province came to be called Gurjaratīā when it was till their advent known as Lāṭa" (p. 24). Now there is no doubt that Gurjaratīā in the 8th and 9th or even 10th centuries was the name of southern Rajputana as inscriptions of that period show. Lāṭa was not, however, the name of the whole of modern Gujarat. It was the name of southern Gujarat i. e. Surat and adjacent parts. Central Gujarat was Ānarta while northern Gujarat was sometimes called Sārasvata Mandala though all the three were sometimes called Lāṭa. Now it seems that these three parts have latterly acquired the name Gujarat because of the Gujarati language and not because of the establishment of the Chālukya rule. The modern languages of India, as we have already observed, arose about the 9th century and the language of these parts generally assumed the modern Gujarati form. How old the Gujarati language is and how old the word

Gujarati is, it is difficult to determine. For while the word Mahārāshtrī as the name of a language is as old as Vararuchi of the 1st century B.C. the word Mahārāshtra as the name of a country is much later, certainly later than Varāha Mihira of the fifth century A. D. It is, therefore, not difficult to suppose that Mahārāshtra assumed this name for the country from the common language namely modern Mahārāshtrī. Similarly it would be proper to believe that the name Gujarat for the province was adopted owing to the prevalence of the Gujarati language.

But that question does not really concern us; whatever may be the reason of the name Gujarat appertaining to the province, it would be absurd to argue that because the province began to be called Gujarat about their time, therefore the Chālukyas were Gujars by caste. The names of countries arise in different ways and stick for extremely different reasons. England, for example, began to be called England after the Norman conquest and yet the Normans were not Angles. The Angles themselves were an insignificant people compared with the Saxons and yet the name of the country has remained Angle-land ignoring the Saxons altogether. France began to be called France when the Franks were no longer masters and had been entirely merged in the general Gaelic population and had lost their German character and affinities. So also in India the English called the eastern districts of the Madras Presidency by the name of Carnātik when they were not ruled by Carnātik kings and when even the language was not Carnātik; but they simply continued the name given to the country by the Marathas who looked upon the whole of southern India as Karnātika. It is, therefore, extremely illogical to argue that the Chālukyas were Gujars because from about their time the province began to be called Gujarat.

Going on to the third supposed Agnikula clan the Paramāras, we find that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is at a loss to find any argument which could make these also Gujars and is driven to observe that though we do not know to what race they belonged *it is morally certain* that they were of foreign extraction. It is for the first time we read of moral certainty in a case like this where there are no considerations of morality in discussing the race of a people.

The reader will leave Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to his moral views and will hold with us that there is no proof or argument to show that the Paramāras were Gujars or even foreigners.

Lastly, we come to the consideration of the case of Chāhamānas or Chauhans to prove whose Gujar extraction Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is at the worst pains and begins from some old Sassanian coins found in the north-west of India and ends with the Himālayan Siwalik hills. The whole argument savours so completely of the Pickwickian method of research that it is a wonder that a man of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's capacities should have fallen a prey to it. We are certain if he had not been obsessed by his theory of the foreign or Gujar descent of the Rajputs, he would himself have seen the absurdity of his own argument. Let us see how his argument is transparently based on pure imagination.

Certain coins have been found in Northern India on which is read the legend Sri Vāsudeva Vahman in Nāgarī characters and in Pehlvi "Takkān, Jabulistān and Sapardalakshān." First Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to suit his purpose reads Vahman as Chāhman "because the characters of the letters v and ch in old days were so close to each other that one might be easily mistaken for the other." "And Chāhman, it need scarcely be said, stands for Chāhamāna (ma lengthened into mā) so that Vāsudeva of these coins is a Chāhamāna and since Vāsudeva is mentioned in Prithvīrāja Vijaya as the founder of the Chāhamāna family of Śākambarī, *that founder must be the same* as the Chāhman of these Sassanian coins. "Rājaśekhara's Prabandha-kośa also gives one Vāsudeva as the founder of the Chāhamāna family for whom he gives the date 608 V. E." This date is a serious difficulty in establishing the identity of these two Vāsudevas. But Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is not at a loss. He naively observes that the kośa gives a date which is *rather early* and the proper date to be assigned appears to be 627 A. D. concluded from the type of coins which are an exact copy of the coins of Parveiz Khuśru. So Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar cannot only change letters but also dates to suit his theory, but what is still more strange is that he can change the race also at his sweet will. Cunningham held that Vāsudeva of the coins was a Hūna and Prof. Rapson thinks

that he was a Sussanian (from the legend of the coins as also from their type). But Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that he was a *Khazar* why he alone knows. It is sufficient to place this whole argument before the reader in detail to enable him to come to the conclusion that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has failed signally in showing that the Chāhamānas were Gujars.

But the greatest mistake which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has committed in this connection is that of placing the town of Ahichchhatra and the country Sapādalaksha in the Siwalik hilly region of the Himālayas. He has in fact in doing so distorted the natural course of Indian history and represented Brahmins and Kshatriyas, as moving south from this place. But how can we believe that Rajputs spread from the Siwalik hilly regions into India even if they were Gujars? If Gujars were foreigners who had come along with the Huns as conquerors, they would settle in the inviting plains of the Panjab and not go to the difficult Himālayas to settle. As a matter of fact history and tradition tell us that Brāhmins and Rajputs went into these sub-montane inhospitable regions in historical times from the Panjab, in consequence of the inroads of foreign invaders down to the Turks, in the same way as many took shelter in the sands and hills of Rajastan. It is, therefore, absurd to point to the Siwalik hills as the original *habitat* of either the Rajputs or the Gujars. The identification of Sapādalaksha with Siwalik hilly region is absurd and we need not go to Babar for an explanation of that word. Babar gives perhaps the current explanation when the original and correct explanation was forgotten. We give in a note an extract from the Skanda Purāṇa giving the list of countries in India about the 9th century A. D. and the traditional number of villages assigned to each. Sapādalaksha is a name which is given in this list to four or five countries and the first of them is Śākambhara or the land of the Chauhāns. It is also given to Karnātika and to Mewad and also to Varendu which is not identifiable, but which probably means the Delhi region*. When the coins noticed by

* Or it might mean the region about Multan for Al-Masandi relates that around Multan there were one hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages (Elliot I p. 23).

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar mention Takkan, Zabulistān and Sapardalakshān they probably mean the Panjab with Ghazni on the west and the Delhi province in the south-east which three probably comprised the territory ruled by Vāsudev Vahman, a Sassanian king. In any case Sapādalaksha does not indicate $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of hills but $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of villages and this number is traditionally assigned to Śākambhara, Mewad, Delhi and Karnāṭaka as the evidence of the Skanda Purāṇa conclusively proves.

Ahichchhatra again is wrongly placed in the Himālayan region. It is undoubtedly the famous capital of North Pāñchāla as mentioned in the Mahābhārata and Cunningham has properly identified it from Hiuen Tsang's description with Rampur. The words "being flanked by mountain crags" need not suggest the Himālayas at all and this Ahichchhatra was properly enough the place to which Brahmins and Kshatriyas in the south looked as their original habitat. The Pāñchāla country is famous in Vedic literature as the residence of learned Brahmins. It was also the country of the valiant Pāñchāla Kshatriyas and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar need not wonder that the founder of the Chāhamāna family is said to have come from Ahichchhatra. The Chāhamānas did not take the word Sapādalaksha to the new country for it was not a name like Holland which could be taken to other places but it was a word denoting a number of villages which comprised their territory. Again Karnāṭaka or Dhārwar was called Sapādalaksha because it contained that number of villages. The name was not taken and could not be taken from the north to Dhārwar. The strange conclusion which Dr. Bhandarkar derives from this word used for Karnāṭaka viz., that the habitat of the Chālukyas like that of the Chāhamānas was also the mountain region called Sapādalaksha and hence they too were foreigners is, therefore, absurd and the whole theory which he has built on the wrong identification of Ahichchhatra and Sapādalaksha is to say the least mistaken. We, therefore, think that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's attempt to prove that the four supposed Agnikula clans were Gujars has signally failed and his theory must be abandoned. It must be mentioned that Mr. Har Bilas Sarda of Ajmer has already pointed out that Sapādalaksha meant the Sambar country though he

think Ahichchhatra should be identified with Nagore in Marwad. Whether the Chāhamānas came from Rampur or were originally of Nagore, it is certain that there is not a scrap of evidence to show that they were Gujars and we shall not further dilate upon this untenable theory of the foreign extraction of the Rajputs started by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and accepted by Jackson and Smith. We will instead in the next chapter indicate the positive arguments which in our opinion go to prove that they are the representatives of the ancient Vedic Aryans of India.

NOTE.

THE SKANDA PURĀṆA LIST OF COUNTRIES IN INDIA WITH THE NUMBER OF VILLAGES IN EACH COUNTRY,

The Mahābhārata list of countries or rather peoples in India is important for Indian history preceding the Christian era. Varāha Mihira's list is similarly important for the fifth century A.D., while Hiuen Tsang's travels supply us with accurate and detailed information about the peoples of India in the beginning of the 7th century A. D. There is a list of countries in India (not peoples) in the Skanda Purāṇa, Kumāra Khaṇḍa, Chapter 39 which is equally important for Indian history and gives us pretty accurate information about the 9th century A. D. This Purāṇa can clearly be assigned to the 9th or 10th century from this very list ; as therein the old names of countries or rather peoples find no place and new names occur denoting countries or rather provinces which generally well fit in with the 9th century and which mostly subsist to this day, though there are many names which are unidentifiable. Below are specially marked those names which can be identified and also their extent and importance. The numbers assigned to each country are mentioned as numbers of villages and there is no vagueness about them though in many cases the numbers are palpably unbelievable. But some numbers are corroborated from inscriptions of the time and we must recognise the fact that countries or provinces had at this time been assigned a fixed number of villages by tradition.

The list begins from the north and correctly reflects the political condition of India in the 9th century A. D. We first have Nepāl with one lakh of villages and immediately next naturally comes Kānyakubja with 36 lakhs. This shows that the Kanauj empire was at its height, an extensive empire covering Oudh, the Gangetic valley, part of the Panjab and Gwalior territory and the valley of the Jumna. Now this number of villages of Kanauj is also mentioned in the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi. What Gājanaka is, which next follows with 72 lakhs cannot be surmised. Probably in the usual fashion of the Purāṇas facts and fictions are jumbled together in order to make up the total of 96 crores and 72 lakhs of villages, an exaggeration befitting the Purāṇas, for the whole of India. Then comes the Gauda country or Bengal with 18 lakhs which means a

territory half of the Kanauj empire which is not impossible. Next we have Kāmarūpa and Oddiyāna or Orissā with the same extent as Kāmarūpa or Assam *i. e.* 9 lakhs or half of Bengal or Gauda. The same extent is assigned to Dāhala or Bundelkhand which is described as Vedasamjña meaning probably that it consisted of four parts. Next we have Jālandhara and Lohapura or Lahore each with the same number of 9 lakhs. Next we recognise Raṭarajya or the kingdom of the Rāshtrakūtas with 7 lakhs of villages and we are reminded of the 7½ lakhs Rattapāḍi mentioned in inscriptions of this and the preceding period. We, hereafter, come across names which we do not recognise but we come next to countries to which the number assigned is 1½ or Sapādalaksha. We have already explained how Dr. Bhandarkar has committed a mistake in interpreting the name and how he identified it with the hilly range at the foot of the Himālayas called Śīwalik hills. This list in the Skanda Purāṇa clearly establishes the fact that about 7 countries were then known as Supādalaksha countries viz., Varendu, Atilāngala, Sayambhara, Medapāta, (these two unquestionably are Sambhar and Mewad), Tomara, Kārnāta and Pungala, followed closely by Mālava which is assigned the exact figure 1 lakh 15 thousand and 180. One of these may be the Siwalik region though we are not certain about it but at any rate the word Śīwalik need not be derived from 1½ lakhs of hills in that region.

The next important countries which we recognize are Gurjarātrā 70000, Sind 20000, Kachhamandala 16020, Saurāshtra 55000, Lāta 21000, Konkana 36000 and Laghu Konkana 16000. Here the form used is Gurjarātra and it is distinct from Lāta. Moreover, Gurjarātra appears to be yet southern Marwad and hence it seems probable that the Skanda Purāṇa is not later than the 11th century A. D.

The extent of Kashmir given in this list is 68000 which is corroborated by Kashmir records as already observed in our Vol. I. Then follow many countries which are traditional though imaginary and must come in a list of Indian countries, such as Ekapāda and others. But we can identify Kāmboja, Kabul, Kośala (C.P.), Vidarbha, (Berar) with 5 lakhs or 2½ of Mahārāshtra, Vardhamāna (Wadhwan), Magadha 68,000 and lastly Mulasthānapura 25000. In all there are said to be 72 countries (the actual number of countries named comes, however, to 75), into which India was divided with 96 crores and 72 lakhs of villages. 36000 velākulas are also mentioned which we interpret as meaning so many Kos of coast line and one is reminded here of the fact that even in the days of Alexander, the length of the coast line of India was accurately reported to him by Indian informants.

Before concluding, we may give here the mountains and rivers of India as enumerated in this Skanda Purāṇa in imitation of the Mahābharata which apparently it has an ambition to equal. These are given in the same chapter 39 of the Kumāra Khanda. The chief mountain ranges or Kulaparvatas as they are called here also, are the same seven viz.

Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimān, Riksha, Vindhya and Pāriyātra. The first four are the well-known Eastern Ghats, Malaya, Western Ghats, and Girnar. Riksha is the Aravali range while Vindhya is the well-known range that stretches across India. But Pāriyātra is difficult to identify. It is described as the range to the south of which lies the Kaumāra Khanda; and from it rises the Veda—Smṛiti and other rivers. This description does not assist us much though we suspect that Pāriyātra now is some portion of the Western Vindhya range. The Narmadā and Sarasā properly rise from Vindhya but how can Śatadru and Chandrabhāgā rise from the Riksha range? Rishikulyā and Kumāri rise from the Śuktimān mountain of Kathiwar. The Tāpī, the Payoshnī, the Nirvindhya, the Kāverī, the Kṛishnā, the Venī, the Bhīmarathī rise from the Sahya which must be interpreted as including the Sātpura. And strangely the Godāvarī is conspicuous by its absence. The Kṛitamālā and the Tāmraparṇī rise from the Malaya Mountains while the Triśanu and the Rishyakulyā rise from the Mahendra. Probably the writer or recaster of the Purāṇa had not much acquaintance with northern or southern India and was a native of Gujarat or Malwa as he has described the Stambha (Khambayat), Prabhāsa, Avanti and Nāgara Tīrthas with a fulness which bespeaks his partiality for and his familiarity with them. With these remarks we give the Skanda Purāṇa list of countries below:

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| 1. Nivṛit 4 crores. | 25. Mālava 1,18,180. |
| 2. Bālāka 2½ crores. | 26. Sayambhara Sapādalaksha. |
| 3. Sāhaṇapura 1½ crore. | 27. Mevāḍa Sapādalaksha. |
| 4. Andhala 4 lakh. | 28. Vāguri 88 thousand. |
| 5. Nepāla 1 lakh. | 29. Gujarātra 77 thousand. |
| 6. Kānyakubja 36 lakh. | 30. Pānduvishaya 70 thousand. |
| 7. Gājaṇaka 72 lakh. | 31. Jahāhuti 42 thousand. |
| 8. Gauda 18 lakh. | 32. Kāshmīra 68 thousand. |
| 9. Kāmarūpa 9 lakh. | 33. Konkaṇa 36 thousand. |
| 10. Dāhala 9 lakh. | 34. Laghu Konkaṇa 1,600. |
| 11. Kāntipura 9 lakh. | 35. Sindhu 22 thousand. |
| 12. Lohapura 9 lakh. | 36. Kachchha 36 thousand. |
| 13. Pāmbīpura 7 lakh. | 37. Saurāshṭra 55 thousand. |
| 14. Raṭarāja 7 lakh. | 38. Lāṭadesha 21 thousand. |
| 15. Hariyāla 5 lakh. | 39. Atisindhu 10 thousand. |
| 16. Drada 3½ lakh. | 40. Aśvamukha 10 thousand. |
| 17. Māchīpura 9 lakh. | 41. Ekapāda 10 thousand. |
| 18. Oddiyāna 9 lakh. | 42. Sūryamukha 10 thousand. |
| 19. Jālandhara 9 lakh. | 43. Ekabāhu 10 thousand. |
| 20. Bambhaṇavāhaka 3½ lakh. | 44. Sañjāyu 10 thousand. |
| 21. Nīlapura 21 thousand. | 45. Śivadesha 10 thousand. |
| 22. Amala 1 lakh. | 46. Kālahayañjaya 10 thousand. |
| 23. Varendu Sapādalaksha | 47. Liṅgodbhava 10 thousand. |
| 24. Atilāngala 11 thousand. | 48. Bhadra 10 thousand. |

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|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 49. Devabhadra 10 thousand. | 63. Kuru 64 thousand |
| 50. Chaṭa 36 thousand. | 64. Kirāta 1½ lakh. |
| 51. Virāta 36 thousand. | 65. Vidarbha 5 lakh. |
| 52. Yamakoṭi 36 thousand. | 66. Vardhamāna 14 thousand. |
| 53. Romaka 18 crores. | 67. Sinhala 10 thousand. |
| 54. Tomara Sapādalaksha. | 68. Pāṇḍu 36 thousand. |
| 55. Karnāta Sapādalaksha. | 69. Bhayāṇaka 1½ lakh. |
| 56. Pingala Sapādalaksha. | 70. Magadha 66 thousand. |
| 57. Strirājya 5 lakh. | 71. Mūlasthāna 25 thousand. |
| 58. Pulastya 10 lakh. | 72. Yāsana 40 thousand. |
| 59. Kāmboja 10 lakh. | 73. Pakshabāhu 4,000. |
| 60. Kosala 10 lakh. | 74. Pāṇgu 60,000. |
| 61. Bālhika 4 thousand. | 75. Varendeka 30,000. |
| 62. Laṅkā 36 thousand. | |

NOTE

THE MEANING OF THE WORD RAJPUT

The Rajputs pride themselves on being Kshatriyas of noble descent belonging to the Vedic Aryan race. Unfortunately native writers impelled by bigotry and even by ignorance, owing to the fact that many Kshatriyas during the Aryo-Buddhistic period gave-up Aryan religion and Aryan practices and turned Buddhists, have expressed an opinion that the Rajputs are not pure Kshatriyas and go so far as to invoke a questionable statement in the Purāṇas to the effect that in the Kali age there would remain no Kshatriyas nor Vaiśyas (for the Vaiśyas also, even in greater number, had turned Buddhists) but only two Varṇas Brahmins and Śūdras. What is the value to be attached to these statements in the religious books of the Hindus and what is the true meaning of the term Rajput is a question which must be answered at the same time that we refute the adverse opinion of western scholars.

There is not the least doubt that these statements of the Purāṇas are valueless and historically considered they are interpolations in the Purāṇic texts promoted not indeed by malice but by bigotry and through enmity to the Buddhists. It will not be difficult to prove that earlier texts exist which show that the word Rajput is not a new word coined in about the 9th century A. D. but an old, a very old word and that it was usually used in a very honourable sense. Words sometimes do take up double meanings, one a good and the other a bad one, but it is well to remember that the bad sense is usually a later growth. Many examples may be given but the very word Brahmin will suffice. It originally indicated the highest Varṇa or caste to whom the duty of preserving the Brahma or Veda was entrusted. But later on, we find that the duty of supplying water and even of cooking fell to the lot of this caste and hence the word Brahmin now-a-days often means a cook or a waterman (A Hindi saying has it that a Brahmin meant *Babarcki*, *Bhisti*, *Bhi-
khari*). In this way the term Rajput is sometimes applied to the illegitimate progeny of Kshatriyas or kings born of mothers of lower castes. But that this is not its original or general meaning will appear from the following disquisition.

At Alwar it was stated to us by some Pandits that the word Rajput meant a mixed-caste man as stated in a verse of the Parāśara Smṛiti “वैश्यादंबष्टकन्यायां राजपुत्रः प्रजायते.” Now it may be stated at once that there is no such line in the Parāśara Smṛiti

as it is ordinarily known. If any copy of the Smṛiti has this line it is plainly an interpolation. There is also this contradiction of this supposed statement of Parāśara that the author of Śūdra-Kamalākara looks upon Ugra as one who is popularly known as Rajput. An Ugra is the son of a Kshatriya from a Śūdra woman and the author of Śūdra-Kamalākara adds the explanation अयं च रजपूत इति भाषाप्रसिद्धः "An Ugra is called Rajput in the spoken language." Now this view is also wrong but it undeniably shows that the text of Parāśara quoted above is spurious*.

Rajput is a word which is indeed used sometimes in common parlance to denote the illegitimate sons of Rajput chiefs. But that it is not its ordinary meaning can be proved by the fact that the word is used so far back as the Mahābhārata in a good sense. In that ancient epic it indicates a Kshatriya generally (एते ह्यमरथा नाम राजपुत्रा महारथाः। रथेष्वस्त्रेषु निपुणा नागेषु च विशांपते ॥ २० ॥ द्रो० अ० ११२), but often times not an ordinary Kshatriya but one who is descended from a crowned king. It is sometimes urged that the Amarakośa does not give Rājaputra as a synonym of Kshatriya. This is true but the Amarakośa cannot claim to be an exhaustive dictionary and even if a word is not given in a Kośa or dictionary, it is no proof to hold that it has no existence or has not a particular meaning. Words in dead languages are to be known from use by classical authors and the word Rājaputra has been used in the sense of a Kshatriya in hundreds of places in the Mahābhārata. One instance of such use in the Mahābhārata will suffice. Other ślokas might be quoted using the word Rajput in the same or higher sense even in the Mahābhārata; but it is unnecessary to quote many instances. The following verse from Śāntiparva Adhyāya 64 shows that Rājaputra is often used in the simple sense of a Kshatriya: भैक्ष्यचर्या ततः प्राहुस्तस्य (शूद्रस्य) सद्धर्मचारिणः । तथा वैश्यस्य राजेन्द्र राजपुत्रस्य चैव हि ॥. Rājaputra is very often used in a higher sense also, nay even the word Rājaputrī is often used in the Virāta Parva in addressing Draupadī, where the sense 'daughter of a king' does not appear to be intended, but merely a high-born Kshatriya lady. It may further be noted that Bhavabhūti of the 7th century A.D. uses the word Rājaputrī in addressing Kausalyā where the same sense is intended, viz., not the daughter of a king; but merely a high-born Kshatriya lady, Bāṇa in the Harshacharita similarly uses the word Rājaputra to denote a Kshatriya soldier.

It may be objected that the word Rājaputra occurs in Pāṇini where a sense somewhat different from Rājanya is intended to be conveyed by it. The Sūtra is very important and clearly shows that the word

* The Parāśara Smṛiti is intended for the Kali age and if it had intended to preach that there were no Kshatriyas in the Kali age, it could not have contained many provisions specially prescribed for the Kshatriyas.

Rājaputra has been in use since even the days of Pāṇini. It is used there not in its etymological or literal sense but it plainly has an acquired individual meaning. The sūtra is as follows: गोत्रोक्षोष्टोरभ्रराजराजन्य राजपुत्रवत्स मनुष्याजाद्वज् (4-2-41). This precedes another Sūtra तस्य समूहः (4-2-39) and means that where the sense of collection is intended the affix वुञ् or क is to be added to these words. Thus Rājaka would mean a collection of Rājas; Rājanyaka would mean a collection of Rājanyas or Kshatriyas and Rājaputraka would mean a collection of Rajputs. Now it is not necessary here that Rājanya and Rājaputra should have different senses, for Pāṇini is more concerned with words than with meanings. However, this point apart, it is clear that Rājaputra is not used here in its literal sense i. e. son of a king for a collection of sons of a king would be meaningless. It may be used in the sense of princes generally as one may speak of a collection of many princes i. e. sons of different kings. In short in our view this sūtra does not show that the word Rājaputra has only a literal sense or has any bad sense in it. On the contrary as stated above it shows that Rājaputra may mean something more than a Rājanya or ordinary Kshatriya i. e. a high-born Kshatriya, one who not only belongs to the varṇa or caste of a king but is born in a kingly family. It seems that the word is often used in this sense in the Mahābhārata though it is also often a synonym of Rājanya which means an ordinary Kshatriya.

It is at least certain from Pāṇini and from the Mahābhārata that the word is an old word in use from thousands of years and not a word which came into use in the 9th century A. D. (as some believe) and does not mean an illegitimate son or a mixed-caste man. Even in Bāṇa's Harsha-charita the word is used in the sense of a high-born Kshatriya. Bāṇa's use of the word is good proof of the fact that the word is not a new word. How and why it came into prominence in about the ninth century or the tenth or even eleventh may be explained as follows. After the expulsion of Buddhism from India, caste began to stiffen gradually till it became rigid in the third sub-period of our history as we shall show in our third volume. We may anticipate a little and state that every caste began to limit its field, especially for purposes of marriage, to families which were known to be pure and unmixed. That there were kingly families in India in the 7th century which belonged to the Kshatriya varṇa is undisputed from the statements of Hiuen Tsang quoted in our first volume. But Kshatriyas had turned Buddhists by scores and lost touch with the Aryan practices pertaining to Kshatriyas. Such families were now rigorously excluded. And further distance made it difficult to determine the exact nature of the caste purity of families and it became the tendency not only among Kshatriyas but among Brahmins and Vaiśyas also to form sub-castes based on provinces, so that the question of the purity of families residing in distant provinces might not arise

Hence it is that about the beginning of the 11th century Rajputs confined themselves to the tract where the Kshatriya kingly families were chiefly gathered. And the status of Kshatriya was naturally confined to those who could prove descent from undoubted Kshatriya kings within the memory of the generation and had not to depend on bardic legends, broken as they were by many centuries of Buddhist and foreign rule. The word Rājaputra became, therefore, of special importance and the thirty-six royal families of Kshatriyas were enumerated, marriage within which group was considered proper. We need not wonder that those families were chiefly confined to what is now called Rajaputana and the adjoining portions of Central India where, as the religious map appended to our first volume shows, Hinduism was very strong even in the days of Hiuen Tsang and Buddhism had not much hold upon the people, Kshatriyas and Rajputs outside these limits were looked upon as not undoubted Kshatriyas. And it is thus that the gulf between the central tract Rajputs and the Kshatriyas of Bengal and the Deccan arose. It must be noted that Rajputs who have now given their name Rājputānā to this central tract can all trace their descent step by step to some known king ruling in the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. It may seem strange but it is nevertheless true that such descendants of one man in the 9th century or even the 12th may be reckoned at this day by thousands. The Rajput has thus preserved the purity of his race unquestionably from the 8th century onward down to this day in a manner not to be found in any other caste, not even Brahmins in India, or any people in the whole world.

In spite of the extreme purity of race which the Rajputs have preserved through nearly a thousand years of their history, it is indeed almost a mystery, how the myth could arise that in the Kali age there were only two varṇas viz., the Brahmins and the Śūdras, a myth which has so banefully influenced writers of commentaries on the sacred texts of Smṛitis. This mystery will, however, disappear if one looks at the religious map appended to Vol. I. These writers of commentaries and treatises on law belong to the south and Buddhism prevailed far more extensively in these parts and even in the north than in the middle land. The Kshatriyas in these parts had also contracted marriage relations with Non-Aryan local tribes more extensively than those in the middle land. The Kshatriyas of the south, the Marathas, consequently lost communion with the Kshatriyas of Rājputānā when caste became rigid, as also the Kshatriyas of the east and the north. The Kshatriyas of Bengal and Oudh had contracted marriage relations with the Khasas and other Mongolian races of the north. The orthodox Kshatriyas, therefore, of the middle country excluded these Kshatriyas of the east and the south from their fold; and to this day they still adhere to their unwillingness to form marriage relations with Kshatriya families of the south and the east.

The Brahmins had not turned Buddhists in any great numbers and had not lost touch with the Vedas and the Vedic *sanskāras* or practices. The other two *varṇas* on the other hand had become Buddhists in thousands and had lost all touch with the Vedic religion. When, Buddhism being overthrown, these came back to Hinduism, most of them had forgotten their *gotras* and had no knowledge of the *gāyatri* and they were naturally looked upon as *Śūdras*. They still adhered to certain practices of their own and kept their distinctness as *Kshatriyas* and *Vaiśyas*. The bigoted Brahmins could not assign to the descendants of Pulakeśin and others who had performed the most orthodox Vedic sacrifices, the status of *Kshatriyas* in the newly constituted Hindu society and gradually the opinion gained strength that in the *Kali* age there remained only two *varṇas* the Brahmins and the *Śūdras*, and found expression in the Purāṇic text कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः. When this happened is not quite clear but that it is an interpolation of a date later than the 10th century A. D. and that it arose in the south or the east cannot be gainsaid. The existence of *Kshatriyas* in the south was never disputed in the 1st century A. D. as may be seen from the expression खतिय दपमान दमनस्स in one of the Nasik cave inscriptions of Gotamīputra (Ind. Ant. p. 37) which means "who crushed the pride of *Kshatriyas*." It is wrongly stated here that "these *Kshatriyas* are the native Indian princes of Rājaputāna, Gujarat and Central India." These parts were never invaded by Gotamīputra. What the epithet means is that Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi who was a *Śūdra* and who came from Dhanakataka had humbled the pride of the *Kshatriyas*, of course, of the Deccan itself. There were *Kshatriyas* in the Deccan itself at that time viz., the Rāshtrakūṭas and others and one need not go to Rājaputāna of the modern day to find *Kshatriyas* in the 1st century A. D. Then again we know that there were *Kshatriyas* in the Deccan and the South in the 7th century A. D. Not only Hiuen Tsang describes the Pallavas of Kāñchi and the Chālukyas of Badāmi as *Kshatriyas*, but the stone and copper records of these families distinctly state that they had performed *Aśva-medha* and other Vedic sacrifices and that they claimed to be *Kshatriyas* e. g. in the epithet श्रीक्षत्रचूडामणिः inscribed on the walls of a temple at Madurā. It seems, therefore, certain that the theory that there were no *Kshatriyas* in the *Kali* age had not arisen till the seventh century A. D.

This theory again is contradicted to our mind by the Parāśara Smṛiti itself which is specially intended for the *Kali* age. In this Smṛiti various texts give special provisions for *Kshatriyas* and *Vaiśyas*. If indeed in the *Kali* age there were no *Kshatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* where was the necessity of making the special provisions intended for these *varṇas*? The Smṛiti does not contemplate, therefore, the non-existence of these *varṇas* and as this Smṛiti may be assigned to the 7th or 8th century one may infer that this view had not arisen yet. The Parāśara Smṛiti to our mind belongs to the south as the sanctity of the Setu Tirtha is specially extolled in it. But whether it arose in the south or the north,

it certainly does not look upon Kshatriyas as non-existent in the Kali age.

The Śūdra Kamalākara was composed at Benares and by a Deccani Brahmin. It, therefore, reflects the sentiment of the south and the east. Kshatriyas of the central part where the word Rajput came into special vogue looked down upon Kshatriyas of the south and east, not in the 9th and 10th centuries but later, as we shall show that marriage relations between these continued to take place in these centuries. It seems, therefore, that this view arose in later centuries and it arose in the east and the south. Legal writers took it up and worked it to its natural consequences. Even the Rajputs who then prided and still pride themselves upon being good Kshatriyas were consequently looked upon by these writers as Ugras and the theory further grew that Kshatriyas had no gotras of their own but took the gotras of their Purohitas. It is not necessary here to pursue the subject further; but we may conclude by saying that the dictum that the Rajputs are Ugras is not only not correct but is further based upon a view of later growth that there were no Kshatriyas in the Kali age. The text कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः is historically speaking an interpolation. At best it must be explained by interpreting it to mean not that there would be no Kshatriyas in the Kali age throughout, but from some time in later centuries when the Kali age would be at its extreme point. We have for the present to ignore this text and to hold that Kshatriyas do exist still and that the Rajputs are the purest portions of them, the word Rajput meaning a high-born Kshatriya.

CHAPTER V

THE GOTRAS OF THE RAJPUTS

Having examined the evidence which is supposed to prove that the Pratihāra and other Rajput tribes were Gujars originally, and found it insufficient to establish the conclusion that these tribes are foreigners, we will proceed to sketch the evidence which goes to show that the Rajputs are the descendants of Vedic Aryans. And the first item of evidence which presents itself to us is the fact that the Rajputs have the same gotras and Pravaras as those laid down in the Vedic Sūtras and have carefully preserved their memory to this day. The gotra and Pravara system as laid down in the several Sūtras of the Vedas preserves among Indo-Aryans the memory of descent in a manner not to be witnessed anywhere else in the world. The Indian Aryans who profess the Vedic faith have to recite at every religious ceremony, their gotra and Pravara before beginning the ceremony and in this way the memory of the Vedic ancestors from whom the reciter is descended is kept alive from day to day and generation to generation. The Brahmins of India have thus kept up the memory of their descent for at least 3000 years *i. e.* from the time when the Vedic Sūtras were mostly composed and possibly for 5000 years, before which time the Vedas were probably composed. The Kshatriyas or Rajputs too have kept up the memory of their gotras religiously and tenaciously. In fact epigraphic evidence extending over two thousand years shows that the Kshatriyas and the Rajputs were careful and proud to record their gotras in their inscriptions. And the gotras of the principal Rajput families of the present day are the same as those mentioned in their ancient records on stone and copper and we may, therefore, well believe that the Rajputs are the de-

scendants of the Vedic Kshatriyas. Thus the gotras of the supposed Agnikula clans are from their gotrochchāra recorded by Col. Tod, (the word gotrāchāra is probably wrongly used here by Tod ; it should have been gotrochchāra which means the recital of one's gotra) are as follows : the Chāhamānas are of the Vatsa gotra with five pravaras ; the Chālukyas are of the Bhāradvāja gotra with three pravaras and the Paramāras are of the Vaśishṭha gotra with three pravaras. (The Pratihāra's gotra has not yet been ascertained from inquiry or from record.) Now the same gotras are mentioned in ancient inscriptions of these tribes as we have already shown. The gotra of the Paramāras is thus mentioned in the Udepur Praśasti and in many other records, notably for instance in the following line-वसिष्ठ-गो-त्रोद्भव एष लोके ख्यातस्तदादौ परमारवंशः ॥ in the Pātanārāyaṇa inscription (Ind. Ant. XLV) ; and the Paramāras all over India whether in the Deccan or in Rajputana still possess the same gotra. The gotra of the Chālukyas again is mentioned in the Haihaya record already noticed while the gotra of the Chāhamānas is mentioned in the Bijolia inscription (J. Ben. R. A. S. Vol. LV. p. 41) in the line विप्र श्रीवत्सगोत्रेऽभूदहिच्छत्रपुरे पुरा । The gotra of the Rāthodas is Gautama while that of the Guhilots is Baijavāpāyana as mentioned in their records. The gotras thus mentioned in ancient records are still the gotras professed by these Rajput clans and it may, therefore, well be inferred that both the possession of gotras and their continual recital and remembrance to this day go to support if not to establish their descent from Vedic ancestors.

This evidence, however, of long standing tradition is sought to be impeached on the ground that when these Rajput clans were transformed from barbarians into orthodox Kshatriyas about the sixth or seventh century A.D. they took these gotras from their Brahmin Purohitas ; and the rule as given in the Sūtras that the Kshatriyas are to use their Purohitas' gotras (पुरोहित-प्रवरो राज्ञाम्) is quoted in support of this view. Now this is another example of how wrong ideas arise by misconception among ourselves and how such misconceptions of some of our own Pandits lead astray western scholars and antiquarians. The author of the famous commentary *Mitāksharā* on *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*

has indeed wrongly laid down the maxim that the Kshatriyas have no gotras of their own and that they are to use the gotras of their Purohitas. This comment of Vijñāneśvara on the text of the Smṛiti making marriage of Dvijas or Aryans outside the gotra alone as valid has now-a-days become generally accepted and European scholars naturally resort to it when they explain the mention of gotras in inscriptions by Kshatriya kings. But the mention of gotras by kings in inscriptions cannot have been of any importance if these gotras of the kings were adventitious and were to be borrowed from their Purohitas and were liable to be changed with the change of Purohitas. The Chālukyas of Badāmi for instance and the Pallavas of Kāñchī would not have cared to record in every grant they made मानव्यसंगोत्राणां चातुल्यानाम् and भारद्वाजसंगोत्राणां पट्टवानाम्, if these gotras were not their own. The rule of the Sūtras (पुरोहित-प्रवरो राज्ञाम्) has evidently been misinterpreted by Vijñāneśvara and we have not the smallest doubt that the Kshatriyas of ancient days had and the Rajputs of modern time have gotras of their own. When, therefore, in ancient records we find mention of gotras we must hold that the Kshatriyas must have mentioned the gotras from pride in mentioning their gotra showing their descent from Aryan ancestors. Nay in ancient times the gotra was the only method of distinguishing families and Brahmins and Kshatriyas mentioned their gotras both from pride and from necessity to distinguish their families as we mention the surnames now-a-days which are in fact derived from gotras themselves. Thus in an inscription on a Torana at Barhut we have गार्गी पुत्तस बिसदेवसपुतेन गोपुत्तस अगराजस पुत्तेन वल्ली पुत्तेन धनभूतिना कारितं तोरणं which Cunningham has translated as follows "Gateway erected by king Dhanabhūti born of the queen of the Vatsa family, son of Agarāja son of queen of Gota (Kautsa) family and grandson of king Bisadeva son of queen of Garga family." Here the different gotras of the queen-mother, grand mother and great grand-mother are honourably mentioned with the object of showing that the queens in the several generations were also of Aryan gotras. But Cunningham here observes "Queens among Rajputs are still known by their family names. These names are gotra names. The explanation of this fact is that

in accordance with the precept of the Smṛitis, the Rajas were considered to be of the gotras of their Purohitas." Here is the same dictum wrongly interpreted by Vijñāneśvara responsible for the misapprehension of so noted a scholar and antiquarian as Cunningham (see Cunningham's *Bairhut* pp. 127-130). For if the gotra is not of the Raja's family but of his Purohita, where is the incentive to mention it especially with regard to the family of the queens? Evidently the rule was not then understood as it is now and as we proceed to show in the detailed note on this subject the dictum of the Śrauta Sūtras really meant that when kings had to perform sacrifices they were to select the Adhvaryu and other priests of the same Pravara as his Purohita; for the king himself could not continually sit as the Yajamāna or the sacrificer and had always to give power to his Purohita as his substitute and hence the sacrificial priests should be of the same Pravara (and not gotra) as the Purohita; in view of the fact that sacrificial procedure differed in different Pravaras. We have not the smallest doubt as shown in our note that the provisions of the several Śrauta Sūtras themselves show that the Kshatriyas have gotras of their own and that Vijñāneśvara's dictum in his *Mitāksharā* is wrong.

But if any doubt remains, it will be dissipated by the epigraphic evidence itself already noted. Vijñāneśvara lived in the 12th or 13th century in the Deccan Karnatic at Kalyan where there were few or no Rajput families. The evidence of inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries of Rajputs in Northern India show no trace of the maxim that Kshatriyas have no gotras of their own and have to take the gotras of their Purohitas or preceptors. These inscriptions show that the gotras of the different Rajput clans were indicative of their *descent* from those ancestors. Thus when Vaśiṣṭha created the first Paramāra and gave him his gotra he did not do so because he was his Purohita but because he was his creator. Similarly in the Kalachūri Haihaya inscription noticed before, the Chālukya warrior born from the handful of water in Droṇa's hands has Droṇa's gotra viz., the Bhāradvāja not because Droṇa was his preceptor or Purohita but progenitor. The line distinctly is क्षितिधर-परि-

पाटीसूत्रिते तत्र गोत्रे । अभवदवनिवर्मा विश्वविख्यातकर्मा. Then again the Chāhamānas were of the Vatsa gotra and the legend given in one of their inscriptions is that they were born *from* a Brahmin of the Vatsa gotra (विप्रः श्रीवत्सगोत्रेऽभूदहिच्छत्रपुरे पुरा । सामन्तानन्त सामन्त पूर्णतल्लो-नृगस्ततः). In another inscription the first Chāhamāna is said to have been born from the eyes of the Vatsa Rishi himself. These instances will suffice to prove that in the 9th and 10th centuries no such idea was entertained as is done by Vijñāneśvara. These stories of the birth of warriors from the fire of Vaśishṭha or the handful of Bhāradvāja are plainly myths but they clearly are based on the fact that the Paramāras and the Chālukyas in the 10th and 11th centuries were reputed to be of Vaśishṭha and Bhāradvāja gotra by descent and not by discipleship. Thus gotra even for Kshatriyas meant descent from the gotra ancestor and hence the poetic bards invented some stories showing the descent of these clans from these ancestors. Thus interpreted these inscriptions clearly prove that in centuries preceding the Mitāksharā, Rajputs and Kshatriyas were certainly believed to have gotras of their own, gotras which indicated descent. It seems probable that at the time of the Mitāksharā, Kshatriyas in the south had begun to forget their gotras ; and that Brahmin orthodoxy was not willing to accept as Kshatriyas those who during Buddhistic times had entirely lost touch with Aryan ceremonies and were being now received back into Hinduism. Having forgotten their own gotras in Buddhistic times they were held to belong to the gotras of their Purohitas. Vijñāneśvara interpreted the sūtra पुरोहित-प्रवरो राज्ञाम् in a convenient manner and propounded the theory that Kshatriyas had no gotras of their own but had according to Vedic precept to take the gotras of their Purohitas or preceptors.

Whatever the explanation of this wrong statement of the Mitāksharā, there is no doubt about its being wrong and of the fact that Kshatriyas and Rajputs from centuries preceding the Mitāksharā had gotras of their own, gotras which indicated descent. In fact even now the Rajputs of Rajputana and elsewhere have gotras which are different from the gotras of their *Purohitas* as we ascertained from inquiries specially made on the subject, the result of which is embodied in the note attach-

ed hereto. The question may here be asked, how it is that Kshatriyas and Brahmins and even Vaiśyas have the same gotras. How is it that Kshatriyas of the solar and lunar lines could have Brahmin Rishis for their ancestors? We will discuss this question also in detail in our note, but it is necessary to indicate here the answer to this question. It will be a revelation to many persons that in ancient times down to the period at which we have arrived, caste in India was not hard-bound as it is to-day, especially in the three higher castes which formed the Aryan element in the population. Not only Brahmins and Kshatriyas married from one another's caste but even changed their caste easily. Thus many Vedic and Puranic legends show how Kshatriyas became Brahmins and Brahmins became Kshatriyas. The Rishis of Pravaras and even of gotras it will be a revelation to many are both Kshatriyas and Brahmins indiscriminately, that is to say, in the Pravara Rishis of many Brahmins there are Kshatriya kings as ancestors and in the Pravara Rishis of Kshatriyas there are Brahmin Rishis also. It is indeed a really unsectarian affair viz., the Pravara system as it has been laid down from the Vedic age ; though some attempt is made in the Śrauta Sūtras to differentiate between Brahmins and Kshatriyas it is only the beginning of the cleavage between the two ; but in actual practice through all the intervening centuries down to this day the gotras and Pravaras are the same for Brahmins and Rajputs and even for Vaiśyas, the three classes of the Aryan race. Consequently we may be sure that the Rajput claim to Aryan descent, to descent from the Kshatriyas of the Vedic times is not at all ill-founded but is founded on long tradition extending back to thousands of years before the Christian era. When and why these Vedic Aryans migrated into Rajputana we shall try to discover in the next chapter from legend as well as from history.

Note—Gotras of Modern Rajput families with the gotras of their Purohitas.

No.	State.	Rajput family.	Gotra.	Gotra of the Purohita.
1	Udepur, Dungarpur etc.	Guhilota	.. Baijavāpa	.. Samnāyana.
2	Jodhpur, Rutlam etc.	Rāṭhod	.. Gautama	.. Bhāradvāja.
3	Jaipur and Alwar	.. Kachhavāha	.. Mānava	.. Vatsa.
4	Bundi-Kota ..	.. Chauhān	.. Vatsa ..	.. ....
5	Bijolia in Udepur	.. Paramāra	.. Vaśishṭha	.. ....
6	Dhar (Maratha)	.. Paramāra	.. Vaśishṭha	.. Karisha.
7	Bhavanagar ..	.. Guhila	.. Gautama..	.. Kāshyapa.
8	Dholera, Taluka Dhunduka.	Chudasama	.. Atri ..	.. ....
9	Kachchha, Navanagar Gondal Morvi Rajkot, etc.	Jādeja	.. Atri ..	.. ....
10	Dhrangdhra, Limdi, Vakaner, Patan.	Jhālā ..	.. Mārkaṇḍeya	.. ....
11	Lunavada in Rewa-Kantha & Pethapura.	Chālukya (Solankhi).	.. Bhāradvāja	.. ....
12	Rewa Bundelkhand	.. Vāghela (Solankhi).	.. Bhāradvāja	.. Vaśishṭha (new Chandrātri).
13	Kashmir ..	.. Jammuval	.. Bhāradvāja	.. Vaśishṭha.
14	Gidhaur, Bengal	.. Chandella	.. Chandrātreya	.. Kāśyapa.
15	Delhi represented by Pātan (Jaipur)	.. ..	.. Vaiyaghrapadya	Bhāradvāja.
16	Kanauī	.. Gaharwal	.. ..	.. ..

NOTE

GOTRA AND PRAVARA

We have already stated our view that Kshatriyas have gotras of their own and that Vijnāneśvara's dictum in the Mitāksharā that they, having no gotras of their own, have to borrow those of their Purohitas, is wrong. But the question is often asked how can Brahmins and Kshatriyas have the same gotras, if gotras are to indicate descent and not discipleship? For it is believed that the Kshatriyas are not descended from Brahmin Rishis but are born in the solar or lunar Vamśas. This doubt often puzzled bards and poetic writers of inscriptions who, therefore, invented fanciful stories about the origin of Kshatriya families. We think that a minute examination of the subject of gotra and Pravara will solve this difficulty and we accordingly proceed to examine the subject from the beginning.

According to the latest view the gotra—Rishi is a son or rather a descendant of one of the seven Rishis (सप्तर्षि) with the addition of the eighth Agastya who is outside the well-known Saptarshis (see the dictum) of Baudhāyana : सप्तानां सप्तर्षीणामगस्त्यष्टमानां यदपत्यं तद्वोत्रमित्याचक्षते. This means that the original Indo-Aryan families were considered to be eight viz., 1. Viśvāmitra, 2. Jamadagni, 3. Bharadvāja, 4. Gautama, 5. Atri, 6. Vaśishṭha, 7. Kāśyapa and 8. Agastya.

But an important śloka in the Mahābhārata takes us still further back and states that there originally were four gotras only मूलगोत्राणि चत्वारि समुत्पन्नानि भारत । अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चैव वसिष्ठो भृगुरेव च ॥ (शां. अ. २९६). These ancient four gotras 1 Angiras 2 Kāśyapa 3 Vaśishṭha and 4 Bhṛigu are supported by the Pravarādhāyas also in the several Sūtras which always begin with the Bhṛigu Pravara. (It is hence that the Bhagavad-gīta has the line महर्षीणां भृगुरहम्. He is indeed the first of the great or Pravara Rishis). Now this shows that when the first or solar race Indo-Aryan invaders came to India there were four family stocks viz., 1 Bhṛigu, 2 Angiras, 3 Vaśishṭha and 4 Kāśyapa. These were the patriarchs so to say being the mind-born sons of the creator. And they were progenitors of all the three Aryan classes (which were not castes yet) Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. They in fact were not Brahmin Rishis but Aryan Rishis.

Now Bhṛigu's name does not appear in the Saptarshi but that of his descendant Jamadagni does ; so also Angiras is substituted by his two grandsons Bharadvāja and Gautama. Therefore, in order to constitute

the later 8 stocks we have to add Atri, Viśvāmitra and Agastya. It is clear that the Atri stock represents the second horde of Aryan invaders viz., the lunar race Aryans, as the moon is looked upon as a son of Atri and the lunar race Aryans have generally the Atri gotra. Agastya is entirely a new addition but it also took place in Vedic times, for Agastya is a Vedic Rishi while Viśvāmitra an Indo-Aryan Kshatriya became a Brahmin and a Pravara Rishi by his austerities, also in Vedic days when caste was still of the nature of class and families could give up their hereditary avocation and take up another, especially the priestly intellectual one. Viśvāmitra's, therefore, was a Solar race Kshatriya stock which became priests by his intelligence and his high religious merit. Thus the old history of gotra as preserved in the Mahābhārata shows that the ancient Rishis can well be the progenitors of Brahmins and Kshatriyas.

The same conclusion is further supported by a study of the Pravaras, What is Pravara is not known generally even to the most learned Pandits for this question is rarely studied by them. A study of the Pravara-dhyāyas of the several Sūtras discloses the fact that Pravara Rishis are those ancestors in one's family who have composed hymns in the Rigveda and who have praised Agni by those hymns or sūktas. The sacrificer in reciting Pravara is supposed to pray to Agni and tell him that he is the descendant of those Rishis who have praised him by their hymns in the Rigveda. In fact the sacrificer calls upon the Agni by the name of his Rishi. The Āpastamba Sūtra *आर्षेयं वृणीते* is thus commented on “*आर्षेय-मृष्यपत्यसंबन्धं प्रार्थयते संकीर्तयति । अथवा ऋषेरपत्यमग्निं यजमानस्य ऋषि सन्तानत्वात् तं वृणीते प्रार्थयते होमादिभिः ॥*” It is clear from this that the sacrificer is connected with the Pravara Rishis by descent and not by discipleship. The word Rishi is explained by another Sūtra (*मंत्रकृतो वृणीते*) as meaning the composers of mantras or hymns. Now the gotra Rishi may not be a Mantrakrit or composer of hymns. He is any famous descendant of the Pravara Rishi who gave his name or a fresh start to the particular branch sprung from him. This proves the truth of the dictum that gotras are innumerable, while the number of Pravaras is fixed, for the composers of Vedic hymns must be fixed in number. Now the Sūtras further declare *एकं वृणीते द्वौ वृणीते त्रीन् वृणीते न चतुरो वृणीते न पञ्चातिवृणीते* “One may recite one, two, three, but not four, nor more than five, Rishis.” That is to say even if there are more than five composers of hymns in one's ancestry, one cannot mention more than five. This explains how there are usually three and sometimes five Pravara Rishis but never four nor more than five. The gotra Rishi is either one of these Rishis or their descendants.

Thus for example, the Bhāradvāja gotra has three Pravaras Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, Bhāradvāja the gotra Rishi being one of the three Pravara Rishis. But the Vatsa gotra has five Pravaras Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya, Vatsa not being one

of these but some noted descendant of Jamadagni who gave his name to a special branch. One more provision of the Sūtras must be noticed before we proceed. The Sūtras declare that the Adhvaryu priest should recite the Pravara Rishis in the order of ascent while the Hotā is to recite them in the order of descent. This further shows that Pravara and gotra mean descent and not discipleship. Thus Angiras, Bṛhaspati, and Bharadvāja is the descending line as also Bṛigu, Chyavana, Apnavāna, Urva and Jamadagni.*

Now it may be asked how a Kshatriya born in the lunar or solar line i. e., from the moon or the sun can have these Pravara Rishis or composers of Vedic hymns in their ancestry. But if we scan the list of the Pravara Rishis, we find therein many names of kings of the solar and lunar line. In fact it would be a revelation to many that the composers of Rigveda hymns were drawn from all classes, Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. Thus, for instance, Māndhātā, Ambarīsha, Yuvanāśva, Traśadasyu, Purukutsa etc. who are Pravara Rishis are names of noted solar line kings. while Śunahotra, Ajamīdha etc., are lunar race kings. It seems that the Bṛigu gaṇa and the Āngirasa gaṇa Pravaras mostly contain names of Kshatriya kings, a fact which we proceed presently to show. But we may first notice the fact that an examination of the several Pravaras given in the Pravarādhyāyas also shows that many Kshātriyas became Brahmans even in Vedic times. We will enumerate these cases. First we have the case of Garga who was originally a Kshatriya being a son of Bhumanyu, son of Vitatha, son of Bharata, son of Dushyanta a well-known lunar line king. This Garga and his descendants became Brahmans as is stated in the Vāyu Purāṇa also, दायादाश्चापि गर्गस्य शिनिवद्धाद्वन्व ह । स्मृताश्चैते ततो गार्ग्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयाः ॥ १६१, अ. १९०. Now the Pravarādhyās show that the Gārgyas are mentioned among the Āngirasa gaṇas. Thus Āśvalāyana says वर्गाणामाङ्गिरस वाह्विस्पत्य भारद्वाज गार्ग्य शैन्येति ॥ आङ्गिरस शैन्य गार्ग्येति वा । Here we have to explain how the Gargas could go into the Āngirasa stock, being themselves lunar race Kshatriyas. The only explanation possible is that they were, when they became Brahmans, adopted into the Āngirasa stock through Śini. The alternative idea of Āchāryaship cannot be entertained as started by Mr. Pargitar who has touched this subject in his study of the Purāṇas and of the solar and lunar dynasties and who observes (J. R. A. S. 1919 Pāṇchāla dynasty) "Kshatriyas who became Brahmans were incorporated into Brahmin families, either in the Āchārya gotra or by adoption and were not allowed to start a new line like Viśvā-mitra." For the idea of Āchārya gotra is inconsistent with the basic idea of Pravara viz., that the Yajamāna or sacrificer has to pray to Agni

* भार्गवच्यावनाप्रवानौर्वजामदग्न्येति होता बमदग्निवदूर्ववदप्रवानवच्च्यवन-
वद्भृगुवदित्यचर्युः ॥

and identify him with his ancestral Vedic Rishi. The only way Garga could do this was by way of adoption into the Āngirasa family for he could then pray to Agni " Kindly look upon me as my ancestor Angiras who has praised thee in such and such a hymn." The second thing we glean from this episode is that these Brahmins are called by the Vāyu Purāṇa क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः or Brahmins endowed with Kshatriya power. From this we can gather the importance of the term Brahma-Kshatra-Kulīna often applied to Kshatriyas, an importance of which we will take notice further on.

Similar is the case of the Kāṇvas. Kāṇva was born in the Lunar line and was an ancestor of Dushyanta. His Pravara is Āngirasa, Ājamīdha, Kāṇva. Similar again is the case of Vishṇuvardhana whose Pravara is Āngirasa, Pāurukutsa, Trāsadasyava. The Vāyu distinctly states that Vishṇuvardhana was a descendant of Trasadasyu who was a son of Purukutsa, a Solar king and he became a Brahmin attaching himself to the Āngirasa stock. Another example is that of Mudgala who was a son of Bharmyaśva of the lunar line. His descendants became Brahmins and attached themselves to the Āngirasa Paksha, मुद्गलस्यापि मौद्गल्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः । एतेऽह्यङ्गिरसः पक्षे संश्रिताः कष्वमुद्गलाः ॥ वायु. Hence their Pra-

varas are Āngirasa, Bharmyaśva, Maudgalya. Now here an alternative Pravara is given by Āśvālayana तृक्षमुद्गैकेऽङ्गिरसः स्थाने तार्क्ष्य भार्म्यश्च मौद्गल्येति. The Triksha who is substituted for Āngirasa is a Kshatriya king and an ancestor of Bharmyaśva, Triksha, Bharmyaś and Mudgala being all Kshatriyas of the Pāṇchāla lunar line. This, therefore, is a Pravara wherein no supposed Brahmin comes in but all are Kshatriyas. The same is the case with the Haritas. Their Pravara is Āngirasa, Āmbarīsha, Yauvanāśva. Herein also an alternative is allowed and Āngirasa is to be substituted by Māndhātṛi. The Pravara would then be Māndhātṛi, Āmbarīsha, Yauvanāśva. Now these three are the names of three famous Solar line kings and in this Pravara no Brahmin enters. The Vāyu gives the line as follows :— तस्यामुत्पादयामास मान्धाता त्रीन्सुतान् प्रभुः । पुरुकु-
त्समम्बरीषं मुचुन्कुदं च विश्रुतम् ॥ अम्बरीषस्य दायादः युवनाश्वः परः स्मृतः ।
हरितो युवनाश्वस्य हरिताः शूरयः स्मृताः । एते ह्यङ्गिरसः पुत्राः क्षत्रोपेता

द्विजातयः ॥ These lines show that the Brahmins with the Hārīta gotra have a Pravar in which all are Kshatriya kings. These changes, it must be remembered, took place in Vedic times. The descendants of Harita became Brahmins though he was born in the solar line with Yauvanāśva, as father, Ambarīsha as grandfather and Māndhātṛi as great grandfather who are all Pravara Rishis i. e., composers of Vedic hymns. If Brahmins have Kshatriya kings as Pravara Rishis, where is the wonder that Kshatriyas have Brahmins as Pravara Rishis? If in Vedic times, Kshatriyas could become Brahmins (which is the Pratiloma or reverse process) ; surely Brahmins could become Kshatriyas (which is Anulom

process). Indeed this change of a higher caste into a lower could take place down to mediæval times, for we know Brahmin families like those of Chacha and Lalliya of Sind and Kabul became Kshatriyas and the Kshatriya Bhatīs became Vaiśyas in later times still.

To return to our subject, we have said that such instances of Kshatriyas being Pravara Rishis occur in the Āngirasa and Bhṛigu stocks. We will now give instances from the latter stock. The Āśvalāyana Sūtra contains the following Pravaras which consist plainly of Kshatriyas (1) इयेतानां भार्गवैवैन्यपार्थेति. Here Prithu and Vena are clearly Kshatriya kings and the Śyetagotris attach themselves to the Bhṛigu Paksha, (2) मित्रयुवां वाध्र्यश्चेति त्रिप्रवरं वा भार्गवदेवोदासवाध्र्यश्चेति. Here also Divodāsa and Vadhryaśva as well as Mitrayu are Kshatriya kings and the Pravara is attached to Bhṛigu Paksha : (3) शुनकानां गृत्समदेति त्रिप्रवरं वा भार्गव-शौन-होत्र-गार्त्समदेति. Now Gṛitsamada is a king and a Kshatriya ; he is the noted author of the hymns in the second Mandala of the Rīgveda. His story is given in the Mahābhārata (Anu. Ch. 30). Gṛitsamada was the son of king Vītahavya and became a Brahmin by the simple word of Bhṛigu. Gṛitsamada was adopted by Śunahotra. Gṛitsamada's son was Suhotra whose son was Varchas in whose line was born Śunaka who gave his name to a gotra. Therefore the Śunaka-gotris have the simple Pravara Gṛitsamada or the triple Pravara Bhārgava, Śaunhotra, Gārtsamada. These instances show that Kshatriya Pravaras occur also in the Bhṛigu stock. There are some stray instances of Kshatriya names in the Pravara gaṇas of Viśvāmitra and Atri but not of Vasishtha and Agastya so far as we can see.

The above details will show that in Vedic times even, certain Kshatriyas became Brahmins and in doing so affiliated themselves to certain Pravaras or rather stocks of Brahmins. The instances recorded of Brahmins becoming Kshatriyas are rare and we remember only one instance viz., that of Bharadvāja who gave himself as son to Bharata who had left no issue. But it is natural to expect that such cases of Brahmins becoming Kshatriyas must have happened ; and as stated above they did happen down to mediæval times. Kshatriyas then must have had gotras and Pravaras firstly as Aryans and descendants of the original four Aryan stocks. Then again they must have had gotra and Pravara as descendants of Kshatriya Mantrakṛit or composers of Vedic hymns. Lastly even by adoption for purposes of sacrificial ritual they must have taken to certain Pakshas or gotras and Pravaras, there being differences of ritual among the different Pravaras in minor matters.

Whatever the proper explanation, one fact is unquestioned and appears from the several Śrauta Sūtras themselves, viz., that the Kshatriyas from ancient times had gotras and Pravaras and these were the same as those of the Brahmins. For the Pravaraādhyāyas do not declare that the Pravaras

given are those of Brahmins. Take for instance the Āpastamba Sūtra. It gives first the rules for Pravara and their recital. Then comes the sūtra पुरोहितस्य प्रवरेण राजा प्रवृणीते इति विज्ञायते. Here the word used is Rājā or king and the commentator adds अत्र च वचनात् ब्राह्मणोपि राज्यं प्राप्तः पुरोहितस्य प्रवरेण प्रवृणीते which means that even when a Brahmin becomes a king he is to use the Pravara of his Purohita. A king has many emergent duties to perform and whenever he sacrifices, he does not, nay cannot, personally attend to the sacrifice. He has always to appoint his agent viz., the Purohita and hence when the king sacrifices and appoints the Hotā, Adhvaryu and other priests, he must use the Purohita's Pravara and select priests of the same Pravara in order that there may be no hitch in the proper performance of the sacrifice.

This sūtra was misunderstood in later times but it plainly appears here that it applies to a king and not to all Kshatriyas. The Sūtra proceeds to give the Pravaras beginning with Bhṛigu without distinction for Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The special provisions for Kshatriyas come at the end which are very important; अथ क्षत्रियाणां यद्यह सार्षे प्रवृणीरन् एक एवैषां प्रवरः । मानवैडपौरुरवसेति होता ॥ The word सार्षे is not properly understood and it appears as सार्षे in Āśvalāyaua. There is plainly here an attempt to bring in the Purānic genealogy. But it also appears that these old Sūtras which date probably from the 5th to the 1st century B. C. contemplate the Purāṇas not as they exist now, but as they existed in those days. For this Pravara offers a puzzle which we placed before many Vaidikas but which has not yet been solved. Ida or Ila is Manu's son but Pururavas is not Ida's son but the son of Ila changed into the woman Ilā according to modern Purāṇas. And secondly, this Pravara cannot be used by the solar race Kshatriyas among whose ancestors Purūravas does not come. Thirdly, Manu may be a Mantrakṛit but we know no Rigveda Mantra composed by Ida. He cannot be a Pravara Rishi.

Whatever this may be, it is clear that this sūtra only offers an alternative Pravara for the Kshatriyas based probably on the Purāṇas, which they might use if they liked. The following sūtras make the matter clear with regard to the ordinary Pravaras. अथ येषां मंत्रकृतो न स्युः स-पुरोहितप्रवरास्ते प्रवृणीरन्. The Kshatriyas even in pre-Christ times had begun to forget their gotra and Pravara owing to Buddhistic influences or under the stress of foreign invasions and perhaps through the natural indifference which a profession of arms creates towards troublesome religious ritual. And for these this sūtra provides that those who have no Mantrakṛit Rishis, should use the Pravara of their Purohitas. But the next Sūtra adds अथ येषां स्युरपुरोहितप्रवरास्ते —Those who have

Mantrakṛit ancestors cannot use Purohita's Pravara ; but must use their own Pravara as the commentator adds आत्मीयानेव प्रवरान् प्रवृणीरन्नित्यर्थः । However a fourth sūtra adds that even they from convenience (न्यायेन) can use Purohita's Pravara not gotra it must be remembered. These sūtras convincingly show that the Kshatriyas had their own gotras and Pravaras from the most ancient times and epigraphic records dating from before the Christian era show that Kshatriyas actually mentioned their own gotras in inscriptions. Not only the Śrauta Sūtras but the Smṛitis also contemplate that Kshatriyas have gotra and Pravara of their own. How could otherwise the Smṛiti rule असमानार्षगोत्रजाम् . be applied to Kshatriyas ? The rule " one must not marry a girl of one's own gotra and Rishi (Pravara) " applies to Kshatriyas and Brahmins and hence Kshatriyas must have had their own gotra and Pravara. The method suggested by Vijñāneśvara in the Mitāksharā is useless, for if marriage is to be settled on the Pravara of the Purohita, this Pravara may change from time to time or may be even changed specially when a difficulty arises and thus two families which can not intermarry may effect such marriages by change of Purohitas. The modern Kshatriyas and even Vaiśyas observe this law in effect by adopting the system of clans or nukhs.

Lastly, we may notice an important Sūtra from Kātyayana Laugākshi ; अथ हैके मानवेत्येकमार्षेयं सार्ववर्णिकं प्रवृणीते । कस्य हेतोरिति । मानव्या हि प्रजा इति । तदेतन्नोपपद्यते । न देवैर्न मनुष्यैरार्षेयं प्रवृणीते ॥ तदेतदन्यत्र ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियाभ्यामितरासां प्रजानामुक्तं भवति । " Some say that only one Pravara should be used for all Varṇas or castes viz., Mānavya, for all are born from Manu. But this is not proper. For you are to recite your Pravara neither by gods nor by men (a sūtra of Āpastamba), but by Vedic Rishis or composers of hymns (Manu being a man cannot be a Pravara). This is spoken of other people except Brahmins and Kshatriyas." This Sūtra distinctly places Brahmins and Kshatriyas on the same level. It shows that Kshatriyas had still generally kept up the memory of their gotra and Pravara like the Brahmins and were bound by the same rules. It may be added that even according to the Purāṇas gods, Rishis and men are distinct categories. Such Kshatriyas who had kept up the memory of their Pravara Rishis were probably called in later times Brahma-Kshatra. i. e., Kshatriyas who were endowed with Brahma i. e., who had kept up their connection with the Vedic Rishis. The epithet ब्रह्मक्षत्रकुलीन thus is applied to the Paramāras in one inscription. It means in our view that this family is one of those Kshatriyas who have Mantrakṛits for their ancestors. The Paramāras are of the Vasishtha gotra and are supposed to be even born of Vasishtha and hence they are ब्रह्मोपेतक्षत्रेण कुलीनाः. The explanation is often given that Brahma-Kshatra may be explained आदौ ब्राह्मणः पश्चत्क्षत्रियः and there is no

objection even to accept this meaning, since the Kshatriya families having gotra and Pravara were certainly looked upon as born from Brahmins, whether directly or by adoption. And this adoption may have taken place even in Vedic times. Thus a careful study of the Sūtras relating to gotra and Pravara leads us to the conclusion that Kshatriyas have gotra and Pravara of their own which are the same as those of Brahmins and that the Pravara Rishis contain many names of noted Kshatriya kings, there being a time, as indeed the Māhābhārata distinctly asserts, when the Varṇa difference was not rigid, when in fact there was only one Varṇa, the Aryans of India.

CHAPTER VI

ARYAN SETTLEMENTS IN RAJPUTANA

The Rajputs or rather their ancestors the Vedic Kshatriyas settled in Rajputana in not very ancient days and we have mention of such settlements in the two ancient epics of India. It must be remembered that this part of the country is very inhospitable and could not have ordinarily invited settlements. The sands of the western and the hills of the eastern part of Rajputana were not fit places for the settlements of Aryans who were, as stated in Vol. I, generally tillers by occupation and were consequently fond of what is called a Jāṅgaladeśa that is a dry fertile plain country. It is, therefore, no wonder that this part of the country remained inhabited, from pre-historic times for long, by Ābhīras, Bhils and other aboriginal tribes of the Dravidian race only. The Aryan settlers of the lunar race or second horde of Aryan invaders who spread from Mathurā toward the south avoided this country and passing through it settled in the level and fertile lands of Ānarta and Saurāshtra. We know from the Mahābhārata that Śrī Kṛishṇa himself, when troubled in the Madhya Deśa "or middle country the favourite land of the lunar race Aryans" by Jarāsandha, went to Saurāshtra and founded Dvārakā. He was led to this country probably by the consideration that the king of Ānarta (or North Gujarat) was the father-in-law of Balarāma. Dvārakā and Ānarta were thus the first settlements of the Aryans in modern Kathiawar and Gujarat. When these Aryans had to visit the "middle country" they had to traverse no doubt what is modern Rajputana but they did it with great trouble and reluctance. Balarāma for instance in the Mahābhārata is shown to have gone along the track of the Sarasvatī which river, it is said, disappeared in the sands of Rajastan for fear of the Śūdra Ābhīras. Arjuna similarly was troubled by the same people when he escorted to the old country the widows and families of the new Aryan settlers in Saurāshtra

after Śrī Kṛishṇa's death. The people here are called Dasyus and Mlechchhas which Dr. Bhandarkar wrongly interpretes as banditti and foreigners. (Bhandarkar, 'Foreign elements in Indian population Ind. Ant. XL.) Dasyu is the appellation given in the Vedas to the aboriginal people of India while Mlechchha is not necessarily a foreigner. For the Dravidas of the south are also called Mlechchhas in the Mahābhārata (Mlechchhas were those who pronounced Sanskrit inaccurately and they were as well the aboriginal Dravidians as foreigners of the Turanian or Scythic race.). The Ābhīras were not therefore foreigners but aboriginal people of the Dravidian race and they inhabited this sandy part of the country in the time of the Mahābhārata, that is, about 250 B. C.

There are two more references to the Maru desert in the Mahābhārata which must be noticed here as giving us an idea as to how Maru was made habitable. When Śrī Kṛishṇa was returning to Dwārakā—his home—after the Great War, he was accosted on the skirts of the Maru desert by Uttanka who appears to have been the first Brahmin to establish his Āśrama there. He complained to Śrī Kṛishṇa that he often felt thirsty and got little water to drink. The latter asked him to remember him whenever he felt thirsty and thereafter sent clouds whenever Uttanka remembered him, clouds which gave plentiful of water and quenched Uttanka's thirst. Since his days certain clouds appear in Maru in hot days which are called Uttanka clouds (Mahābharata Asvr. P. Ch.) The second legend refers to the hot winds that blow from the desert and Uttanka was troubled by these hot winds also, These were supposed to be the breathings of Dhundhu a demon, who lay concealed beneath the sands of the desert or dried sea. Uttanka sought and obtained the help of the solar race king Kuvalāśva of Ayodhyā. The latter dug out the sand and discovered the demon. Many Kshatriyas died in the hot fire emitted by the demon but eventually the fire was quenched by water brought by the king and the demon was destroyed. Kuvalāśva was thenceforth called Dhundhumāra (Vana P. Chap. 204). This story is again told in the Mahābhārata and is told in the Rāmāyana also. It thus appears to be a favourite legend and shows that the first settlement in Maru was led by the Solar Kshatriyas.

The Rāmāyana too of the first century B. C. speaks of this part as still inhabited by the dread Ābhīras. In the Yuddha Kāṇḍa Sarga 22, Rāma takes out an arrow to throw at the recalcitrant southern ocean who, appearing bodily, asks Rāma to forgive him and requests him to let his arrow fly against a northern part of himself called Drumakulya where many people headed by the Ābhīras who are described as "Dasyus of terrible appearance and deed" drink his water and whose proximity he can no longer bear. The arrow was accordingly sent and the country became devoid of water except in a well which was pierced by the arrow and which became famous as Vraṇa Kūpa*. What Drumakulya country was and where this Vraṇa Kūpa is, cannot be ascertained but certain it is that Indian poets have taken the most natural view of this part of India in its geological aspects viz., that Rajputana was probably once a sea which is now dried up and that there is very little water to be got except in some well-known wells. This part, however, was blessed by Rāma in return for its undeserved punishment and it became† very fertile and healthy. Apparently, therefore, about the beginning of the Christian era this part was first entered and settled by Aryans, after subjugating the fierce and uncouth aboriginised people. The road became thus clear for settlement and it was found that Maru (desert) was fertile and healthy and capable of maintaining large stocks of cattle and raising different kinds of grain. In short, we may gather that the Aryan settlers first came to Maru, probably by the beginning of the Christian era.

The hilly tracks of eastern Rajputana must have been invaded by the Aryans earlier than the Maru desert. For the Mahā-

* उग्रदर्शनकर्माणो बहवस्तत्र दस्यवः । आभीरप्रमुखाः पापाः पिबन्ति सलिलं मम । तैर्न तत्स्पर्शनं पापं सहेयं पापकर्मभिः ॥ ३०; ३१ ॥ स बभूव तदा कूपो व्रण इत्येव विश्रुतः । सततं चोत्थितं तोयं समुद्रस्येव दृश्यते ॥ ३५ ॥

† वरं तस्मै ददौ विद्वान् मखेऽमराविक्रमः । पशव्यश्वात्परोक्षं फलमूलरसै-
श्रुतः बहुम्नेहो बहुर्क्षारः सुगन्धिविधौषधिः । रामस्य वरदानाच्च शिवः पंथा-
बभूव ह ॥ ३९ ॥

bhārata speaks of the Pushkara Tīrtha situated near Ajmer as the holiest in India. In fact even now it is looked upon as one of the three holiest viz., 1 Pushkara, 2 Kurushetra and 3 the Ganges. But though early discovered, the Pushkara lakes were described as situate in Pushkarāranya or the Pushkara forest. Hence like Dandakāranya, Pushkrārnya must have remained unsettled for a long time. Only Brahmin settlements must have first been founded as in Dandakāranya and Kshatriyas must have followed only after a long interval as in Mahārāshtra.

The route of communication between the valley of the Jumna and Gujarat in ancient days must have been the same as at present viz., along the Rajputana Railway. And the next spot which must have attracted attention after the Pushkara lake of Ajmer was naturally the high mountain peak of Abū. This high mountain in an otherwise level country must have suggested to the ancient Indo-Aryans the idea that this mount was a son of the Himalaya mountain. This poetic idea based on a natural aspect gave rise to the story of the Arbuda mount related by Chand. In fact the main part of this story is as old as the Mahābhārata itself where in Vana Parva Chap. 82, we have a reference to the Arbuda Tīrtha and therein Arbuda is described as a son of the Himālaya and it is further stated that there was here formerly a deep hole in the earth, to fill which the mountain had been brought from the north. The name of Vaśishṭha is again long connected with this mount as the Mahābhārata mentions the Āśrama of Vaśishṭha on this mount as a holy place.

The story of the digging of the hole by Uttanka is given in the same epic in two places. In the first, he is said to have dug up this deep hole in the earth to pursue the Takshaka Nāga to the nether world. In this hole Vaśishṭha's cow fell and he it was who conceived the idea of bringing a son of the Himālaya to fill up the deep fissure. Himālaya at first refused to give any help as the place was unholy but Vaśishṭha promised to make the country pure and eventually one of the sons of Himālaya went and filled up the hole. Vaśishṭha thereupon lived there himself and built a temple to Śiva who, therefore, was given the name of Achaleśvara or lord of mountain. Even at present as

throughout Rajput history the Achaleśvara temple is a holy place on this mountain. This story related here is thus probably very old and was subsequently amplified with details by the Skanda Purāṇa in its Arbuda Khaṇḍa Chapter 3. (The name of the mountain in the Purāṇa is Nandivardhana while Arbuda is the name of the great serpent seated on whose back the Nandivardhana mount came from Himālaya to this country). The Skanda Purāṇa story, however, makes no mention of any sacrifice by Vaśishṭha which plainly is Chand's addition to the ancient legend. From this account of the rise and growth of the Arbuda legend we may conclude that the Abu mountain was a holy place as early as about 250 B. C. and was first inhabited by some Aryans of the Vaśishṭha family. It is no wonder that the Paramāras who came to prominence in this part of the first country later on, take Vaśishṭha as their gotra.

These settlements of the Vedic Kshatriyas in the inhospitable sandy and hilly regions of Rajastan before and about the beginning of the Christian era, it is not difficult to imagine, must have been impelled by the pressure of foreign invaders on their ancient homes in the Panjab and the Gangetic valley. In fact throughout Indian history Rajputana appears to have afforded a sheltering ground to the Indo-Aryans, whenever they were thrust out of their richer lands, blessed with plentiful water, by barbarian hordes like the Śakas, the Kushans, the Huns and lastly the Mahomedan Turk's and Afghans. The last of the Rajput families which thus took shelter in the sands of Rajastan, we know from authentic history, were the Rāṭhods of Kanauj, who after the defeat and death of Jayachand came from the Gangetic valley to the sands of Marwar. In fact Rajputana has got this name—the land of Rajputs—from Mahomedan times only. History furnishes proof, though not certain, of many such immigrations in times previous to the advent of the Rāṭhods. The first historical mention is that of the Mālavas, the Malloi of Greek historians. From coins discovered at Nagar in Rajputana, Cunningham inferred that the Mālavas were there in their migration from the Panjab to Malwa about the first century B. C. as the coins bear the simple legend 'Jaya Mālavanam' (Cunningham's Arch. Survey Report

Vol. XIV). The next mention we have is that of the Madhyamikas who had a kingdom somewhere near Jaipur and who were invested by Śakayavanas. The Gaur Rajputs appear from tradition to have come from Gauda Deśa *i. e.* the region about Thanesar (not Bengal as people wrongly think) and settled in Ajmer where they were subsequently supplanted by Chāhamānas. The Gurjaras of Bhinmal were in our opinion not foreigners as Smith and Bhandarkar believe but were, on the contrary, Vedic Aryans pressed by foreigners from their homes in the Panjab taking shelter as usual in the sands of Marwar and preserving their independence. We have no record left of other Kshatriya tribes founding settlements in Rajputana in the 3rd and 5th centuries onsted by Kushans and Huns. But it may be surmised that the Kshatriyas or Rajputs who now came to prominence in the 8th century by their heroic conflicts with the Arabs were descendants of Vedic Aryans who had come to Rajastan being driven out of better homes in the Panjab and the Gangetic valley by foreign invaders. The religious map of India which we have appended to our first volume shows that this part of India was not predominantly Buddhist nor Hindu Buddhist, but predominantly Hindu. Here in the deserts and hills of Rajputana, the Vedic Kshatriyas had preserved their independence as well as their Vedic religion and when here also they were attacked by new foreigners who, to the cruelties of invaders, added the ferocious intolerance of a new idol-breaking faith, the Vedic Kshatriyas or Rajputs rose to the height of their efforts in defence of their religion and their independence. It is hence we see the phenomenon that in Rajputana, new Kshatriya clans came into prominence about this time and not only beat back the Arabs but by their new vigour founded the second set of Hindu Kingdoms which ruled India in the second portion of the mediæval Hindu period. Of these Rajputs the Guhilots, the Chāhamānas, the Pratihāras and the Paramāras were the most prominent and we proceed to sketch the history of these and other clans and the kingdoms they founded in our next book, beginning of course with the Guhilots to whom by the unanimous consent of modern Rajputs the palm of chivalry and pure Kshatriya blood has been properly conceded.

BOOK IV

THE SECOND SET OF HINDU KINGDOMS.

THE GUHILOTS OF MEWAD.

The foremost and the most renowned among the new royal families which came to the front about the beginning of the ninth century A. D. in consequence of their valorous resistance to the Mahomedan onslaughts on inner India, were undoubtedly the Guhilots of Mewad. We shall begin our history of the second set of Hindu Kingdoms by relating the story of this most chivalrous clan. Tod observes rightly that the Rajput tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the prince of Mewad, the legitimate heir to the throne of Rāma, as the first of the thirty-six royal tribes ; and has further properly noted the fact that the State of Mewad is the only one (with the exception of Jaisalmere) which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination and in the very lands where it was founded in the second half of the 8th century A. D.—a circumstance which certainly adds to the dignity of the Rānā of Mewad. But the dignity of the Mewad royal family is not only due to the stability of their rule and dominion but to the long continued and determined resistance which they offered to the Mahomedans in spite of great reverses now and then, a conflict—almost always successful—which has become the most glorious episode in Indian history hallowed by the names of a succession of great heroes such as the legendari Bappā, Khumana, Samarasi, Bhīma, Hamīra Sāṅgā, Pratāpa and others. In fact the heroism of this family and its sustained tenacious effort for the preservation of

its independence* and its religion are as stable as their fortune and their dominion.

Of this most illustrious family Bappā Rāwal was the reputed founder and it is no wonder that many strange legends have gathered round the birth, the youth, the exploits and even the end of this great hero as around the lives of most heroes in ancient and even modern history of the world. Tod has recounted them in his monumental history but we shall content ourselves here with giving the most simple account leaving out all miraculous events and testing each fact in the crucible of probability, aided by inscriptions which too require to be submitted to the same test ; for it can never be accepted that because certain facts are recorded on stone or copper they are therefore reliable or true. We find that facts especially those belonging to former times recorded in inscriptions are often based on untrue and unreliable legends and hence the need of applying this same test even to inscriptions. Col. Tod made most searching inquiries about oral and written traditions of this family, collected genealogies and inscriptions and had the advantage of personal acquaintance with the historical localities of Mewad and he has done well in recording traditions which he also looked upon as doubtful. For the shrewd observation of Hume which Tod has quoted must here be borne in mind viz., "poets though they disfigure the most certain history by their fictions and use strange liberties with truth when they are the sole historians have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggeration." We will use the legends given by Tod in connection with the founder of the Mewad family under the same test in giving the following account, differing in many respects from that of Tod. With due deference to this great historian of the Rajputs, we must say that he was much influenced by the wrong theory of the foreign descent of Rajputs started by him and further observe that historical research was only in its infancy in his days, many im-

* It may be noted that none of the Mewad Chiefs submitted to the Mogul empire entirely or ever attended the Delhi Darbar of the Mogals. Even under the British rule which the family have accepted, the Mewad prince did not attend the last Delhi Darbar alleging their long tradition which the British government was good enough to respect.

portant and incontrovertible facts being now known or finally established. With these prefatory remarks and duly honouring and recognising the work done by the great historian, we proceed to sketch our story of Bappā Rāwal and his successors during the Mediæval period of Indian history. It may be stated here, that Mewad history is certain and unquestionable only from Hamīra onwards, the history of the family from the foundation to the end of the twelfth century A. D. being still shrouded in doubt on many points and our account is only an attempt to rationalize story and is therefore liable to be modified as future research may discover new facts or new arguments.

Bappā Rāwal the reputed founder of the Mewad family was the Charles Martel of India against the rock of whose valour, as we have already said, the eastern tide of Arab conquest was dashed to pieces in India. He was further a contemporary of Charles Martel and strangely enough his life also resembles the life of that hero of the Franks who signally defeated the Arabs in the west and turned the tide of Mahomedan conquest in Western Europe in 732 A. D. Like Charles Martel who was a prince himself being Duke of Austria under the king of France. Bappā Rāwal was a minor prince under the Mori king of Chitore. He ruled in Nagada (Nagahrada) a small town a few miles to the north of Udaipur among Bhils whom he enlisted in his force just as Shivaji in later history enlisted the Mawlas in his fight against Bijapur. He was a small prince or Rāwal a term which does not mean, as Dr. Bhandarkar suggests, an ascetic of a particular sect. The word applied to such ascetics is simply by borrowed meaning for we know that even the word Mahārāja which really signifies a great king is applied to Brahmins and ascetics in a borrowed sense. Rāwal means a small Rao or prince and Bappā Rāwal ruled in Nagadā among the hills and ravines inhabited by Bhils of the Aravalli range. He belonged to the Guhila family of Rajputs which was an offshoot from the royal family of Valabhi first established at Idar and subsequently taking refuge from Mahomedan inroads among the hills at Ahara, as usual among the Rajputs throughout their history. To this family belonged Bappā Rāwal a Rajput prince among

Bhils with whom he freely associated and whom he disciplined and engaged in service for his own preferment.

Like Shivaji, Bappā Rāwal was an intensely religious man and he equally hated the new invaders of India who were cow-killers. From their base in Sind which they had conquered in 712 A. D., the Arabs had begun to overrun India south and east. They had attacked the kingdom of the Moris of Chitore who were, as stated in Volume I, the relatives of Sāhasi king of Sind and who had even laid claim to that kingdom when usurped by Chacha. To traverse deserts was not a difficult task for Arabs and they had begun to harass Chitore with great force. We actually find it recorded in the inscription of the Navasāri Chālukya grant of 739-740 A. D. (Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part I, p. 465) that the Arabs had attacked the Maurya (necessarily of Chitore) along with Chavotaka, Kachchha and other states. Bappā Rāwal was a great devotee of Śiva whose image of Ekalinga was near Nāgadā and a disciple of the noted Śaiva sage who lived there named Hārīta. We need not believe the story given in the Achalagada and other inscriptions that Hārīta foretold Bappā's greatness and gave him the golden anklet indicative of sovereignty in return for his devoted services to himself. But we may surmise that Hārīta saw the greatness inherent in his disciple and advised him to go to Chitore, enter the king's service and fight with the infidels, the breakers of idols and killers of cows. Bappā accordingly took service with his clansmen and his Bhils with the Mori king (perhaps he was already a Sāmanta of that king) and soon rose to importance and was chosen as the leader of the forces deputed to repel the recurring Arab invasions. Like Charles Martel, the Mayor of the Palace at Paris, Bappā Rāwal was probably the commander-in-chief of the Mori forces opposed to the Arabs and like Charles Martel Bappā seems to have achieved a signal victory over them. Naturally his renown was now greater than ever. We do not believe the legend that the Sardars of Chitore hereafter revolted and deposing the Mori king of Chitore placed the crown on Bappā's head. Bappā was too religiously minded to depose his king; although such an event is not unlikely. Like Charles Martel's son Pepin who, setting aside Childeric, the puppet king of the Merovingian line on the throne

of Paris, himself became king of the Franks, Bappā might have, from the renown and power which he had acquired by his signal defeat of the Arabs, set aside the decrepit Mori king; but we prefer to believe that the then Mori king of Chitore died childless like Sāhasi in Sind or like Shahu at Satara in Maratha history, and Bappā became the king of Chitore like Chacha in Sind or the Peshwa Nanasaheb in Poona. Whatever the nature of the revolution, it is certain that the Mori line ceased and Bappā the conqueror of the Mahomedans founded an illustrious line of kings at Chitore, a line which subsists to this day after twelve centuries. This was also like what happened in France where Charles Martel became the progenitor, through his grand-son Charles the Great, of a renowned and long continued line of kings.

Unlike Charles Martel, however, Bappā Rāwal lived long and marrying many wives had a numerous progeny. He is the progenitor of the Guhilot Rajputs who have several branches and whose number at this day cannot be less than one hundred thousand. Bappā was in fact so long lived that he eventually retired in favour of his son and became a Śaivite recluse and died at a very ripe old age. We do not believe, as the legend recorded by Tod relates, that he in old age retired and went to Persia, again married there and founded a second royal family. It is far more in consonance with his highly religious nature that he retired and became a devotee as stated in the Ekalinga inscription.*

It remains to fix the dates of Bappā's birth, his accession to the throne of Chitore and his abdication. The traditional date of his abdication is given as V. Samvat 820 or 763 A. D. This date does not seem to be incompatible with the date which is found in the inscription of Maun Mori at Chitore given by Tod in his history (Appendix Vol. II Tod's Rajasthan by Crooke) viz.,

* The above account is detailed from the following two ślokas :— हारीतराशिवचनाद्वरमिन्दुमौलेरासाय स द्विजवरो नृपतिर्बभूव ।
पर्यग्रहीन्नृपसुताः शतशः स्वशक्त्याऽजैषीच्च राजकमिलां सकलां बुभोज ॥ दत्त्वा महीं
मध्वगुणाय सूनवे नवेन्दुमौलिं हृदि भावयन्नृपः । जगाम वाप्यः परमेश्वरं महो
महोदयं योगयुजामसंशयम् ॥

770 V. S. or 713 A. D. Maun Mori is supposed to be the last king of the Mori line. The accession of Bappā to the throne of Chitore may be placed between 713 and 763 or somewhere about 730 A. D. It is given by Tod on the basis of Mewad tradition as 728 A.D. (see Tod by Crooke Vol. I p. 285). The Arabs conquered Sind in 712 A. D. and must have made incursions into kingdoms of inner India thereafter. The incursion on Maurya kingdom as stated above must have taken place sometime before 738 the date of the Navasāri inscription and we may safely place Bappā's accession in 740 A. D. and even earlier in 730 A. D. His rule, therefore, may be taken to have lasted 33 years, not a long period however. It is difficult to say what his age was when he sat on the throne of Chitore. If he was comparatively young, we may take him about 30 years old and his birth may be assigned to 700 A. D. Now there is a strong traditional belief among the Guhilots of Mewad that Bappā was born in St. 191 a date which Tod says neither the bards nor the reigning prince of Udepur were willing to give up (see Tod by Crooke Vol. I p. 268). How to explain this figure was a riddle before Tod and he solved it by going to the Valabhī era and the sack of Valabhī by the barbarians. Now for both these Tod assigned dates which have been proved wrong from inscriptions. For the latter he assigns A. D. 524 but as a matter of fact we know that the last Śīlāditya of Valabhī has left a grant dated 766 A. D. The explanation given by Tod, therefore, fails and we are driven to say that the Guhilot bards stick to a false and fanciful date for the birth of Bappā or we must offer some other explanation. We think we can explain this figure by looking upon it as given in the era of the founding of the Valabhī kingdom by Bhaṭārka, the date of which is 509 A. D. as given in our genealogy of the Valabhī kings (see Vol. I page 250). If we add 191 to this we get 700 A. D. It is not at all strange that the Idar branch of the Valabhī dynasty should have kept up the memory of the kingdom founded by Bhaṭārka as the branch was founded by a son of Guhasena whose date is 565 A. D. The Indian dynasty bards kept up, even keep up now, by calculation of their own, such eras or Samvats by adding the number of years for each reign and thus the memory of St. 191 for Bappā's birth from the foundation of Valabhī rule is not strange.

Whether Bappā is, as sometimes represented, a nickname only and whether he is to be identified with Khumāna or some other Guhilot king ruling later on, we shall discuss fully in a note. Here it will suffice to state that though the word Bappā sometimes means a Bāvā or recluse, it originally means father (Marāthi Bāpa) and is found actually applied to the founder of a kingly family as shown by the epithet बप्पपादानुध्यात applied to kings of Nepāl in their many inscriptions. But we do not believe that Bappā was an epithet so bestowed by later kings on the founder of the Guhilot family ; we think it was his own proper name, for we do find Bappā as a proper name even in these times and in earlier times also. Thus Bappabhaṭṭi is the name of a Jain Āchārya of the time and Bappārya of a Brahmin donee in an inscription of the time ; and among Kshatriyas the name Śrivallabha Bappa is mentioned as that of the Dūtaka in the Bagumra grant of A. D. 655 (Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 269).

CHAPTER II.

THE SUCCESSORS OF BAPPĀ,

The Guhilot line of Rajput kings of Chitore in Mewad founded by Bappā is certainly the most unique line in the history of the world. Founded by Bappā in 730 A. D. in Mewad it still subsists after the lapse of nearly twelve hundred years and in the same lands and the fortress of Chitore is still in its possession though the capital is not now Chitore but Udepur. But what is more wonderful is that the kings of this line, however diverse their fortune, were, each and all, chivalrous and virtuous, lovers of independence and supporters of their ancestral faith. Indeed we may say that the sublime character of the hero-god Rāma as a man and a king whom they look upon as their progenitor still exercises its influence over the kings of this line and equally reigns the influence of the life of the actual founder Bappā who was a highly religious and independence-loving, valorous king. The praise bestowed* upon him by the Chitoregad and Achaleśvara inscriptions is not untrue and the Guhilot line of kings equally deserves the praise bestowed upon it†.

* Bappā was given a golden valaya for his foot, indicative of sovereignty, by the sage Hārīta for his great devotion to the Ekalinga Śiva idol (संप्राप्ताद्भुतमेकालिंगचरणांभोजप्रसादात्फलं यस्मै दिव्यसुवर्णपाद-कटकं हारीतराशिर्ददौ । बप्पाख्यः स पुरा पुराणपुरुषप्रारंभनिर्वाहनात्तुल्यो-त्साहगुणो बभूव जगति श्रीमेदपाटाधिपः ॥ (B. I. P. 75) See also हारीतात्किल बप्पकोऽघ्निलयव्याजेन लेभे महः क्षात्रं धातृनिभाद्वितीयं मुनये ब्राह्मं स्वसेवा-च्छलात् ॥ (B. I. 85). This does not necessarily show that Bappā was a Brahmin and Hārīta was a Kshatriya. The poet simply means that Bappā's service of the sage was a Brahmin mahas (greatness) and it was repaid by the Kshatriya mahas viz: the golden anklet of a king.

† See यद्वंशो गुहिलस्य राजभगवन्नारायणः कीर्त्यते तत्सत्यं, कथमन्यथा नृपतयस्तं संश्रयन्तेतराम् । मुक्तेः कल्पितवेतसः करतलव्यासक्तदण्डोज्ज्वलाः प्राणत्राणाधियः श्रियः समुदयैर्न्यस्तापहस्ताः सदा ॥ and एतेऽद्यापि महीभुजः क्षितितले तद्वंशसंभूतयः शोभन्ते सुतरामुपात्तवपुषः क्षात्रा हि धर्मा इव ॥ B. I. Page 85.

The several inscriptions yet known relating to this line, however, are very difficult to reconcile one with another, regarding the names of the successors of Bappā step by step and the matter is further complicated by the finding of a fresh copy of the Ātapurā inscription which was before Tod also. In this new copy certain names appear which are not in Tod's copy and the number of kings down to Samarasinha the reputed contemporary of Prithvīrāja with whom our history will *end* about the beginning of the 13th century A. D. is about 30 which gives approximately $(\frac{1200 - 740}{30} = \frac{460}{30})$ 15 years per reign, not an improbable figure. If we, however, take the number of kings as given by the new copy of the Ātapurā inscription we have from Bappā (or Guhila) to Śaktikumāra whose inscription of V. S. 1034 or A. D. 977 has been found, 20 kings excluding Bappā and this gives $(\frac{977 - 763}{20} = \frac{214}{20})$ 11 years which is rather improbable. But looking to the fact that during the period with which our second volume is concerned, the Mewad kings were constantly fighting with the Mahomedans who harassed them from their base in Sind, we need not wonder at this shortness of the average reign. For example, we find four kings mentioned from 1008 to 1034 V. E. or a period of 26 years only viz., Allāṭa, Naravāhana, Śālivāhana and Śaktikumāra. Or it may be possible that this Ātapurā inscription brings together contemporaneous kings of different branches of the Guhila tree, as was done by Tod himself, for we are already told that this family had many branches (vide the Chitoregad inscription*). We are, therefore, not yet certain about the successors of Bappā during the second sub-period of Mediæval Hindu Indian history, (The two kings Śīla and Aparājita whose inscriptions of the 7th century A. D. have been found must be considered to be Bappā's ancestors and if these names recur in the Ātapurā new copy they are descendants having the same names). But we will give here the most important of these kings, mainly following the Chitoregad and Achaleśvara inscriptions for details.

* शाखोपशाखाकुलितः सुपर्वा गुणोचितः पत्रविभूषितांगः । कृतास्पदो मूर्द्धनि भूधराणां जयत्युदारो गुहिलस्य वंशः ॥ (B. I. P. 85.)

The son of Bappā who came to the throne of Mewad was Guhila and he had many tough fights with enemies, of course, the Arabs from Sind. In fact throughout our period the Guhilots of Chitore fought hard-fought battles with foreigners, so much so that the whole country was strewn with flesh and the meda (fat) of the evil warriors slain and thus acquired the name Medapāṭa (undoubtedly a poetic fancy suggested by the name Medapāṭa, Prakṛita Mewad, but yet proving the terrible battles which the heroic Rajputs and the equally heroic Arabs fought on this soil.)* Guhila gave his name, it is said in both these inscriptions, to the family which consequently became known as Guhilots, Skt. Guhilaputra, (the termination ota from *putra* Skt., is now generally used in Rajputana to denote descendants of any famous king).

The successor of Guhila was Bhoja and his successor was Śīla. Both these fought with the Arabs but Śīla's successor Kālabhoja is described as having fought harder battles still. The son of Kālabhoja is said to be Bhartripaṭṭa and his son was Sinha. These as usual were great warriors and fought battles with enemies. The son and successor of Sinha was Mahāyaka and his son was Khommāṇa of whose exploits these inscriptions sing great praises. Now Tod refers to a poem called Khommāṇa Rāsā in which after the fashion of the Rāsās an attempt is made to bring together the various Rajput clans which assembled to assist in the defence of Chitore against the hereditary foe—the Mahomedans from Sind. The Ātapurā inscription mentions two Khommāṇas before this Khommāṇa, the first of them being the son of Kālabhoja and the second being son and successor of Sinha. In whose time did this great invasion take place? Tod has given a short account of the invasions of the inner country by Mahomedans from Sind during the time of the several Khalifas who succeeded Walid. It seems probable according to Tod that this invasion took place in the first quarter of the ninth century. If we take Bappā as resigning in 763 A. D. and this invasion as taking place about 825 A. D., we have a distance of about 62 years which ordinarily

* मेदःक्लेदभरेण दुर्जनजनस्याहवितः संगरे । मेदपाटाभिधाम् ॥

would cover three reigns but in this line of short reigns we might assign five kings between Bappā and Khommāṇa. As some kings are not mentioned in these inscriptions between Bappā and Mahāyaka who are mentioned in the Ātapurā inscription (Ind. Ant. XXXIX p. 191) it seems probable that Khommāṇa who fought valiantly with the aid of other Rajputs with the Arabs was the son and successor of Kālabhoja.

The poem Khommāṇa Rāsā has not been available to us and it is very difficult to say how far it is historically valuable. The bringing together of various Rajput clans is a favourite artifice with poets introduced to display knowledge of Rajput clans just as Homer brings all the then known Greek tribes together in some places in his Iliad. But it may be accepted that many Rajput clans did actually come to the help of Chitore in this their first great struggle with Mahomedans just as Rajputs came together to oppose Mahmud of Ghazni and they came to the assistance of Prithvirāja in his fight with Shahbudin. It is, however, unnecessary to discuss here which Rajput tribes came to the assistance of Khommāṇa and we will leave the details to Tod's work (Vol. II) as these details are probably not historical but imaginary.

The son and successor of Khommāṇa (the third) who was also a great warrior is in these two inscriptions said to be Allāṭa. The mother of this king was Mahālakshmī born of a Rāshtrakūta family*. We have a separate inscription of Naravāhana, son and successor of Allāṭa, in which also Allāṭa is said to be a son of Mahālakshmī but this inscription does not give the name of his father who may be either Khommāṇa or Bhartripaṭṭa, son and successor of Khommāṇa, as stated in the Ātapurā inscription. The son and successor of Allāṭa was Naravāhana whose successor was Śaktikumāra (but the Ātapurā inscription puts one Śālīvāhana between Naravāhana and Śaktikumāra). The Ātapurā inscription belongs to the time of Śaktikumāra and is

* The Nilgunda inscription of Amoghavarsha I. dated 866 A.D. states that Amoghavarsha conquered the Gurjaras, of course, of Kanouj and those who dwell in the hill fort of Chitrakūta. This shows that Chitore was a substantial kingdom and had come into conflict with the Rāstrakūtas of the Deccan.

dated Vikrama Samvat 1034 equivalent to 977 A.D. Śaktikumāra's successor was Śuchivarman. We have an inscription of Śuchivarman himself which is dated V. E. 1038. The Chitore inscription closes with the mention of king Naravāhana and the line is carried on upto Samarasinha of V. S. 1338, in the Achaleśvara inscription. We will speak of this latter portion of the line in our third volume and we close here our account of the Guhilot kings of Chitore with Śuchivarman who probably reigned about 1000 A. D. Who the king of Chitore was when Mahmud of Ghazni invaded the Chitore territory we shall discuss in Book VI. We append a list of the Guhilot kings from Bappā to Śatikumāra and give for comparison the list given in the Mewad Gazetteer by Erskine with a few remarks of our own explaining our view.

GENEALOGY OF GUHILOT KINGS.

Ātapura Ins. St. 1034	Achalgadh Ins. St. 1342	Bānapur Ins, St. 1496	Mewad Gaz.
Guhāditya or Bappā retired in V.S. 820.		Bappā	.. A.D. 763
1 Guhila ..	Guhila ..	Guhila	
2 Bhoja ..	Bhoja ..	Bhoja.	
3 Mahendra ..	—	—	
4 Nāga ..	—	—	
*5 Śīla ..	Śīla	.. Śīla	
*6 Aparājita ..	—	.. —	
7 Mahendra II ..	—	.. —	
†8 Kālabhoja ..	Kālabhoja	.. Kālabhoja	
†9 Khommāna ..	—	.. —	.. 836
10 Mattata ..	—	.. —	
11 Bhatripatta ..	—	.. —	
12 Sinha ..	Sinha	.. Sinha	
13 Khommāna II ..	—	.. —	
14 Mahāyaka ..	Mahāyaka	.. Mahāyaka	
15 Khommāna III..	Khommāna	.. Khommāna	.. 936
16 Bhatripatta II ..	—	.. —	
married Mahālakshmi of the Rāstrakūtas.			
17 Allata ..	Allata	.. Allata	
Ins. V. E. 1008—16		..	.. 951

18	Naravāhana	..	Naravāhana	..	Naravāhana	
	V. E. 1028			..		.. 971
19	Śālivāhana	..	—	..	—	
20	Śakti-Kumāra	..	Śakti-Kumāra	..	Śakti-Kumāra	
	V. 1034			..		.. 977
21	Śuchivarman—V. S, 1038			..		.. 1,000

* Inscriptions dated V. E. 703 and 718 have been found of kings of these names but they are not these kings according to our view.

† It is sought to identify either of these two kings with Bappā by Dr. Bhandarkar and others, because if Guhadatta is identified with Bappā we have 20 kings from 820 V. E. to 1034 which gives 10 years for each reign. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar looks upon the 9th Khommāna as the Bappā of the Guhilot tradition which will give 214 (1034-820) years for 11 kings or an average of 20 per king. But it seems to us that for securing the usual average of 20 years per king it is not advisable to upset the whole tradition. If Khommāna is taken to be Bappā the whole line of successors is upset; you do not get Guhila, Bhoja, Śīla and Kālabhoja as descendants of Bappā which they were believed to be at the time of the Achalagadh ins. You can not set at naught the tradition current in the thirteenth and even in the eleventh century (see Naravāhana Ins.), for merely securing the usual average. It may be that this line of kings had a specially short average or it may be that the Ātapurā ins. repeats some kings wrongly or brings together kings of different branches who were contemporaries? for instance Śālivāhana is unnecessary very probably being king not in Chitore but in Ātapurā itself where a younger branch may have continued ruling. If the Achalagadh inscription is alone relied upon, we get 11 kings only after Bappā to Śaktikumāra *i. e.* from 820 to 1034 V. E. In any case it is practically impossible to equate Bappā with Khommāna as the succession would be entirely different and we have no hesitation in identifying him with Guhadatta of the Ātapurā inscription.

NOTE

ARE GUHILOTS FOREIGNERS ?

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his paper on Guhilots (Bengal R. A. S. New Series Vol. V, 1909 pp. 176-187) has attempted to show that the Mewad Guhilot family of Rajputs was founded by one Guhadatta who was a Nāgar Brahmin from Vadnagar and who consequently was a foreigner and a Mer, the Nāgars and the Maitrakas of Valabhī being in fact foreigners who came to India along with the Huns in the sixth century A. D. like the Gurjaras. He has thus killed two birds (nay three) with one throw and degraded the Guhilots of Mewad who are considered to be the best Kshatriyas by the whole of India, from their high Aryan ancestry, along with the kings of Valabhī from whom they claim their descent and the Nāgar Brahmins one of the chief Brahmin sub-castes, into Mers!!! We propose to examine this theory of Dr. Bhandarkar in this note and to see how far it is sound and believable.

We may at once say that the second part of this theory is absurd and based on the usual fallacies and prejudices. In beginning this part of his theory, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar himself admits that he is not quite on *terra firma*. He argues that the names of certain Nāgar Brahmin donees in the Alīna inscription end in Mitra. On this he cannot resist the temptation to hold that Mitra was the name by which Nāgar Brahmins were distinguished from other sub-caste Brahmins. Now the Valabhī kings in their inscriptions are called Maitrakas. "We thus see that the Nāgar Brahmins and the Valabhī kings belonged to the same ethnic stock viz., "Maitra" (P. 184.)! As Mitra and Mihira are names of the same sun, "there seems reason to identify the Maitrakas with Mihiras the well-known tribe of Mehers or Mers." And further this rise of the Maitraka (Valabhī) power took place about 500 A. D., the period when the Huns came to and conquered India. "This seems to show that the Maitrakas were like Gujars a tribe allied with Hūnas and entered India with them")!! And finally "Now we see that Nāgar Brahmins were Maitrakas and the Maitrakas were like Gujars a foreign race. When a stranger tribe settled in India the priests of the foreign tribe became Brahmins and the warriors became Kshatriyas." Thus the Nāgar Brahmins who were Mitras and consequently Mers are foreigners and the Guhilots who are descended from Nāgar Brahmins are also Mers and foreigners by race. Even if they were descended from the Maitraka kings of Valabhī, they belonged, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, to the same ethnic stock viz., Mers and are allied to Gujars and Huns i. e., are foreigners and Mers by race!!!

It is plain that the argument as stated above is so flimsy and illogical that it is needless to enter into any refutation of it. The reader will hold with us that even if the Guhilots were proved to be descended from a Nāgar Brahmin they cannot be treated as non-Aryan for nobody will agree with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in holding that Mitra is another name of Mihara and, therefore, of Mer the well-known outcast people of Kathiawar. It is, however, the first part of his theory that requires a searching examination as it goes directly against the ancient traditions of the Mewad Rajput family, viz. that it is descended from the Maitraka Valabhī kingly family founded by Bhatārka who traces his descent through Kanakasena to Rāma, the solar-race hero of Indian mythology.

It must be admitted at the outset that this part of Dr. Bhandarkar's theory is based on many inscriptions. But, as we have said already, because a statement is recorded on stone or copper that does not make it invulnerable. Statements in inscriptions must be submitted to the same tests as any other statements *e. g.* of witnesses. Now we have first to point out that there is no contemporary evidence to show that Bappā Rāwal was a Nāgar Brahmin. He lived, as we have seen, from 700 A.D. to 763 A.D. There is no record of this period which throws any light upon the question who Bappā was and how he rose to power. It is well-known that stories gather round the life of great heroes and founders of ancient families. We have to test these stories and traditions and reject such as are obviously absurd or as are likely to have naturally subsequently arisen. Now we have, on this ground, rejected the tradition current in Mewad that Bappā or one of his ancestors was born of a pregnant queen in a jungle where she had taken refuge after the destruction of her husband's clan and kingdom. This story is told in India of many founders of royal families; it is told of Vanarāja; it is told of the founder of the Chālukya family of the Deccan and recorded even in an inscription of the Eastern Chālukyas (see *Ep, Ind.* VI, p. 367). Moreover, from unquestioned evidence the last king of Valabhī was alive and on the throne of Valabhī in 766 A. D. *i. e.* three years even after Bappā Rāwal had finished his career. We have, therefore, to see first whether such traditions are likely to arise and whether they are supported by contemporaneous evidence or not.

Now the inscriptions found which first state distinctly that Bappā Rāwal was a Brahmin are the Chitoregad and Achalesvara inscriptions both written by the same man. These inscriptions are dated V. E. 1331 and 1342 equivalent to A. D. 1274 and 1285 *i. e.*, more than 500 years after Bappā lived. The first states "May the city with name beginning with Ānanda prosper from which a Vipra named Bappā etc." Here there is no doubt whatever that Bappā is said to be a Vipra or Brahmin from Ānandapura. All later inscriptions or records are mere echoes of this statement and naturally embody this tradition. The Ekalinga Māhātmya and the Ekalinga inscription thus follow and embody this belief. The origin of all these is, as stated expressly in यदुक्तं पुरातनैः कविभिः of the

Ekalinga Māhātmya, the verse in the beginning of the Ātapurā inscription a copy of which was even before Tod the historian of the Rajputs and which has been edited again from a fresh and probably original copy obtained by Dr Bhandarkar. That verse is as follows. आनन्दपुराविनिर्गत विप्रकुलानन्दनो महीदेवः । जयति श्री गुहदत्तः प्रभवः श्री गुहिलवंशस्य ॥ . It is this verse which we have to examine closely and see what it really means though even this Ātapurā inscription is 300 years later than Bappā.

Now it seems that the later writers misconstrued this verse and gave rise to a wrong tradition much in the same way as the misinterpretation of Prithvirāja Rāsā verses gave rise to the spurious tradition of Agnikulas now exploded from inscriptions themselves. For there is firstly nothing to show that Ānandapura in this verse is the Ānandapura or Vadnagar of the Nāgar Brahmins, as it is admitted by Dr. Bhandarkar himself that Ānandapura is the name of many towns including Ātapurā itself where this Rajput family first lived and ruled. And there is further nothing whatever to prove that the supposed Brahmin founder was a Nāgar Brahmin. The writer of the two long poetical praśastis of Achaleśvara and Chitore of V. E. 1342 and 1331 was a Nāgar Brahmin himself as he distinctly states at the end of his Achaleśvara record that the Praśasti at Chitrakūta was composed by a Brahmin belonging to the Nāgar caste (Nāgarajñātibhājā). Had the supposed founder of the Mewad royal family been a Nāgar Brahmin, the Nāgar Brahmin writer of the Praśastis would probably not have missed the opportunity to state that the founder too was a Nāgar Brahmin. The Ekalinga Māhātmya has no historical value and may be left out of consideration entirely, especially as it is of a very recent date.

But the chief point in connection with the verse in the beginning of the Ātapurā inscription is whether the word Mahīdeva is to be interpreted as Brahmin or king, for the word is used in both meanings. It is possible that it means here a king as pointed out by Mohanlal Pandia in his answer to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar ; for विप्रकुलानन्दनो विप्रः seems to be incongruous and it further appears that this verse equates the name Guhadatta with Bappā. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar does not do this and thinks that Bappā is the nickname of some later king either Mahendrajit or Kālabhoja* (See also Mewad Gazetteer where Erskine adopts this view of Dr. Bhandarkar). Dr. Bhandarkar further says that Guhila is the same as Guhadatta which is not correct. In most inscriptions Guhila is the name of Bappā's son who succeeded him. Here it is necessary to point out that Guhadatta and Bappā must be the same. Dr. Bhandarkar observes " It is true that some records speak of Bappā or Bappaka as the progenitor of the family but they are comparatively

* This seems doubly absurd if we are to suppose according to the Achaleśvara inscription that Bappā was a Brahmin. Was Kālabhoja a Nāgar Brahmin ?

much later inscriptions." This is not correct. Both the Achaleśvara and Chitoregad inscriptions represent Bappā as the founder of the Mewad family. The Ātapurā inscription is dated V. E. 1034 or A. D. 979 and mentions no doubt Guhadatta but there is an earlier inscription of Naravāhana which is dated V. E. 1028 or A. D. 971 in which Bappā distinctly appears to be the founder. Though the inscription is broken and illegible here and there, his name appears in the beginning and the word Guhilagotranarendrachandra would point to him as the founder and no other name is given before his (See Bhavn. Ins. page 59); and since Bappaka *king* is to be indentified with Guhadatta we have to interpret Mahīdeva as meaning a king and not a Brahmin.

The name Bappā as the founder's name given in the Naravāhana inscription is, therefore, as old as A.D. 971, it is in fact the oldest inscription we have and we may be tolerably certain that he was not then looked upon as a Brahmin. But this word Mahīdeva appears to have been misinterpreted into meaning a Brahmin in later times and later inscriptions such as those of Chitoregad and Achaleśvara of A.D. 1274 carried on the misconception later still. How did this misconception based upon a misinterpretation of the word Mahīdeva arise we may try to surmise from the contemporary records of other kingly families.

The stories about the origin of founders of families usually arise from misconceptions and have always, it must be noted here, to be disregarded. When Chālukya inscriptions say that the founder of the family was born from the chuluka or handful of Bhāradvāja Droṇa, there is nothing more in the story than a poetic interpretation of the name Chālukya. Similarly, when Pratihāra is said to be a name given to the family from Lakshmaṇa who was always the door-keeper or Pratihāra of Rāma, we may treat this also to be a fictitious origin assigned to it which may safely be disregarded. Even Vedic Rishis delighted in exploiting names in this fanciful way and assigned fanciful origins to founders of family. Dr. Bhandarkar makes capital out of the story in the Vedas that Vasistha was born of the Apsaras Urvaśī whom, again, later Purāṇas represented as a gaṇikā or prostitute; but we may at once set aside such stories as poetical fancies carrying no historical importance. Vaśistha and Agastya are said in the Vedas to be the sons of the twin-god Mitrā-Varuṇa who put in a kumbha or pot, his seed emitted at the sight of Uravaśī and hence Agastya is called Kumbhayoni. Brīgu is similarly said in the Vedas to be the son of Varuṇa. Now all such legends are simply poetical and have to be omitted out of consideration. Such legends obtained even among the Greeks and other Aryan branches also, assigning strange origins to heroes and the founders of families. Similar disregard has to be paid to unbelievable stories which gain currency about the origin and even the exploits of founders of families who lived in historical times. It is, however, possible to find the cause of such misconceptions and false ideas and we may suggest the following reason why Bappā was looked upon as a Brahmin. As we have elsewhere shown at length, the Rajput families kept up

the memory of their gotras religiously and the Udepur family gotra was Baijavāpa. It was a puzzle in *mediæval times* to explain how Kshatriyas could have the same gotras as Brahmins and the puzzle continues down to this day. Though we have tried to solve the question in our note on Gotras some doubt may still be entertained by many on the subject. The latest theory of the 13th century A. D. noted by Vijñāneśvara was that these gotras were borrowed by Kshatriyas from their purohitas which as we have shown is untrue and incorrect. It appears that in the earlier centuries these gotras were explained on the theory that the Rishi of the gotra was the progenitor of the family. The Paramāra inscriptions thus say that their gotra was Vasishṭha because Vasishṭha created the first Paramāra warrior from his fire. The Chedi inscription which we have already noticed similarly professes to believe that the first warrior of the Chālukya family was sprung from the chuluka not of Brahmā but of Bhāradvāja and hence it was that the Chālukyas professed to be of the Bhāradvāja gotra. The case of the Chāhamāra is distinctly in point. While certain inscriptions give an independent origin, the Bijolia inscription says that there was a Brahmin in Ahichchhatra of the Vatsa gotra from whom was born the Chāhamāna king Sāmanta. Now the Chāhamānas from ancient times have professed this gotra and this legend tries to explain the gotra by supposing that the progenitor of the Chāhamānas was a Brahmin of the Vatsa gotra. But if the Chāhamānas were represented as Solar Kshatriyas in other inscriptions how can they be born of a Brahmin of the Vatsa gotra living in Ahichchhatra? This idea changed into another idea and another origin of the Vatsa gotra of the Chāhamānas is given in the Sunda hill inscription of Chāchagadeva of Samvat 1319 and therefore of the same period as the Chitoregai and Achaleśvara inscriptions. It says that the first Chāhamāna hero was born from the eyes of Vatsa Rishi himself when he threw out tears of joy. Now all these attempts are fanciful attempts to explain the gotras of Rajput families which were being made from about the tenth century onwards. And it is no wonder if like the ancestor king Sāmanta of the Chāhamāna Rajputs who was said to be born of a Vatsa gotra Brahmin of Ahichchhatra, the chief ancient town of the Chāhamānas, so Bappā Rāwal was believed in the thirteenth century A. D. to be born of a Brahmin of the Baijavpā gotra of Anandpura, the chief town of the Guhilots. The word Mahideva must have originally meant king but it was interpreted in later times under wrong gotra theories to mean a Brahmin. As said above we have generally to discard all such theories about the founders of families whether of Rajputs or Brahmins and take as little as possible from legends which are inconsistent with probabilities.

But we go a step still further. Even if we grant that Bappā or Guhadatta was a Brahmin and a Nāgar Brahmin from Anandapura alias Vadnagar, how does that make the whole Guhilot family of Rajputs foreigners—irrespective of the fact we have already noticed that Nāgar Brahmins could not be treated as foreigners. We have already shown in Vol. I

and in this volume also that at that period of Hindu history, Brahmins often married Kshatriya wives especially kings' daughters and the progeny of such unions was treated as Kshatriya and probably of the sept to which the mother belonged. The theory of putrikāputra has always been accepted in Hindu Law and moreover the Guhilot family, king by king, as mentioned in later inscriptions has always married into Kshatriya families. How can then the fact of one Brahmin coming in affect the race of the whole family? We believe that Bappā's being a Brahmin is a misconception of later inscriptions but we argue that even if he were a Brahmin, his marrying a Kshatriya princess is not at all inconsistent with the customs of the period. His wife must have belonged to the Guhila family of Idar or of Nāgadā and their son being a putrikāputra or daughter's son taken into the grandfather's family was a Guhila himself. He might have been named Guhila even for this reason just as the son of Durlabha-var dhana king of Kashmir who married the sole daughter of the preceding Kashmir king of the Gonandīya dynasty was called Pratāpāditya (See Vol. I, p.206). The inscription at Achaleśvara distinctly says that Bappā's son was Guhila and the whole family afterwards was called Guhilot after him. It seems then that even if we accept the idea that Bappā was a Brahmin, there is nothing strange if he married the daughter of a Guhila Kshatriya king of Nāgadā and became famous as many Brhmins did in his time e. g. Chacha of Sind or Lalliya of Kabul whose history we have already given in Vol. I and the descendants of these kings were Rajputs for all practical purposes for we know they gave daughters to and married daughters from Rajput families. But here in the Guhilot family all subsequent kings were treated as Kshatriyas and married Kshatriya ladies and we have a detailed list of them all. How can, even if Bappā were conceded to be a Brahmin, the whole line be treated as foreign by race?

In closing this subject then we will give our view of the matter in plain and simple terms. We do not believe that Bappā was a Brahmin; he belonged to the Guhila Vamśa as stated in the Naravāhana inscription of St. 1028 or 971 A.D. which is even earlier than that of Ātapurā which contains the disputed verse. The lines of the Naravāhana inscription are important. They declare that Bappā was a *king* (क्षितिपतिः) who was moon to the Guhila Vamśa*. This shows that there was a line of Guhila princes at Nāgadā which was most probably a branch of the Idar family founded by a Gūhāditya belonging to the Valabhī line of kings and hence called Guhila. To this line belonged Aparājita and Śīla whose inscriptions belonging to the seventh century A.D. have been found. They were kings before Bappaka who was like the moon to the stars of that family. Bappā was a great devotee of Śiva and a disciple of Hārīta a great saint and worshipper of Eka'linga and was himself a highly religious man. By his valour

* यस्मिन्नभूद्गुहिलगोत्रनरेन्द्रचंद्रः श्रीबप्पकः क्षितिपतिः क्षितिपीठरत्नम् ॥

and fortune Bappā became eventually king of Chitore and having married many wives like all great Indian kings was the father of a numerous progeny in so much so that numerous clans numbering together several thousand descendants at this day claim descent from him. In his old age he retired to a forest and became a Śaiva San-yāsi* (he did not go to Persia to marry Mahomedan women). In order to distinguish his descendants from the previous Guhilas, the latter were called, in the usual Rajput manner, Guhilaputras or Guhilots. It is extremely probable that Bappā was his own name as we find in an inscription a king with this name of a very early date (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX:—Bappabhattāraka pāda Bhattarasa). In short our view is that the word Mahideva in the Ātapurā inscription means a king and not a Brahmin.

But even if it does mean a Brahmin we add that there is nothing to show in any inscription that he was a *Nāgar* Brahmin. Ānandapura is the name of many towns besides Vadnagar. Nay it seems certain from the below quoted śloka that the Chitoregad inscription looks upon Nāgāda as Ānandapura.† And is it to be granted that a Brahmin coming from Vadnagar must necessarily be a *Nāgar* Brahmin? And lastly, even if it be granted that he was a *Nāgar* Brahmin there is no truth whatever in the theory that *Nāgar* Brahmins are Mers and foreigners. It is not necessary to write a note on this subject refuting the flimsy arguments of Dr. Bhandarkar and show that *Nāgars* are not Mers.

* The Ekalinga inscription has the following verse about Bappā on retirement :—दत्त्वा महीमच्छुणाय सूनवे नवेन्दुमौलिं हृदि भावयन्नृपः ।
जगाम वप्पः परमैश्वरं महो महोदयं योगयुजामसंशयम् ॥

† अस्मिन्नागह्रदावह्यं पुरमिलाखण्डावनीभूषणम् ।, जीयादानन्दपूर्वं तदिह
पुरमिलाखण्डसौन्दर्यशोभि ।

CHAPTER III.

THE CHĀHAMĀNAS OF SAMBHAR.

The next Rajput clan that came to the forefront about the same time as the Guhilots were the Chāhamānas or Chauhāns of Sambhar. They are rightly described by Tod as “ the most valiant of the Rajput races ” not excluding even the Guhilots of Mewad and the Rathors of Marwad ; for Tod adds that though these two “ would be ready to contest the point, impartial decision with a knowledge of their respective merits must assign to the Chauhāns the van in the long career of arms ”. This position they have well maintained through the long period of twelve hundred years. Though the Chauhāns no longer possess their original seat of power like the Guhilots, they have the three important kingdoms of Bundi, Kotā and Sirohi still, in Rajputāna and the chiefs of these have always been known as the most valorous princes through both the Hindu and the Mahomedan periods of Indian History. Nay more, under Prithvīrāja Chauhān and his grand-father Viśaladeva also, they once enjoyed the imperial power in India and though Prithvīrāja was the *last* Hindu emperor of India, this unfortunate country being permanently enslaved after him, he has, unlike many last emperors of ancient and modern times shed such glory over the Rajput name by his chivalry and heroism that the Rajputs still love to believe that some one of their ancestors was with Prithvīrāja in his *last* memorable struggle with Shabuddin Ghorī on the plain of Panipat. Indeed the Chauhāns for these reasons would have

been entitled to be considered the first among the 36 royal clans, had it not been for the fact that in later history they accepted a position of subordination to the Mahomedan emperors of Dehli and some Chauhān sub-clans even embraced the Mahomedan faith to save their lands and their chiefships. It is for this reason that the Chauhāns stand second to the Guhilots, whom they resembled, as we shall presently see, in many most important virtues.

The history of the Chauhāns, however, differs from that of the Guhilots in the fact that we have very little information about the founder of the greatness of this most valiant Rajput clan. We have already discarded the Agnikula myth originated by Chand Bardai, the bard of Prithvīrāja. The first hero named Chāhamāna (or sometimes Anahila in later records) may be regarded as fabulous as also the date assigned to him by Surajmal Bhat, author of *Vamśa-Bhāskara* and bard of the Bundi kings. Again the 136 kings mentioned by him as Chāhamāna's successors down to Prithvīrāja we are also compelled to treat as unhistorical. Even the kings mentioned in the *Prithvīrāja Rāsā*, 36 in number, as successors of Chāhamāna upto Viśaladeva are unhistorical (for they are not borne out by inscriptions found relating to this family). It seems indeed strange that Chand Bardai a contemporary of Prithvīrāja of 1167 A. D. should not have been able to give a correct or even reliable genealogy of the family before Viśaladeva who belonged to the tenth century A. D. For the period, therefore, of which we are treating in this volume (800 to 1000 A.D.), we have very meagre information indeed and we have to rely for meagre details chiefly on the Harsha stone inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 119) in which two dates are given V.E.1013 and 1030 or 955 and 972 A.D., this being the oldest inscription available for this line of kings. This inscription is supported to a great extent by the Bijolia inscription which is about 200 years later being dated St. 1226 or 1169 A.D. (*A. S. J. Bengal* LV. p. 41). Copies of both these inscriptions are given in the appendix for the curious reader. Many other inscriptions belonging to this line have been found but they do not give any information before the above mentioned date viz., 972 A.D. and some of them confine themselves to one king

only. There are thus three inscriptions of the Chāhamānas of Nadul V. E. 1 218 (Ep. Ind. IX. p. 68) and Sunda hill inscription of Chāchiga Deva St. 1319 (Ditto) published by Kielhorn and several inscriptions of the same line (Ep. Ind. XI p. 169) published by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and the inscription of Chāhad Deva of Ranathambhor (Ep. Ind. XII. p. 224).

According to the bards of the Chāhamānas, the original seat of power of the family was Māhishmatī on the Nerbudda and they enjoyed, it is believed, sovereignty of the whole of India many a time. We may treat this as unhistorical though we actually find the Chauhāns spread over almost the whole of India from the Panjab in the north to Mahārāshtra in the south. Their first historical seat of power was unquestionably Sambhar or the Śākambhari land which was a kingdom to the north of Mewad and which included Ajmer also. This country contained or was reputed to contain $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of villages and hence was called Sapādalaksha country. (We have already quoted the list of Indian kingdoms with their reputed number of villages given in the Skanda Purāna Kumāri Khanda Chap. 39 (See note p. 40). Dr. Bhandarkar mistaking this Sapādalaksha country for the Siwalik hills country wrongly assigns that place as the original home of the Chāhamānas. The mistake has already been pointed out by Mr. Harbilas Sarda of Ajmer who also pointed out that Ahichchhatra which the Bijolia inscription mentions as the original city of the Chāhamānas was not situated in the Siwalik hills as was propounded by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar but was Nagaur in Rajputana. On this point we are not quite sure and Ahichchhatra may have been the famous Ahichchhatra of the Pānchāla country mentioned in the Mahābhārata. But this question we have already alluded to in detail elsewhere and we may confine ourselves here to the remark that when the Chāhamānas are called Sapādalakshīya kings they are undoubtedly referred to as the kings of Sambhar or Sayambhar for we also find that they are usually called Sambharī Rais or kings of Sambhar in Prakrit poems and records.

Who was the first king that established his power in this Sambhar country it is difficult to state. The Harsha stone inscription begins its description of the Chāhamāna family with

Gūvaka and when it uses the word Ādya or first we are tolerably certain that the word being taken with king and not with Gūvaka shows that the inscription looked upon him as the first great king of the Chāhamānas of Sambhar. The Bijolia inscription, however, begins with a verse which is not quite clear in its meaning, saying "There was a Brahmin (we take the reading *vipra* as suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar instead of *viprah* of the edition in A. S. R. LV) of Śrīvatsa gotra formerly in Ahichchhatrapura. From him was (descended or born) king Sāmanta of many Sāmantas or Sardars. (पूर्णतल्ल (Pūrṇatalla) remains unintelligible); or we may translate the verse as "There was a Brahman of Śrīvatsa gotra in Ahichchhatra formerly, named Sāmanta. From him was born Purnatalla (a proper name) who had many Sardars." Whatever the correct translation, it is clear that this verse gives the go-by to the later myth started by Chand that the first founder of the Chāhamānas was *created* by Vaśishtha on Mount Abu from his sacrificial fire. That story as we have already shown emanates from a poet's imagination only. But even this story given in this verse of the Bijolia inscription viz., that a Brahmin of the Vatsa gotra was the founder of the family is imaginery and suggested by a desire to explain the Vatsa gotra of the Chāhamāna Rajputs. We may, however, believe that there was a powerful Chāhamāna chieftain by name Sāmantadeva supported by many Sardars who belonged to Ahichchhatrapura (either Rampur or Nagaur) and who came to the Sambhar country and founded a kingdom there, since the Prithvīrāja Rāsā also gives the first great king after Chāhamāna as Sāmantadeva.

It may be said that the Harsha hill inscription does not begin with Sāmantadeva but with Gūvaka I and therefore does not also give the successors of Sāmanta upto Gūvaka I mentioned in the Bijolia inscription viz., 1 Jayarāja, 2 Vighraha, 3 Śrīchandra, 4 Gopendra and 5 Durlabha; but it is satisfactory to note that the two inscriptions give almost the same line from Gūvaka I onwards upto Durlabharāja in whose reign the first inscription was recorded in V. E. 1030. There is a difference in one name only viz., that of (5) Vākpatirāja who must be equated with Bappayarāja—Vindhya Nripati, the name of Vākpati coming

again in the latter (No. 10) being treated as Vākpati II. The two lists are as follows :—

HARSHA STONE INS. V. E. 1030.

1. Gūvaka I (circa 868 A. D.)
2. Chandra („ 883 „)
3. Gūvaka II („ 898 „)
4. Chandana („ 913 „)
5. Vākpatirāja („ 928 „)
6. Sinharāja („ 943 „)
7. Vighraharāja („ 958 „)
8. Durlabharāja („ 973 „)

BIJOLIA INSCRIPTION.

1. Gūvaka I.
2. Chandra (Śaśi)
3. Gūvaka II.
4. Chandana.
5. Bappayarāja
Vindhyanripati.
6. Sinha.
7. Vighraharāja.
8. Durlabha.

It is, however, strange that the list given in Rajputana Gazetteer Vol. III. B. page 65 omits the name of Gūvaka I after (8) Durlabha I though this name is given distinctly in the Bijolia inscription which this list follows and also in the Harsha stone inscription. The list requires to be corrected by the addition of this king who certainly was a conspicuous king of the line and who may even be looked upon as the founder of its greatness.

We shall try to assign probable dates to and Sāmantadeva Gūvaka I. We cannot assign to this line 20 years per reign on an average. We know that Vighraharāja was alive in V. E. 1030 or A. D. 973. His grandfather was Vākpatirāja who had a younger son Lachhmana who founded the Nadul branch and for him we have a date V. E. 1039 or 982 A. D. in the inscription. His father Vākpati therefore cannot be put in 933 A.D. or 40 years earlier than Vighraha but we might put him 30 years earlier *i. e.*, in 943. We may take, therefore, 15 years as average for each reign in this line and we thus find that Gūvaka I must have reigned in 868 A.D. (973—105). And Sāmanta may be placed 195 years before 973 A.D. or in 778 A.D. The Rajputana Gazetteer assigns 750 A.D. as the date for Sāmanta which is not improbable, though it is not apparent on which definite data this date has been assigned to him. By probable calculation we can only arrive at rough dates only but the two dates given above are probable and also well fit in with the course of Indian history at this period. Sāmantadeva must have attained to fame by his conflicts with Mahomedans at about the same time

as or a little later than Bappā Rāwal and established his power in Sāmbhar in the middle of the 8th century. One of his descendants *viz.*, Gūvaka I became still more famous in the conglomeration of Indian kings and established his power firmly in that kingdom. The expression in the Harsha inscription " who obtained the fame of a warrior in the great kings' sabhā of Nāgāvaloka " has been interpreted to mean that Gūvaka I obtained fame as a Sāmanta or Sardar in the court of the Imperial Pratihāra king Nāgabhata. Kielhorn started this theory but subsequently changed his opinion (Ep. Ind. IX. p. 62) and yet again changed his view and reaffirmed his first opinion as appears from Stein Konow's paper on the Hansot inscription (Ep. Ind. XII. p. 67). It is, however, not probable that Gūvaka I was a dependent king though Sāmantadeva might have been. The Nripasabhā does not necessarily mean the Darbar of an emperor but may be translated as " an assemblage of kings called by Nāgāvaloka, who himself might be taken to be an imperial king. It is further not quite certain if the Hansot inscription is related to the Chāhamānas, for even there the word Chāhamāna is not clear and is only read by surmise. Its date again is St. 813 or A. D. 756 which does not fit in with Gūvaka I and we prefer to say that Gūvaka was an independent king who established his fame among kings by his exploits against the Mahomedans. He also in this respect resembled Bappā the founder of the Mewad Rajput family of Guhilots.

Gūvaka I further resembles Bappā in being a devotee of Śiva. The Harsha stone record clearly shows that the Chāhamāna kings of Sambhar were devotees of the Śiva god named Harsha himself on the Harsha hill as the Guhilots were devotees of Ekalinga. It is even stated in the first verse of the Harsha inscription that Gūvaka I built the temple to Harsha Śiva on the hill and from the following verses it appears that many succeeding kings showered wealth upon the Harshadeva temple. It even appears that Harshadeva was the family god of this line and to his favour they believed that their greatness was due, just as the Guhilots believe that their greatness is due to the favour of Ekalinga whose ministers they merely profess to be. The line श्रीहर्षः कुलदेवोस्त्यास्तस्माद्विभ्यः कुलक्रमः " Śriharsha is the family god of

this line of kings and from him is derived the splendid career of the family " indicates this clearly and shows that at that time the worshippers of Śiva generally came forward to defend the religion and the independence of the Aryans of India. The Śiva cult of Lakulīśa was then in the forefront as appears from this inscription also, for the priests of Harshadeva whose devotees the Chāhamāna kings were belonged to the Lakulīśa sect like the priests of Ekalinga also from Hārīta onwards. About this sect and their importance in the development of religious thought in India we shall speak later on ; but of their influence on the political condition of the country by generating enthusiasm in orthodox Rajput families this inscription as well as the Guhilot Ekalinga inscription are sufficient proof.

Gūvaka's successor was Chandrarāja and his son was Gūvaka II. His son and successor Chandana is described as having defeated a king of Tomara race named Rudrena and thereby obtained fame. The Tomaras had, it appears, established by this time, their kingdom at Delhi and being their immediate northern neighbours the Chauhāns had constantly to fight with these Tomarras. Chandana's son was Mahārāja Vākpati who seems to be the greatest of this first portion of the Chauhān line. He is said in the Harsha inscription to have defeated a king Tantrapāla of what country it is not stated (Ananta pārśva cannot be identified). The Bijolia inscription calls him Vindhya Nripati ; perhaps his power extended so far. The Rajputana Gazetteer Vol. III. B, identifies him with Manikrai of the Prithvirāja Rāsā on what ground is not stated ; but this king's younger son Lachhmana founded the Nadul line from which the kings of Sirohi derive their descent and his date may be taken to be 943 A. D. as shown above. Vākpatirāja's elder son Sinharāja ascended the gaddi at Sāmbhar and he gave much wealth to the Harshadeva temple and covered the temple roof with golden plate. He is described as the equal of Harischandra (their ancient ancestor) in wealth, munificence and success in battle. He defeated the Tomara king with Lavana, defeated other kings in all directions and imprisoned many. His son was Vighnarāja " the equal of his father in all respects." In his time two villages were granted to Harshadeva temple and being

the king during whose reign the Harsha inscription was recorded, he is naturally extolled the most. His brother and successor Durlabha is equally praised and we close our account of the Chāhamānas in this volume with Durlabharāja who reigned probably about the end of our period *i.e.*, about 1000 A.D. Who the king was in Sāmbhar when Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India we will discuss in Book VI in the next volume.

From the Harsha stone inscription it appears that the Chāhamānas in the tenth century A.D. believed themselves to be of the solar race. The same fact appears from many other records which we have already noticed. Even so late as 1400 A.D. when the Hammīra Kāvya was composed the same belief prevailed. The story given in this poem about the origin of the Chāhamāna family and their next seat of power viz., Ajmer with its Pushkara lake is as follows: "Brahmā once formed a plan of performing a sacrifice and as he was moving in the sky to look for and settle upon a suitable spot, the lotus in his hand fell on the earth and the spot became known as lotus or Pushkara. Brahmā performed a sacrifice there and in order to protect the sacrifice the sun created a hero by name Chāhamāna." This legend explains at one throw why there is Brahmadeva's solitary temple in India at Pushkar, why the lake was called Pushkar and how the solar race Kshatriyas the Chauhāns came to rule over the land. But the story also proves that the different legends about the origins of the founders of families are all imaginary, each poet being at liberty to frame a story of his own. Any how it is certain that Chand's story of the fire origin of the Chāhamānas is imaginary; in fact, as we have shown he himself treated it as such and did not mean that these Kshatriyas were new creations. The Chāhamānas, therefore, must be treated as solar race Kshatriyas or of the first race of Aryan invaders of India, though their descendants in modern times believe themselves to be fire-born.

CHAPTER IV.

THE IMPERIAL PRATIHĀRAS OF KANAUJ.

The third clan of Rajputs which came to the fore at about the same time and by about the same causes as the Chauhāns and the Guhilots was that of the Pratihāras and they soon became the most powerful clan in Northern India, having conquered the imperial city of Kanauj from Chakrāyudha the last Varmā emperor of Kanauj (See Vol. I. p. 341). Tod, the historian of the Rajputs, describes the Pratihāras as the least important of all the Rajput clans, probably owing to the fact that they were insignificant during the Mahomedan times and have left no kingdom of their own at the present day. But inscriptions discovered since the days of Tod and well interpreted by scholars especially Smith and Bhandarkar have established beyond doubt the fact that the imperial power of Northern India was wielded by the Pratihāras in the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. in succession to the Varmās described in our first volume. The history of the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj has been well told by Sir Vincent Smith from the inscriptions found up to date in J. R. A. S. 1909 and we rely chiefly on his paper therein in the following account of the kings of Kanauj. Of course Smith's view that the Pratihāras were Gujars and therefore foreigners has already been refuted on both grounds ; for firstly the Pratihāras were not Gujars and secondly even if they were, they could not be foreigners as Gujars were not foreigners. With this one exception the account given by Sir Vincent Smith may safely be followed and we add certain further observations which appear on a perusal of the original inscriptions referred to by him.

The history of the origin of the family and its early kings can be gathered from the Sāgaratāla inscription of Bhoja published in Arch. Survey Report for 1903-04, a copy of which is purposely given in the appendix for the curious reader. The first king of this family who according to this inscription acquired power was Nāgabhata to whom Smith assigns a reign from 728 to 740

A. D. We have already noted the fact that this inscription assigns the Pratihāra clan to the solar race, being descended from Lakshmana the pratihāra or doorkeeper of Rāma the hero-god. "In this family bearing the emblem of Pratihāra was born Nāgabhata who appeared as if he were four-armed owing to his weapons flashing in the destruction of the army of the *Balana* Mlechchha king, the enemy of virtue." This shows that Nāgabhata first acquired renown by his defeat of the Arab invaders the breakers of Hindu idols, who having conquered Sind tried to extend their conquests eastward. He thus established a kingdom in the same way as Bappā Rāwal of the Guhilots or Sāmantadeva of the Chauhāns. It is indeed to be regretted that this detailed inscription does not mention where Nāgabhata founded his kingdom. Framers of inscriptions usually forget to mention this fact; perhaps to them it was always so obvious as not to require any mention. But future historians are often in a puzzle over this question. Smith says that Nāgabhata was king of Bhinmal but it is not certain where Nāgabhata the first illustrious king of the Pratihāras founded his power. It may be that his capital town was Mandor which certainly was the Pratihāra capital in the days of Prithvīrāja and whose king Nāhararai as stated by Tod immortalized his name by his stubborn fight against Prithvīrāja. Mandor again has very ancient ruins of an extensive character and has also ancient inscriptions in Pāli (See Tod by Crooke Vol. I p. 210). Mandor was certainly the capital of Marwar before the Rathods came to it; and the Rathods first took shelter under the Pratihāras of Mandor whom they subsequently treacherously supplanted. The Rathods removed the capital to Jodhpur which they newly founded only at a distance of a few miles from Mandor. All these facts raise the presumption that Nāgabhata the first Pratihāra king must have reigned at Mandor. Bhinmāl and Mandor are, however, both in Marwar or the desert and probably must have been in the same kingdom viz., Gurjaratrā as Marwar was then called. The ancient name of Marwar was unquestionably Gurjaratrā as is evidenced by inscriptions, while modern Gujarat was then called Lāla (See Ep. Ind. Vol. IX p. 277). The family ruling in Bhinmāl before this period was undoubtedly the Chāpa family

of Vyāgramukha (mentioned in Vol. I p. 357) and it is hence not probable that Nāgabhata ruled in Bhinmāl. It is in short not possible to determine exactly where Nāgabhata ruled ; but his country was undoubtedly Gujaratrā or Marwar and it was exposed to the attacks of the Arabs as completely as or more completely than either Sāmbhar or Chitore. And it is no wonder that the Pratihāra chief Nāgabhata acquired by his determined resistance to foreign invasions and the signal defeat of an Arab army. This must have happened a few years after 712 A. D. the date of the Arab conquest of Sind.

The successor of Nāgabhata was his nephew Kakustha or Kakkuka to whose reign Smith assigns the date 740 to 755 A.D. His brother and successor was Devaśakti or Devarāja and his son was Vatsarāja the next illustrious king of the family. Devaśakti has been assigned a reign from 755 to 770 A. D. and Vatsarāja from 770 to 800 A.D. The great exploit of Vatsarāja was that he conquered the king of Kanauj and “ wrested the imperial power from the famous family of Bhandi ” (Khyātad Bhandikulat etc.) “ unassailable as it was by the wall of rutting elephants,” “ by the single help of his own bow.” The importance of each word in these lines has not been sufficiently realised and we proceed to draw the attention of the reader to it.

In the first place the idea of a Sāmrājya or empire and a Samrāt or an emperor of Northern India had long been established in India on a firm footing. It is first mentioned in the Mahābhārata itself wherein Śrīkrishṇa says (Sabha P. chap. 14) that “ the Kshatriyas for fear of the Brahmins had established a confederacy and had appointed an emperor and that Jarāsandha of Magadha was then the emperor of India. ” Whether the Pāndavas became emperors of India or not, after destroying Jarāsandha, this statement of the Mahābhārata shows that there were emperors in Magadha at least in about 300 B.C. (the date of the Mahābhārata) probably beginning with the Nandas. The idea of an empire was further consolidated by the power of Chandragupta and the greater power of Aśoka and Pātaliputra became the seat of the empire. Later on many imperial dynasties ruled there, the last being that of the Guptas and Samudragupta and Chandragupta were the two great

emperors of this last line in Pātaliputra. The empire of the Guptas having been overthrown by the Huns, Pātaliputra lost its importance as the seat of empire and eventually, as shown in Vol. I, Kanauj became the next seat of the Imperial power in India under Harsha whose extensive and beneficial reign has already been described, supported as it was by an army of 60,000 elephants (Vol. I. p. 13). In the mediæval period of Indian History of which we are treating, it was, therefore, the ambition of powerful subordinate kings to seize Kanauj and establish power there as it was the ambition of Mahomedan heroes in Mahomedan times to seize Delhi and establish an imperial line there. It is hence that we see Vatsarāja of Mandor raising his hand against Kanauj. As stated many a time before, kingly families decline in about 200 years and hence about every 200 years also we have the political phenomenon of one imperial line supplanting another. The Varmā line of emperors of Kanauj was now in its decline and it is no wonder that the ambitious king Vatsarāja of Gurjaratrā vanquished the emperor of Kanauj and wrested the imperial power from him.

It does not appear from this inscription whom he vanquished but probably it was Indrarāja. Again the date of the conquest seems to be about 780 A.D. from an important piece of evidence which has been discovered in the colophon of a Jain work. The verse quoted by Smith in his paper is fit to be requoted here and is thus translatable. "In the Śāka year 703 when the king by name Indrāyudha was ruling the north and Śrīvallabha son of Kṛṣṇa was ruling the south and king Avanti was ruling the east and Vatasarāja the west and the territory of the Sauryas was protected by Jayavarāha."* This shows with undeniable certainty that Indrarāja or Indrāyudha was on the throne of Kanauj and Vatsarāja on the throne of Marwar in Śāka 705 or A.D. 783. (It seems the word Avanti Bhūpati has been wrongly translated as king of Avanti, for Avanti or Malwa cannot

* शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तराम् ।

पार्तीन्द्रायुध-नाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्री-वल्लभे दक्षिणाम् ॥

पूर्वा श्रीमदवन्ति-भूमृति-नृपे वत्सादिराजंऽपराम् ।

सौर्याणामधि-मण्डले जययुते वीरे वराहे ऽवति ॥

be in the east. The proper translation should be king Avanti, Avanti being the name of a king). It follows that Indrāyudha though defeated in 780 A.D. by Vatsarāja was still on the throne of Kanauj. This is not at all strange ; for we find from the histories of all countries and of Indian empires in particular that the last kings of a tottering dynasty are allowed to reign under control, nay new puppet emperors are raised for a time, in deference to popular sentiment, before the line is finally uprooted. This is what happened at Delhi under the Marathas and even under the English. Nay the parallel goes still further. When an imperial line is tottering there rises a rivalry between powerful contending kings as to who should become the protector or guardian of the emperor. Such rivalry arose in India in the 18th century between the English, the Marathas and the Afghans. The English were powerful in the east, the Marathas in the south and the Rohillas in the west. The same thing happened about a thousand years before. And Vatsarāja from the west eventually became the master of India. Gopāla (Avanti) king of Bengal opposed him from the east and the Marathas of the 8th century viz., the Rāshtrakūtas from the south ; for inscriptions of the Pālas and the Rāshtrakūtas show to us the contentions that took place about this time. Gopāla of Bengal was defeated by Vatsarāja and *two* royal umbrellas were taken by him, probably the royal emblems of Gauda and Vanga or western and eastern Bengal. But Vatsarāja was in his turn defeated by the Rāshtrakūta king Dhrūva who carried away these two trophies and who “ confined Vatsarāja to his own country viz., the desert Gurjaratrā.”

These meagre but important facts appear from a Rāshtrakūta record. We do not know the places where these decisive battles were fought nor the manner of fighting or the actual forces engaged. It seems, however, that Vatsarāja from the desert country had no elephant force. He had bowmen and probably cavalry also, the Marwar Rajputs being still known as good riders. Both Bengal and Deccan forces had the elephant arm which was also the chief arm of Kanauj inherited from the days of Harsha. Although Vatsarāja could defeat Kanauj and Bengal, he could not defeat the Rāshtrakūtas as pro-

bably the Marathas were well-known both for their elephant arm and their cavalry (See the description of them by Hiuen Tsang and by Bāṇa in Harshacharita).

Although Vatsarāja was deprived of the fruit of his victory over Kanauj, his son Nāgabhata named after the founder of the family obtained what his father had vainly sought. The four verses recorded in praise of this king in the Sāgaratāla inscription give important particulars. He first defeated many kings. Āndhra, Saindhava, Kalinga, Vidarbha and others. These probably were the feudatories of Kanauj and had to be first defeated. Or as usual with Indian ambitious kings, Nāgabhata II must have made a Digvijaya before he seized the central power. The defeat of these kings does not mean the annexation of their kingdoms, but simply their humbling. The Samrājya or empire in pre-Mahomedan times, as stated many times before, did not mean annexation but merely the establishment of suzerainty evidenced by payment of tribute. Having established his power by a sort of Digvijaya, Nāgabhata II defeated a Vaṅga king who had before him vanquished Indrarāja and placed a young king Chakrāyudha in his place. Nāgabhata conquered Chakrāyudha also on the pretext that he had leaned for support on another (the Vaṅga king) and had thus exhibited his *lowness* " (sphutanīcha-bhāvam). It raises a smile in us to note that conquerors in all times have put forward the same pretext. Shah Alum took shelter with the English and the Marathas for that reason deposed him and placed on the throne another scion of Babar's family. Nāgabhata, however, seems to have tolerated Chakrāyudha on the throne for some time more ; for the words here used " he shone with his body bent in modesty " show that Nāgabhata shone brighter by humbling himself (before the puppet emperor). It seems, however, certain that Chakrāyudha was eventually set aside and Nāgabhata ascended the imperial throne at Kanauj and made it his capital. The Buchakalā inscription (Ep. Ind. IX. p. 198) describes both Vatsarāja and Nāgabhata as Parama Bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara i.e., gives imperial titles to both and thus confirms the fact that Vatsarāja had really " wrested Samrājya " from Kanauj and that Nāgabhata II too was emperor ; but whe

ther he ruled from Kanauj is not quite clear, for even this inscription does not mention the kingdom or place where Nāgabhatta ruled. We are, therefore, not quite sure if in 815 A.D. the date of the Buchakalā inscription Nāgabhatta was emperor in Kanauj. Smith, however, surmises that Nāgabhatta made Kanauj his capital sometime about 810 A.D. while 816 A.D. is given as the date of the end of the Varmā line (Vol. I p. 134).

Having established himself as emperor, Nāgabhatta II had naturally to make his power felt by the subordinate kingdoms and he is said in verse 3 to have forcibly taken possession of forts in the countries of Ānarta (North Gujarat), Mālava, Kirāta (Vindhya hills), Turushka(?), Vatsa (Allahabad), Matsya (Jaipur) and other countries also. This shows the extent of the empire of Kanauj which in the north extended to the Himalayas and in the south-west to Kathiawar. In the east it was bounded by Allahabad and in the west by Panjab. The word Turushka in this document of 850 A. D. is an enigma which we will discuss in a note as it is difficult to equate it with Arab as Smith does.

Smith assigns to Nāgabhatta II a rule from 800 to 825 A.D. He had defeated the king of Bengal (probably Dharmapāla) who had placed Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj and had thus made his power firm. He is said to have, however, been defeated by the second rival struggling for balance of power; the Rāshtrakūtas, in an unpublished grant by Govind III, but this defeat was not such as to oust him from the imperial throne at Kanauj since we know for certain that eight successors of Nāgabhatta II ruled as emperors in Mahodaya alias Kanauj hereafter.

The first of these was Rāmachandra, Nāgabhatta's son, who ruled from about 825 to 840 A. D. and he was followed by Mihira alias Bhoja who was indeed the most powerful emperor of the Pratihāra line. He had a long reign from 840 to 890 A.D. and had very extensive dominion. The Sāgaratāla inscription already mentioned was recorded in his time and naturally gives him the utmost praise. But it seems that his power was really acknowledged upto the Vindhyas from sea to sea, he having again conquered even his formidable foe the ruler of Bengal. He was, however, defeated by the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta king

Dhruva Nirupma whose Bagumrā grant dated 867 A.D. (Ind. Ant. XII p. 184) mentions the fact that Dhruva defeated Mihira even though his power had extended through all quarters (dhāma-vyāpta-digantara). Here also the army of Mihira is described as consisting of good cavalry (sadvaśyavāhānvṛta). From the Bilhauri and Benares inscriptions (Ep. Ind. I. p. 252 and II p. 300) it seems certain that Kokkalla-deva of the Chedi Haihayas was a contemporary independent king who claimed to have *supported* Bhoja in the north and Kṛishṇa in the south. The verse in the latter record is rather boastful (whose hand gave abhaya, freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Śrīharsha, the king of Chitrakuta and king Śankaragana), but it may be granted that the Chedi king Kokkala was really an independent sovereign *in alliance with* Mihira Bhoja and that in the south-east the Jumna was the boundary of the Kanauj empire and the kingdom of Chedi or Tripura.

The internal administration of Bhoja is extolled by Al Masudi, an Arab traveller, who in 851 A.D. wrote "The king of Juzr maintained a powerful army with the best cavalry in India and plenty of camels. He was extremely rich and no country in India was more safe from robbers" (Elliot I p.4). This confirms what we have already stated that while under the Varmās the elephant arm was strong at Kanauj, under Pratihāras cavalry was well maintained. As the Pratihāras came from Gujaratrā or Marwar they were naturally more fond of horses and even of camels. The Arabs call the Kanauj empire the kingdom of Juzr or Gurjaras firstly because, as stated already, that was the country to which the Pratihāras belonged and secondly because the country immediately in contact with Sind (where the Arabs ruled) was this Gurjaratrā country. The Rāstrakūtas who were friends of the Arabs, and enemies of the Pratihāras, also called the Pratihāras Gurjaras for the same reasons. But we have to remember the fact that the imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj never call themselves Gurjaras in their records.

Bhoja was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla alias Nirbhaya-rāja. His guru or preceptor was the famous poet and dramatist Rājasekhara who always speaks of himself in his works as guru

of Mahendrapāla and also of his son Mahīpāla. The empire inherited from his father remained intact under him and epigraphic evidence amply proves that it included Saurāshtra, Oudh and the Karnal district of the Panjab. His reign is assigned between the years 890 and 908 A.D. The plates of Balavarman (Ep. Ind. IX. p. 1) dated Valabhī Samvat 574 or 893 A.D. come from Kathiawar and style Mahendrapāla as Mahārājādhirāja Parama Bhattāraka and Parameśvara and therefore the overlord of the Chālukya prince Balavarman who made the grant. The Dighwa-Dubauli grant issued from Mahodaya or Kanauj itself makes the grant of a village in Vālayikā Vishaya or pergana of the Śrāvasti Mandala and Bhukti *i.e.* district and division and shows that Oudh was under the direct rule of Kanauj. The Siyadoni inscription (found near Lalitpur) dated 903 A. D. also belongs to the reign of this emperor and shows how subordinate chiefs ruled in this empire and contains many other interesting details regarding administration which we will notice later on.

Mahendrapāla was succeeded by his elder son Bhoja II who, however, had a short reign from 908 to 910 A.D. and he was succeeded by his brother Mahīpāla who is mentioned in many records and who reigned probably from 910 to 940 A.D. (Smith J. R. A. S. 1909 p. 269). His other names are Kshīpāla and Herambapāla or Vinayakapāla. The power of the Kanauj Pratihāras seems to begin to decline from his time ; for we are told in a Rāshtrakūta record that Indra III captured Kanauj between 915 and 917 (Ep. Ind. VII, 30, 43) and the same incident is probably referred to by the Kanarese poet Pampa when he states that Narasinha Chālukya father of his patron Arikesarin Karnāta defeated Kanauj and bathed his horses at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. He must, no doubt, have been a feudatory of Indra III and present with his army when he conquered Kanauj. But, as usual, Kanauj still lived on under Mahīpāla with perhaps undiminished glory and Rājaśekhara's play Bāla Bhārata or Prachanda Pāṇḍava was performed before Mahīpāla at Kanauj. The Haddāla plates dated Dec. 22, 914 A.D. show that Mahīpāla was still the overlord of Kathiawar when the Chāpa king Dharanīvarshā made the grant

as Sāmantādhipati (Ind. Ant. XII 190) He clearly states that his overlord was Mahīpāla as he was "ruling by the grace (prasāda) of Mahīpāladeva Paramśvara Rājādhirāja." We know for certain that Mularāja Chālukya (Solankhi) founded an independent kingdom in Anahilvad by supplanting a Chāpa dynasty in 961 A.D. It follows that Kathiawar must have been lost to Kanauj after 914 A. D. and before 961 A.D. Govinda III inflicted a defeat on the Gurjaras probably in the time of Mahīpāla and Smith thinks that he must have lost Kathiawar long before 961 A.D. and very soon after 916 A.D. the date of Indra's conquest of Kanauj. The two inscriptions of Asni and Benares (Ind. Ant. XVI. p. 173 and XV p. 138) dated 917 A.D. and 913 A.D. respectively belong to the same reign of Mahīpāla though the names are Mahishapāla and Vinayakapāla as the grants are issued from Mahodaya and these show that the eastern limit of the dominion of the empire of Kanauj was Benares in Allahabad or Pratihāna district.

The Arab traveller Al Masudi visited India in 915 A.D. again and writing in 950 A.D. about his travels says that the king of Juzr possessed many horses and camels and considered himself as equal of any king on earth. A fragmentary inscription from Khajurāho states that Kshitipāla was enabled to regain his throne by the aid of a Chandel king (probably Harshadeva). This must have been after the capture of Kanauj by Indra III in 916 A.D.

Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Devapāla who is assigned a reign from 940 to 955 A.D. A reference in the Khajurāho inscription dated 948 refers to him as suzerain and shows that the image of Vaikunṭha or Vishṇu set up by Yaśovarman Chandel in a temple there was received by him from Devapāla who had obtained it from a Śāhi king of Kīra in exchange for a force of elephants, who again had obtained it from a king of Bhota (Tibet) who lastly had obtained it from Kailasa (Ep. Ind. I. 134). This shows that Devapāla was in a sense inferior in power to the Chandel king and was under obligation to him for reasons already stated.

Devapāla was followed on the throne by his half-brother Vijayapāla who must have reigned from 955 A.D. to about

990 A.D. He is mentioned as overlord by a subordinate chief Mathanadeva in the Rajaur inscription (Ep. Ind. III p. 266). We have already commented on the word Gurjara Pratihāra occurring in this inscription as the clan to which Mathanadeva belonged. The empire of Kanauj declined still more in the time of Vijayapāla. Gujarat (modern) was now independent under Mūlarāja Solankhi. The Paramāra kingdom of Malwa was also fully independent as we shall show elsewhere, Munja its greatest king being contemporary of Vijayapāla. The kingdom of Jajhoti under the Chandellas was also powerful and independent and had apparently taken possession of the Gwalior territory, the actual feudatory there being Vajradāman a Kachhawāha chief (A.D. 977, also mentioned in an inscription dated 1083 A.D. Ind. Ant. XV p. 35). Very little information is available about the reign of this king. Possibly he may have been present at the battle which was fought by Jaipāla of the Panjab against Sabaktegin in 990 A.D. The confederacy of kings called by Jaipāl included Kanauj. Vijayapāl was succeeded by Rājyapāla who is assigned a reign by Smith from 990 to 1020 A.D. As the fall of the empire of Kanauj took place during his reign owing to the conquest and occupation of Kanauj by Mahmud of Ghazni, we shall have to come to him again in our third volume.

The above summary shows that the Pratihāra line was founded by Nāgabhata I in Gurjaratrā or Marwar by defeating the Arabs in about 725 A.D. and that his grandson again named Nāgabhata II founded its greatness by conquering Kanauj and making it the capital about 815 A.D. Bhoja and Mahendrapāla were the greatest emperors of this line which ruled from about 800 to 1000 A.D. They had an extensive empire comprising almost the whole of Āryāvarta and ruled it justly and secured to the subjects peace and orderly administration. The records and grants of these kings use naturally the forms of writing and address laid down by the great emperor Harsha. Each emperor signs his deeds of grants and attaches a seal which recites the names of kings in succession in the same way as Harsha's grants do or Moguls' seal did in later times. For instance the Daulatpurā grant of Bhoja and the Dighwā-Dubauli

grant of Mahendrapāla recite the genealogy as follows in the seal, giving the religion and the mother of each monarch.

1. Parama Vaishṇava Devarāja, queen Bhūyikādevī.
- Son 2 Parama Māheśvara Vatsarāja, queen Sundarīdevī.
- Son 3 Parama Bhagavati-bhakta Nāgabhata, queen Īsatādevī.
- Son 4 Paramāditya-bhakta Rāmabhadra, queen Appādevī.
- Son 5 Paramabhagavat. . Bhoja, queen Chandrabhattārikād.
- Son 6 Do. Mahendrapāla, queen Dehanāgādevī.
- Son 7 Parama Vaishṇava Bhoja.
- Brother Paramādityabhakta Mahīpāla.

This seal certainly puts us in mind of Harsha's seal where the religion and mother of each king is given in detail. There is this change in this seal that while Harsha's seal makes mention of Saugata Rājyavardhana this seal makes no mention of a Saugata or Buddhist emperor. The people and the kings of Āryāvarta had given up Buddhism entirely; now the kings were devotees of different Hindu gods especially the five gods Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Devī and Gaṇeśa. The importance of this change we will notice further on but it is necessary to remark here that there is nothing strange in the change of deity for each king. Tolerance yet reigned in India. As in former times the father might be a Māhesha and the son a Saugata without troubling the serenity of the family, so in this epoch (between 800 and 1000 A.D.) kings could be devotees of different Hindu gods without imperilling the happiness of the family. The verse quoted by the writer in I. A. here "Antah Śāktā" etc. has no room here for application as it is intended to level ridicule against the practices of *hypocrites*. The change of deity can not be ridiculed in the case of this kingly line for the kings were real and hearty devotees of their special gods but were at the same time no so bigoted as to hate the other gods of the Hindu panchāyatana. This stage came on later as we shall have to record in our next volume.

The documents and grants issued by the Pratihāra kings resemble those of Harsha in another point *viz.*, that they are terse and do not indulge in praise of each emperor. Other aspects of these grants will be noticed later on. There is, how-

ever, one peculiarity of these grants *viz.*, that each king has a special Biruda or name taken by him and it is mentioned in a verse at the end. For example one grant has the line “Śrimad-Bhāka-prajāktasya śāsanasya sthirāyateh” followed by a similar line giving the name of the emissary who proclaimed the grant on the spot. It appears thus that Bhoja had taken the title of Prabhāsa, Mahendrapāla Bhāka and Mahīpāla Śrī Harsha (Ind. Ant. XV. p. 141). Mihira alias Bhoja appears to have taken another Biruda *viz.*, Ādi Varāha and many coins have been actually found with this name. It seems that this emperor struck numerous coins in this name and the Siyadoni inscription dated 1020 A.D. contains mention along with others of—Ādi Varāha drammas or rupees.

NOTES.

THE PRATIHĀRA LINE OF THE GHATIĀLĀ INSCRIPTION.

It is necessary to add a note on the line of the Pratihāra kings mentioned in the Ghatiālā inscription published by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. 277 and to examine its relation with the Imperial Pratihāra line. Strangely enough, this relation does not seem to be discussed. The inscription was found in Ghatiālā which is a village 18 miles from Jodhpur and presumably near Mandor. It speaks of a column raised by a king named Kakkuka in St. 918. Now the genealogy given here is as follows. "A Brahmin named Harischandra married a Kshatriya wife named Bhadrā and had a son named Rajjila from whom was born Nāgabhata from whom came Nāgabhata and then in succession 1 Tata 2 Yaśovarman 3 Chandaka 4 Śiluka 5 Bhota 6 Bhillāditya 7 Kakka and 8 Kakkuka from queen Durlabhādevi". This gives approximately for Nāgabhata a date somewhere about 701 A.D. (918-160 St.—758St) which is not far behind the date we have assigned to the founder of the Imperial Pratihāra line, Nāgabhata (725-740 A.D.) The name Kakkuka also appears in that line. It is therefore possible to argue that this was a younger branch from Nāgabhata. This Kakkuka founder of the column appears to be a valorous as well as a learned prince. The countries where he established his fame are mentioned as Travani, Valla, Māda (Jaisasmer is still called Māda as Dr. Bhandarkar says), Ārya, Gurjaratā, Lāta and Parvata. Ārya and Parvata are not quite identifiable but Gurjaratrā is Marwar and Lāta is Gujarat according to Dr. Bhandarkar himself. He therefore appears to be a subordinate branch prince of the Pratihāra line who distinguished himself in the several dominions of the empire and probably ruled at Mandor, the ancient seat of the Pratihāras. The subhāshita verses composed by Kakkuka given at the end of this inscription are really interesting.

It may be objected that this inscription does not mention the rule of any imperial sovereign of Kanauj, as subordinates are expected to state. But perhaps Kakkuka belongs to the same family and therefore omits to mention it. The Buchakalā inscription (ditto Ep. Ind. p. 199) mentions the overlord, being recorded by वीङ्गनक भुंभुवक husband of a daughter of Jajjaka son of Bappaka of the Pratihara gotra. Or it may be that Kakkuka considered himself equal of the imperial Pratihāras being born of the same ancestor Nāgabhata.

II—THE DATE OF DAULATPUTRĀ AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS.

This Daulatpurā inscription evidences a grant made by Bhojadeva of a village in Dendavānaka Vishaya in Gurjaratrā and the year is Samvat 100. This was first treated as Harsha era but eventually Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that the figure should be read as 900. Dr. Bhandarkar has indeed set right a very disputed chronology and as already stated, he has the honour duly of setting right the Pratihāra line chronology. How 100, however, could be read as 900 has not been explained. There is the further fact that the Pehewa inscription of the time of Bhoja is recorded in Harsha Samvat era, though the word Harsha is not mentioned. It seems Harsha's Samvat still continued in the empire in use. Curiously enough after about 950 A.D., Vikrama Samvat became universally established in Northern India while in the south the Śaka era became equally universal. No king thought it fit to start a new era of his own or use any other era than Vikrama in the north and the Śaka in the south. The cause of this shall have to be discussed later on.

III—BBHANDIKULA.

The Sāgaratāla inscription of Bhoja says that Vatsarāja wrested empire from the family of Bhandi. Who was this Bhandi? The only other mention of Bhandi is found in Harsha-charita of Bāṇa wherein this is the name of the maternal uncle of Harsha. We know for certain that Indrāyudha was the king of Kanauj who was conquered by Vatsarāja. The only inference possible is that he belonged to the Bhandikula. Is the former Bhandi to be assigned to the same kula? There is no reason why this may not be done. The uncle of Harsha as we have said in Vol. I (p. 38) and his mother Yaśomati must have belonged to some subordinate kingly family. They might have been of this Bhandikula itself. They might have belonged to an unimportant branch of the Maukhari family which ruled in Kanauj before Harsha and when after the death of Harsha and his sister the throne of Grahavarman became vacant, a representative of this branch must have sat on the throne of Kanauj and founded the later Varmā kingly family there, described in Vol. I Chap. XIV. It is possible in this way to connect the two mentions of the name of Bhandi.

IV—TURUSHKA.

The mention of Turushka in the Sāgaratāl inscription dated about 850 A.D. is a mystery. The Turks were not probably known to the Indians as conquerers until the days of Sabaktegin *i.e.* about the end of the tenth century. They are equated by Smith with the Arabs, but the Arabs were called Tajikas and perhaps Berbers but could not have been called Turushkas in 850 A.D. It seems possible to explain that the Arabs as a conquering people lost vigour by about 800 A.D. From about 600 to 800 A.D. their powerful outgoing force was spent and the Caliphs at Baghdad after Harun Al Rashid became steeped in the pleasures of

empire. The Turks began now to come forward and they were employed as mercenary soldiers by the Caliphs in place of ruling Arabs. It might thus be that the army of occupation in Sind from 800 A.D. onward consisted mostly of Turks. There might also have been minor chiefships of Turks at least in Sind in about 850 A. D. and these were conquered by Mihira Bhoja. So far as is known the word Turushka does not occur in the Mahābhārata but it does so in the Bhāgavata which undoubtedly is a Purāṇa which came into existence about the ninth century A.D. (See Vol. I. p. 353).

GENEALOGY OF THE PRATIHĀRA IMPERIAL LINE OF KANAUJ

I. Nāgabhata of Bhinmal or Mandor A.D. 725-740.

II. Nephew Kakkuka
A.D. 740-755.

Nep. III. Deva-Śakti A. D.
755 to 770.

IV. Vatsarāja A.D. 770-800 (king of the west, conqueror of
Kanauj in 780 A.D.)

V. Nāgabhata II emperor of Kanauj A.D. 800-825.

VI. Rāmachandra A. D. 825-840.

VII. Mihira alias Bhoja (most powerful emperor) A.D. 840-890.

VIII. Mahendrapāla A.D. 890-908.

IX. Bhoja II
A.D. 908-910.

X. Mahipāla (Kshitipāla, Vināyakapāla etc.
A.D. 910-940.

XI. Devapāla A.D. 940-953.

XII. Vijayapāla A.D. 955-990.

XIII. Rājyapāla A.D. 990-1018

Kanauj being seized and plundered by Mahmud of Ghazni this line of emperors of Kanauj end, with Rājyapāla though some further descendants ruled for some time more.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHĀVADĀS OF ANHILWAD PĀṬAN.

The history of these Chāvadās can only be given from several Prabandhas or Bakhars so to speak of Jain and other writers consulted by the author of the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. III (Gujarat). Most of these Prabandhas are not available to us as they were to that author except Prabhandha Chintamaṇi and Sukṛita Saṅkīrtana and there are unfortunately no inscriptions to support or refute the story of these Prabandhas. The legends given in the Prabandhas, as in Marathi Bakhars of later history, are not always reliable and they always contain a mixture of fact and fiction which it is very difficult to separate. It is undoubted that the Chāvadās of Paṭan did establish a rule in the Sārasvata Mandala (north Gujarat) during the period we are dealing with in this volume ; but though they are said to be independent, it seems that they were subordinate throughout their history to Kanauj. With these important remarks we give below a short account of these Chāvadās from the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. III supplemented by a few facts from Sukṛita Saṅkīrtana and Prabandha Chitamaṇi.

These Chāvadās appear to be or may be treated as a branch of the Chāpotkatas or Chāpas of Bhinmal. There was a small chiefship of Chāpas at Panchāsar and the last chief, it is said, was killed by one Bhūyada. Who this Bhūyada was it is not known. The pregnant queen wandered in a forest and gave birth to a vigorous son who became famous as Vanarāja. This story of Vanarāja is thus the same story as that of Bappā Rāwal or of the founder of the Deccan Chālukya line or of other princes in later history. But while these latter may be treated as copies, we think the story of Vanarāja is the original. He grew a stout valiant man who first commenced his career as a freebooter and having like Śivāji in later times had an opportunity to waylay

and seize a convoy of treasure * going to Kānyakubja to which the country was subject, was enabled to lay the foundations of a kingdom viz., the enlistment of an army and the founding of a capital. He founded the city of Anahillapura in what is modern North Gujarat. This city is said to have been founded in 746 A.D.† This period was the period of the decline of the first imperial line of Kanauj kings, when many similar kingdoms were founded by heroic Rajputs such as the kingdom of Chitore by Bappā and of Sāmbhar by Sāmantadeva and the kingdom of Mandor by Nāgabhata. Whether Vanarāja had to fight with the Arabs we do not know; but it is certain from the Navasāri grant noticed many a time before, that the Arabs in their attempts to invade the Deccan had defeated some Chāpa kingdom. Whether Vanarāja had to fight with Arabs or not, he succeeded in establishing a strong kingdom at Anahilwad which under the Solankhis two centuries later was destined to become one of the then powerful and independent kingdoms of India.

Vanarāja is believed to have had like Bappā, a long reign and a long life. He is assigned a rule from 765 to 805 A.D.; why his rule is taken to begin later than the founding of Anhilwad i. e., 746 A.D. does not appear. He was succeeded by his son Jogarāja, (Yogarāja is the name given in Sukṛita Sankīrtana) who is said to have ruled from 806 to 841 A.D. He must have been a subordinate chief to Bhoja the emperor of Kanauj who ruled about this time. Yogarāja was succeeded by Ratnāditya and he by Vairisinha. Khemarāja was the next king who ruled from 856 A.D. and was succeeded by Mundarāja (S. S. and not Chāmunda) who was also called Bhūyada in 881 A.D. His successor was Ghaghada or Rāhapa who came to the throne in 908 A.D. The last king was one unnamed king (Bombay Gazetteer) who ruled from 937 to 961 when the kingdom was seized by

* Prabhandha Chintamani states that a *Paacha Kula* came from Kanauj to collect tribute from the land of Gujarat and he was taking away, after six months' stay, twenty-four lakhs of silver drammās when Vanarāja killed him in a pass and seized the treasure.

† A paper based on an old ballad in Ind. Ant. IV. p. 147 gives the date of the founding of Anahilawad as St. 802 which comes to the same year 746 A.D. The same date is given by Meruttunga in the *Prabandha Chintamani*.

his sister's son Mūlarāja Solankhi. The name of this king is given as Bhūbhata in Sukṛita Saṅkīrtana.†

Except these names and these dates which are given by later Jain Prabandhakāras, we have very little information about these Chāvadās of Patan. The city does contain some relics of Chāvadā rule. They appear to have been Śaivas like almost all Rajputs who came to the fore at this time and later on they probably patronized Jain Pandits. As they remained feudatories of Kanauj, they do not appear to have had many wars with neighbouring kings. We will close this short notice of these Chāvadās with an account of a minor branch of the Chāpas of Vardhamāna (Wadhwan) which ruled at about the same time from an inscription of Dharaṇivarāha in Ind. Ant. XII p. 193.

This grant of Dharaṇivarāha is dated Śaka 839 or 917 A.D. It admits that he was a dependent chief ruling under the emperor Mahīpāla "ruling by the grace (prasāda) of Rājādhirāja Parameśvara Śri Mahīpāladeva". Now this Mahīpāla must be the Mahīpāla of Kanauj and not of a Chūdāsama family ruling in Kathiawar. This grant mentions four predecessors *viz.*, Vikramārka 2 Addaka 3 Pulakeśin 4 Dhruvabhata, before the grantee Dharaṇivarāha and taking 20 years and not 26 per generation we may put Vikramārka in about 837 A.D. during the reign of Bhoja Mihira of Kanauj. The Chāpas are herein said to be born from the Chāpa or bow of Śiva. As Dr. Bühler remarks, this legend belongs to the order of etymological myths, an order which has often been the cause of much confusion. The grant is made to an Āchārya of the Āmardaka Santāna (Śiva sect) and it seems certain that in Gujarat at this time Śiva worship was much prevalent and these Śaiva ascetics lived in Maṭhas built for them as the Buddhists lived in Saṅghāramas in previous centuries.

† Prabandha Ch. gives the following names and dates.—

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Yogarāja till St. 878 | 4. Chāmunda till St. 938 |
| 2. Ratnāditya till St. 881 | 5. Akadadeva till St. 965 |
| 3. Khemrāja till St. 922 | 6. Bhuyagadadeva till St. 991 = |
| | 943 A.D. |

No. 5, built Ākadeśvari temple and Kantheśvari and No. 6, built Bhuyadeśvari in Patan and the rampart.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PARAMĀRAS OF DHĀR.

The fourth Rajput tribe which established a renowned kingdom in the second sub-period of our history was the Paramāras of Abu and subsequently of Dhār. Tod has described it as the most potent of Agnikulas and the most extensively spread, quoting the bardic saying "the world is the Paramāras'." "But they never equalled in wealth and power the Solankhis of Anahilwad and the Chauhāns of Ajmer." Like the greatness of the Pratihāras whom Tod wrongly considered to be least of the Agnikulas, that of the Paramāras has certainly been less understood by Tod because of the then absence of inscriptions and because they have left very few representatives at the present day. Their power under Bhoja was certainly very extensive and their renown for learning was equally great. The Paramāras are represented at the present day by minor chiefs only, such as the chief of Bijolia under Mewar reputed to be the descendant of the ancient kingly stock of Dhār, the Vihāl branch of Chandrāvati at the foot of Aravali, the Sodha prince of Dhat in the desert and the Sānkhālā chief of Pugal in Marwar. The Umra and Sumra were noted in Mahomedan times but have now become Mahomedans.

When did the Paramāras rise in power and how did they do so? It seems that Tod is wrong when he states that they held Chitore when the Guhilots seized and conquered it in 730 A.D. The Moris are indeed given as the first Śākhā of the Paramāras but they must be treated as different from the Mauryas at Pātali-putra or the Moris of Chitore mentioned in an inscription. The Mauryas are not given by Chand among the 36 royal tribes though they are given as one of them in other lists. We have already shown (Vol. I) that the kings of Sind who were distinctly described as Śudras by Hiuen Tsang were relatives of the king of Chitore who were certainly Mauryas and consequently Śudras. It

is not therefore possible to assign to the Paramāras any rise before the ninth century A.D. Unfortunately unlike Pratihāras their earliest inscriptions do not speak of any king before Kṛishṇa nor do they state how he rose to power and when. The Udepur Praśasti dated about the twelfth century A.D. gives the names of some kings before Kṛishṇa which are, it seems, fictitious for bards and poets have a fancy to multiply the number of generations by repeating names. The learned note of Bühler in Ind. Ant. Vol. I p. 223 which compares all the Paramāra genealogies found in different inscriptions and then proceeds to give a detailed account of the Paramāras of Dhār and Ujjain cannot be entirely followed though it has been so followed by some modern historians; for it appears that these Paramāras cannot be assigned a rise so early as 800 A.D. a date which this note assigns to Kṛishṇarāja for the following reasons.

It is admitted that the land grants of Vākpatirāja alias Munja and Bhoja (Ind. Ant. VI. p. 488) mention the pedigree as Kṛishṇa, Varisinha, Sīyaka and Vākpati, carried on by the later inscriptions to Sindhurāja and Bhoja. The Udepur Praśasti alone mentions the first king as Upendra and puts Varisinha I, Sīyak I and Vākpati I before Vairisinha. This is as said above a reduplication of names which is suspicious and intended probably to carry back the genealogy to a longer anterior period. Then again the Nagpur Praśasti begins with Vairisinha only and omits all the four kings before him. Thirdly, it is not possible to believe that the Paramāras could have founded an independent kingdom in the days of Nāgabhata II emperor of Kanauj who ruled from about 800-825 A.D. and who is expressly stated to have reduced Mālava to subjection*. Lastly, if we omit these three or four kings *viz.*, Vairisinha I, Sīyaka I and Vākpati I, we shall be making a dynasty which is historically sound and which makes the epithet Kṛishṇapādānudhyāta as applied to Vairi-

* And it seems probable that before Nāgabhata Mālava was in possession of the Rāstrakūtas. The Baroda grant of Karkarāja dated 812 A.D. has the following "he stretched his arm like an iron bar to a door (Argala) for the protection of Mālava attacked by the Gurjara king proud of his conquering Gaud." As in later history Malwa alternately belonged to the emperors of the north and the south.

simha in Vākpati's grants not far-fetched. These grants, terse and official documents as they are, should in our opinion be followed strictly and not the Udepur Praśasti of much later date.

The first king, therefore, of this line appears to be according to our view Kṛishṇarāja who probably distinguished himself first as a subordinate chief and then as an independent king in about 910 A.D., when the Kanauj Pratihāra empire had begun to decline and had received shock from the Rāshtrakūta king Govinda III, in the days of Mahīpāla who has been assigned a rule from 908 to 940 A.D. We know that the earliest grant found of Vākpati alias Munja is dated in A.D. 974. If we suppose that he began to rule in 970 his father Sīyaka may be assigned a reign from 950 to 970, his grandfather Vairisinnha from 930 to 950 and his great-grand-father Kṛishṇarāja from 910 A.D. to 930 A.D. These grants apply the titles P.B. Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara to all the three kings before Vākpati. Although these are imperial titles they may well be assumed by an independent sovereign and do at least show that Kṛishṇarāja was an independent king. The Paramāras appear first to have reigned in Avanti or Ujjain and then removed their capital to Dhārā which was not founded by them for it already existed and is mentioned in an inscription of the seventh century A.D. (No. 51, plate No. XXXII Corpus Inscriptionum Vol. III). They made Dhārā their capital probably because they had constantly to fight with their adversaries and neighbours the Solankhis of Anahilavāda. The next imaginary kings Varisinha I, Sīyaka I and Vākpati I have to be omitted according to our view and Bühler himself says that "their descriptions in the Udepur Praśasti are conventional nor is a single historical fact recorded about them in any document." We come, therefore, to the real successor of Kṛishṇarāja Vairisinha who was also called by the people Vajrata. His son was Sīyaka otherwise called Śri Harsha (Sīyaka being an abbreviation of Śri Harsha itself and not Sinharāja) and he is mentioned in Navasāhaśāṅka, also in Prabandha Chintāmaṇi. Two things are recorded of him. He conquered the Huṇas (Navasāhaśāṅka) these being a branch of Kshatriyas or they may be foreigners viz., Arabs, the word Huṇa being extended

to them and secondly he like Garuda (snake-eater, this being the emblem of the Paramāras as shown in their grants) seized the wealth of king Khottiga (Nagpur Praśasti). Now Bühler says that this Khottiga is the Rāshtrakūta king of Mānyakheta who made a grant on a solar eclipse day 22, October 971 and who certainly died before September 972 on which day the Kardā plates of his nephew Karkarāja are dated. This shows that Malwa was also at feud with the Rāstrakūtas of Malkhed as with Gujarat and that Sīyaka and Khottiga were contemporaries. The period which may be assigned to Sīyaka's reign is 950-973. For Dhanapāla poet says that he composed his work (Paiyyalachhi) "in 1029 V. E. when Mānyakheta had been plundered by the ruler of Malwa" and Bühler thinks that this must refer to the attack on and defeat of Khottiga by Sīyaka. (V.E. 1029 or 972 A.D. which is the date of the book must also be the date of the plunder of Mānyakheta). This does not also contradict Vākpati's first land grant of 974 A.D.

Sīyaka's son and successor was the famous Vākpati alias Munja. He takes other titles also in his grants viz., Amoghavarsha and Prithvīvallabha, perhaps from the Rāshtrakūtas whom he or his father had humbled. There is no doubt about the identity of Vākpati with Munja as the Nāgpur Praśasti mentions this name only. He was a great poet and a great vanquisher. He was also a liberal patron of poets and many noted names in Sanskrit literature belong to authors patronised by him such as Padmagupta, Dhanika, Halāyudha and Dhanapāla. He is as conqueror also well-known. He defeated the Rāshtrakūtas and along with them the Karanātas, Cholas and Keralas (as stated in Udepur Praśasti) and also the Haihayas of Chedi, Yuvarāja being their king. These latter were the allies and relatives of the Rāstrakūtas. But Meruttunga's story that he conquered Tailapa sixteen (recently corrected to six) times, each time releasing him and then was defeated and taken prisoner himself by Tailapa is probably a myth of the same type as the story of Prithvirāja conquering Shabuddin six times and each time releasing him and himself being finally defeated, taken prisoner and beheaded. Such stories are the natural suggestions of poets' brains and they gain credence within a couple

of centuries nay even earlier. But the story of Munja is further embellished by poets who borrowing details from the story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā state that Munja was in his regal confinement attended by the sister of Tailapa (this is on the face of it absurd among Rajputs) who eventually fell in love with him and who was asked to enter into a conspiracy to run away with him. The plot being discovered by her to her brother, Munja was ill-treated and finally beheaded by Tailapa. This legend is too poetical to be true and not being supported by any statement in any contemporary or later epigraphic record may be discarded. One may, however, believe that Munja more than once defeated Tailapa who was leniently treated after each defeat but that he finally was himself defeated by the latter and killed in battle.

He was succeeded by his brother Sindhurāja who was himself after a few years' reign succeeded by his son Bhoja whose greatness had been already foreseen by his uncle Munja. Bhoja was by far the greatest monarch of the Paramāra kings of Malwa; but as his reign falls in the period from 1000 to 1200 A.D. and as he was a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni, we have to reserve his reign to our third volume. It is, however, necessary to state here that the story that Munja wished to kill him in his boyhood as it was foretold that the latter would eclipse him is also another unhistorical myth and has to be treated as the creation of a poet's imagination*. The question when Sindhu-

* With regard to this the accession of Bhoja and the death of Munja we may cull the following from Ep. Ind. I. p. 230. It is not true that Vākpati alias Munja appointed Bhoja as his successor, nor that he wanted to kill him. The following sentence from Navasāhasāṅka dispels these ideas. "Vākpati placed the earth in Sindhurāja's hands when he started for Ambika's town." This clearly shows that when Munja started on his last fatal expedition against the Rāstrakūtas he left behind Sindhurāja probably as Yuvarāja and when he died on the field of battle, the latter succeeded to the throne by natural succession. This is further supported by another sentence in Nava-Sāhasāṅka "When His Majesty Vākpati was about to ascend to heaven he put a seal on my lip. Sindhurāja the younger brother of that brother of poets now breaks it." This means that Vākpati had appointed Padmagupta as the court poet and Sindhurāja on accession again conferred that post upon him. N. J. Kirtane thinks that when Vākpati died, Bhoja the intended successor was a minor

rāja died and Bhoja succeeded may be discussed here. Munja is proved to have been alive in 994 A.D. as Amitagati says in the colophon to his work Subhāshita-Ratna-Sandoha that he composed his work in Vikrama Samvat 1050 (994 A.D.) during the reign of Munja which may, therefore, be taken to end in 997 A.D. R.B. Gaurishankar Oza in his recent brochure on the subject assigns 1010 A.D. as the date of the death of Sindhurāja which he thinks took place in a fight with Chāmudarāja Solankhi of Patan. This fact he culls from a description of the latter in the Badnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla dated V. E. 1208 or 1157 A.D. in which the word Sindhurāja was wrongly translated by Bühler as king of Sind. “It is probable, nay almost certain”* Gaurishankar contends, “that this word means Sindhurāja king of Malwa” and we may accept the story of Sindhuraja being killed in a conflict with Chāmudarāja of Gujarat.† But the date of this fight does not appear in any document and we are not yet certain whether Sindhurāja died in 1010 A.D. The date of the accession of Bhoja is yet uncertain but cannot be much later than 1010 and cannot be 1021 A.D. as stated in Bhoja Prabandha of Subhāśita as we have a grant of his dated 1020

about eight years old and therefore must have been placed on the throne at eighteen *i. e.* about ten years after Munja’s death in 995 or in about 1004. But as the story of his being named a successor is not credible we may say that Bhoja succeeded in the natural course when Sindhurāja was killed in battle in about 1010 A.D. with the king of Anhilwad.

* It may be stated here that the attempt of Indian kings to seize the capital of each other is not strange. An adversary is considered humbled when his capital is seized; see for instance the attempt by the Germans in European history to seize Paris or Rome. We need not, therefore, wonder if Paramāras seized Mānyakheta or Rāshtrakūtas seized and plundered Dhārā or Kanauj.

† This is supported by the following line in a Jain work of Jayasinha-deva Sūri Ind. Ant. XII. p. 197.

राजा चामुणुराजो ऽथ,—

सिन्धुराजमिवोन्मत्तं सिन्धुराजं मृधेऽवधीत् ॥

तस्माद्बलभराजोभूत् यत्प्रतापाभितापितः ।

मुंजोवनीश्वरो धीरो यंत्रेपि न धृतिं दधौ ॥

The second verse creates some difficulty again.

A.D. made in memory of his conquest of Konkan (Ep. Ind. XI p. 81 also Ind. Ant. VI. p. 48). This conquest must have happened a few years at least after he came to the throne and not immediately. We must, however, admit that the dates assigned to each king in this line are yet approximate only.

Mr. Lele in his early history of Dhār in Marathi says that Munja excavated many tanks in Dhār which he first made his capital and one beautiful tank is still called Munjasāgara while there is another tank known after Sindhurāja alias Kuñja known as Kuñjasāgara. There is a Munja tank at Mandogadh also. Munja also built ghats and temples at Ujjain, at Maheśvara on the Nerbudda and at Omkar and Dharmapuri.

GENEALOGY OF PARAMĀRA KINGS OF DHĀR—

Kṛishṇarāja.

Circ. 914-934 A.D.

|

Vairisinha alias Vajrata.

Cir. 934-954 A.D.

|

Sīyaka or Śri Harsha.

954-973 A.D.

|

Vākpati or Munja.

973—997 A.D.

|

Sindhurāja or Kuñja.

997 to circ 1010 A.D.

|

Bhoja, famous in the Paramāra line.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHANDELLAS OF JAJHOTI OR BUNDELKHAND.

Oral tradition recorded by Vincent Smith states that Bundelkhand or Jejākabhukti was occupied by the Ghaharwārs and after them by the Pratihāras before the Chandellas came to it (J. R. A. S. B. 1881 part I). But oral traditions, though there may be some grain of truth behind them, often confound dates. Whether the beautiful lakes abounding in Bundelkhand were constructed by the Gaharwārs before the Chandellas came to Bundelkhand as oral tradition relates is not certain. It is quite possible that people orally assign builders to constructions that preceded them by centuries, but further this oral tradition is contradicted by the historical evidence of Hiuen Tsang who records in about 640 A.D. that there was a Brahmin king in Jajhoti. We have already stated that this Brahmin must have been a governor under Harsha. The Maukhari or Varmā empire after Harsha must also have retained this near province under its direct control while it was strong and we may surmise that an independent or semi-independent power set itself up in Jajhoti only when the Varmā empire was tottering and when Indrāyudha was being replaced by Chakrāyudha on the imperial throne of Kanauj by a foreign power.

Epigraphic records also support this historical inference ; for the Benares inscription of Dhanga the most famous king of the Chandella line (Ep. Ind. I. p. 123-125) sets out a pedigree which reaches back to about the same time viz., the beginning of the ninth century *i. e.*, when the first Kanauj empire fell. The first king of this family who founded the kingdom is said in this re-

cord to be Nannuka who may be assigned by calculation backwards and who has been assigned by Smith from tradition a reign from 831 to 850 A.D. The exact year 831 A.D. is based by Smith on the years 204 and 225 given by the Mahoba Kanungos to Smith as the dates of the supplanting of the Parihāras by the Chandellas. These are Harsha years and undoubtedly show that the Harsha empire was still hovering over them. These dates are equivalent to 810 and 813 A.D. and while the first date may be taken to represent the coming to prominence of the Chandellas in some battle, the second may be taken to represent the accession of Nannuka to the rulership of Jajhoti. Nannuka's successor was Vijaya from 870 to 890 A.D. In the above inscription two brothers are mentioned Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti while in another inscription of Harsha of about the same time (*Ibid*) the name appears as Jejjaka. The name Jejjaka is derived sometimes from the names of these two kings but it is to be noted that the name of Jajoti (derived of course from Jejākabhukti) is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang two hundred years before. The word Bhukti or province certainly indicates that it was then a province directly ruled from the capital whether it be Kanauj or Ayodhyā (under the Guptas) and the name Jejaka must have come to this king of about 870 A.D. by repetition. Vijaya's successor was Rāhila (890-910) and he seems to be the first powerful king of this line. His capital was Mahoba and the large tank near Mahoba named after him Rāhilya Sāgar and the fine granite temple on its bank commemorate his name in the province. His exploits are mentioned even by Chand Bardai poet of *Prithvirāja*. His daughter Nandā Devi was married to Kokkalla, the contemporary famous king of the neighbouring Chedi kingdom. His son and successor was Harsha who married Kanchukā of a Chāhamāna family and his rule may be assigned to about 910-930 A.D. The race of his queen is given by Smith as the race of Gangā. What Gangā meant is not known but probably it is the name of a Chāhamāna family.

Harsha's son was Yaśovarman who raised the family to its highest eminence by conquering the famous hill fort of Kālan

jara which was then in the possession of the Kalachūri kings. The fortress of Kālanjara is noted throughout Indian history. Kālanjara is also noted as a holy place from the days of Mahābhārata. The kings of Chedi called themselves by the epithet Kālanjarapuravaiādhiśvara "lords of the great city of Kālanjara"; but this title was wrested from them by the Chandella king Yaśovarman. This exploit of his is mentioned in this inscription as also the fact that he conquered Gauda, Khasa, Kosala, Kashmir, Mithilā, Mālava, Chedi, Kuru and Gurjara. This list is long and probably exaggerated. But Chedi was the Kalachūri king from whom Kālanjara was conquered and Gurjara must be treated as the Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj. Now it is recorded that Harsha the father of Yaśovarman had assisted Devapāla of Kanauj during his fight with the Rāshtrakūta Indra III of the Deccan. His son Yaśovarman must have defeated the already weakened king of Kanauj subsequently and obtained from him a renowned image of Vaikuṇṭha or Viṣṇu. This Chandella king appears to be Vaishhṇava and the Khājurāho inscription records that a famous image of Viṣṇu was obtained by Mahīpāla from Shahi king of Kīra who had obtained it from the king of Bhota or Tibet. This fact recorded in this inscription is very important and shows that Jajhoti was already independent. In fact as Smith has observed (E. H. I.) the later kings of Chandella line must be considered as independent, the earlier being subordinate to Kanauj during the days of the emperors Bhoja and Mahendrapāla. The inscription of Dhanga of Samvat 1053 (A.D. 999) describes Harsha as Paramabhattachāraka and Parameśvara as also Yaśovarman and we may conclude that Harsha was the first independent king (Ind. Ant. XVII. p. 202). Secondly the Khājurāho inscription describes Devapāla as Hayapati the lord of horses. It has already been pointed out that the Kanauj kings coming as they did from Marwar were strong in cavalry and it may be noted that Hayapati, Gajapati, Narapati and Bhūpati began to assume special signification as titles of kings from this period.

Yaśovarman may be assigned a rule from 925-950 A.D. His successor was Dhanga, the greatest king of the Chandella line

as usual being the third from Harsha. The Khajurāho inscription (Ep. Ind. I. p. 123-35) gives the limits of his kingdom (which is rather unusual in inscriptions). He ruled from the Jumna on the north to Bhāsvat on the Malwa river on the south and from Kālanjara fort on the east to Gopādri (Gwalior fort) on the west. The Malwa river mentioned must be taken to be Betwa (and not Dasān which is a river of Daśārṇa) and Bhāsvat has properly been identified with Bhaillasvamin or Bhilsa of modern days.

Dhanga has left many inscriptions and three have been known dated 954, (the Khajurāho inscription already noted) 998 and 1002 A.D. In the second inscription he is described as equal of Hammīra. This certainly refers to his fight with Sabaktegin along with other princes of India fought beyond the Indus somewhere near the Krammu in about 989 or 990 A.D. Ferishta also says that Jayapāla of Lahore was assisted by Kālanjara with men and money in his war against Sabaktegin. This inscription records that Dhanga was the equal of Hammīra while Mahomedan historians record that the Hindus were defeated in this battle. Probably it was a drawn battle but the details of this fight and the further history of the Chandella line which continued upto 1200 A.D. in glory we have to leave to our third volume.

Dhanga had a long reign and a long life also and he is believed to have ended his life by drowning himself at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna which is religiously considered to be a meritorious act of self-destruction. Rājendralāl however thinks that he died a natural death, the expression used in inscription No. 3 dated 1002 being merely figurative.* Dhanga

* So far as we think the expression is not figurative. The verse is as follows (Ep. Ind. I. p. 146).

रक्षित्वा क्षितिमम्बुराशिरशनामेतामनन्यायति ।
जीवित्वा शरदां शतं समाधिकं श्रीधंगपृथ्वीपतिः ॥
रुद्रं मुद्रितलोचनं स्वहृदये ध्यायज्जपन् जान्हवी ।
कालिन्ध्याः सलिले कलेवरपरित्यागादगामिब्रुतिम् ॥

made a grant in Benares (noted above Ind. Ant. XVI) which need not signify that he ruled as far as Benares ; but that he was the most powerful of his line was certain. He was a devotee of Śiva his father being a devotee of Viṣṇu. His inscription (Ep. Ind. XII. p. 210) begins with the words 'Om Namaḥ Sivāya.' As stated already kings in those days were devotees of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya or Devī without any bigoted feelings in favour of their own deity, intolerance coming on at a later stage only.

Coins have been found belonging to the Chandellas which resemble the coins of the Chedi kings, Durgā of the latter being substituted by Hanūman in those of the former. But, strangely enough, no coins of early kings even down to Dhanga have been found (see Ind. Ant. XXXVII wherein Smith has given the corrected information about the history of the Chandellas and their coins from the data available to 1908). Smith thinks that in the time of these kings people used Indo-Sassanian coins. It may, however, be surmised that people still used the coin of the Kanauj empire viz., the Ādivarāha coin of Bhoja and other coins. It is only Gāngeyadeva of Chedi of the eleventh century who first struck special Chedi coins and probably the Chandellas imitating him struck coins of gold, silver and copper of their own substituting Durgā with Hanumān. Which king of the Chandellas was the devotee of Hanumān does not appear but this subject belongs to the period of history to be treated in our third volume. Here it may only be noted that the expression at the end of the Khajurāho inscription of Samvat V. E. 1011 (Ep. Ind. I, p. 123-35) "in the reign of Vināyakapāla" which Kielhorn is unable to explain may indicate that though Yaśovarman was independent he still acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the emperor Vināyakapāla or Mahīpāla who was then dead and his coins must have been current in the several states of India even though they were then independent as the Mogul coins were in the country of the Marāṭhas.

Genealogy of the Chandellas with probable dates of accession as given by Smith in Ind. Ant. XXXVII p. 127.

- I. Nannuka ac. 831 A.D.
- |
- II. Vākpati ac. 845 A.D.
- |
- III. Jayaśakti ac. 860. A.D.
- |
- IV. Vijayaśakti ac. 880. A.D,
- |
- V. Rāhila ac. 900 A.D.
- |
- VI. Harsha ac. 915 A.D.
- |
- VII. Yaśovarman ac. 930 A.D.
- |
- VIII. Dhanga ac. 950 A.D.
- |
- IX. Ganda ac. 1000 A.D.

The line continued to about 1287 A. D. in which year the last king Bhojavarman is said to have ascended the throne. This part of the line will be dealt with in our third volume.

NOTE.

SMITH'S WRONG VIEW ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE CHANDELLAS.

Sir Vincent Smith is nearly certain that the Chandellas are by origin Bhars or Gonds. In his *Early History of India* (2nd Edn.) he observes "The inference is fully justified that the Chandellas are originally Hinduised Bhars or Gonds," (p. 379). This inference has doubtless been suggested by the strange bias which has obsessed the views of almost all European scholars and induced them to believe that the Rajputs were foreigners and if not foreigners aborigines. Let us see what are the justifications for this inference. They are not given here by Smith but they appear from what he has written in his paper on the Chandels in *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXVII (p. 137). There he observes "I still hold the opinion (1908) that the Chandels sprang from an aboriginal stock, whether this stock was called Bhar or Gond, we cannot say." The first argument advanced is the 'silly legend' among the Chandels that they are born from the union of the moon with a Brahmin maiden. "The only significance of the myth is its implied admission that the pedigree of the clan required explanation which was best attained by including it in the moon-descended Rajputs and adding respectability by inventing a Brahmin ancestress. As a matter of fact the Chandels are regarded as a clan of impure descent." Secondly, Smith says that the indications are fairly distinct that the Chandel clan originated in the midst of the Gonds. The Chandel Zamindar of Mahoba claims to be autochthonous and traces his origin to Maniyagarh, the ancient ruined fortress on the Ken river. This tradition is confirmed by the fact that Maniya Dev (Devi) whose shrine exists at Maniyagarh was the tutelary deity of the Chandelas. When they occupied Mahoba in the beginning of the 9th century, they brought with them the worship of the goddess who appears to be akin to the Gond deities. The poet Chand associates Maniyagarh with a Gond chieftain so late as the 16th century." Thirdly, Smith states that the Chandel princess Durgāvati married the Gond chief of Mandala. "The Gaharwars and the Haihayas of Chedi" finally adds Smith "came to the front in the same way as successful adventurers among some one or other of the aboriginal races who after attaining power claimed rank as Kshatriya, Rajput or Thakor as Gond chiefs do to this day." How flimsy all these arguments are will be apparent to every Hindu reader and they scarcely deserve any refutation; yet for the sake of European readers we proceed to make some observations on them.

The first argument is based on the "silly legend" about the origin of the Chandels current among them. Now it may be stated without fear of contradiction that such silly legends have been current in every age and country about heroes and heroic clans and that they lead to no inference whatever about their real origin. When the Greeks believed that Achilles was born of Apollo from Theatis, is it to be understood that this is a true story about his origin? Nay more, is it to be argued that this story was concocted in order to conceal the really base origin of Achilles? We have already said that such stories have been invented in India by poets and bards from Vedic times and that they have simply to be set aside as fancies, leading to no inference either as to the baseness or nobility of the hero's birth. Indeed when the Chandella bards invented this story about their patrons, in the usual fashion of what Kielhorn calls name-myths *i. e.*, myths suggested by names, they scarcely dreamt that the very story would be utilised by scholars for the purpose of debasing the ancestry of their favourite clan, instead of raising it in estimation. The name Chandella suggested that the originator of the family was the Moon himself and the mother assigned was the best that could be. But as we have said, these stories are simply to be ignored and we have only to infer that the Chandel clan was by public estimation assigned to the lunar race. What we have really to ascertain is whether the clan was at any time treated as non-Kshatriya. If so this claim of the Chandellas to Rajput descent would be invalid.

The really effective argument advanced by Smith, therefore, is that contained in the last sentence of Smith *viz.*, "as a matter of fact the Chandels are regarded as a clan of impure descent." Our reply to this is an emphatic denial and that this is not a fact. We have first the evidence of Chand himself (whom Smith subsequently quotes). Among the 36 Royal families enumerated by Chand the Chandels are among the very first. The name Chhand therein in the first verse stands for Chandella according to our view. And even if this were not so, we find that the Chandel is given by Tod in the Kumārapāla Sanskrit Mss. list incorporated by him in his table of lists giving the number of the traditional 36 Rajput families. The Chandels were then treated as good Rajputs in as far old times as the days of Kumārapālacharita. Then again in the long account given by Chand about the attack on Mahoba by Prithvirāja we do not find any statement which would lead us to believe that the Chandels were treated as of impure origin. Thirdly, epigraphic evidence shows that the Chandels married into good Rajput families, especially into the Haihaya family which has always been considered as of good Rajput blood, in spite of the doubt which Smith throws over its purity. Lastly, even at present the Mahārāja of Gidhaur who is the chief remaining representative of the family is considered to be a good Rajput and as he observes in a letter of his to us not only marriages into good Rajput families such as Chauhāns etc., but marriages from such

families into the Chandel family take place constantly. It is, therefore, *not a fact* that the Chandels are or were regarded as of impure origin.

The third argument of Smith is equally unsound and illogical as the first though it is not based on incorrect information. For how does it follow that the Chandels are Gonds themselves, because the clan originated in the midst of the Gonds? We know from history that hundreds of Rajput families established small kingdoms among Gonds, Bhars, Bhils and other aboriginal tribes. In fact the instinct of the Rajput leads him to go into such wild regions inhabited by aborigines and carve out a small kingdom for himself if he has no room in the Aryan country. The Guhilors for instance lived among Bhils and founded a kingdom, but does that make the Guhilots Bhils? Even the British have established a vast kingdom among Hindus and Mahomedans, does that make them Hindus or Mahomedans? It is strange that historians cannot see how adventurous Kshatriyas went from Aryan lands into Himalayan valleys, into the sands of Rajastan and the hilly regions of Mewad and Jaipur and established kingdoms for themselves. It does not, therefore, follow from the Chandels coming to sovereignty among Gonds that they are Gonds themselves. The Chandel Zamindar of Mahoba's belief that they are autochthonous need not be wondered at. When we know from history that the Chandels are there in Mahoba for nearly one thousand years it is not to be wondered at that the Zamindar believes that they have been there from the beginning of time. In fact the Chandels have been in Gond land at Manyagarh even from before their coming to Mahoba. When they came there we do not know; perhaps they came there during Kushan or Hun invasions of the Aryan land viz., the Panjab and the Gangetic valley. But as a matter of fact many well-read scholars still believe that the Indian Aryans are not foreigners and the Aryan ancient home was in India itself and not outside of India, neither in the Arctic region nor in the Volga region; why need we attach any importance to the view of the Chandel Zamindar that they are autochthonous to Bundelkhand and hence argue that the Chandels are Gonds?

The argument based on the Chandel deity Maniya Devi is equally absurd. It is well known that every Rajput family has its separate tutelary goddess and if we believe that the Chandel Rajputs when they first entered the Gond land established a kingdom about Maniyagarh, their first fortress, we may not be surprised that their tutelary deity is called Maniya Devi. The statement that the deity is akin to the Gond deities is vague and even if taken to mean that the Devi was adopted from the Gonds it does not prove that the Chandels are themselves Gonds. For as we have said elsewhere, the worships of Śivā and Durgā have apparently been borrowed by the Aryans from the aborigines and have been identified by them with certain Vedic deities' worship. It is, therefore, not strange if there is any thing common between the Chandel worship of Maniya Devi and the worship of Gond deities. Lastly the fact that in the sixteenth century Maniyagarh was associated with

a Gond chief by Chand shows nothing as to the origin of the Chandellas. When these came to Mahoba and established from there a vast kingdom so early as the ninth century A.D., after their fall about 1200 A.D. that there was a Gond chief in Maniyagarh leads to no inference whatever.

It is strange that the story of Rāṇi Durgāvatī should have been distorted by Smith into proving what is exactly the opposite of what it shows. We quote below the account given in the Akbarnāmā of Abul Fazal (Beeveridge Vol. II p. 324) on which the inference of Smith is based apparently. "She (Durgāvatī) was the daughter of Raja Sālbāhan of Rath and Mahoba who was a Chandel by caste. The Raja gave her in marriage to Dalpat the son of Aman Das. Though he was not of a good family yet as he was wealthy and the Raja Sālbāhan was in bad circumstances the latter was compelled to make alliance." Further on it is stated "From old times the house of the ruler of Gadha was of high rank. Yet it had nothing beyond reverence. This Kharji took things under the denomination of peshkash " Lastly on page 326 we are told that Dalpat was in reality the son of Govind Das Kachhavāha and he was adopted by Sangram and named Dalpat and " Rani Durgāvatī was given in marriage to him." Now it is clear from the above that even Abul Fazal grants that the Chandels were pure Rajputs and that Durgāvatī was given to a Thakor of lower rank from compulsion. Best Rajput girls, we know from history, were often given in marriage to even Mahomedan kings. Does that make the Rajputs Mahomedans? The Rajput instinct, as stated above, leads him to give his daughter to a king even though he may be a Mahomedan. But pride of caste prevents him from marrying from any but the best Rajput family. But the greatest wonder is that even Dalpat or his ancestors are not stated in this account to be Gonds; whence Smith treats them so is a puzzle. The family appears to be Rajput though it was of impure descent but rich and powerful and ruled in Gadha and the surrounding country. Finally it may be stated that Rāṇi Durgāvatī proved her true Rajput blood by fighting with the Moguls most stubbornly and when unfortunately defeated and wounded on the battle-field by stabbing herself to death with true Rajput courage and contempt of death in face of fear of dishonour. Is it not strange that the story of Rāṇi Durgāvatī which in fact proves the greatness and purity of the Chandella family should be distorted by Smith to prove the exact contrary?

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KALACHURIS OF CHEDI.

The Haihayas are an ancient clan of Kshatriyas descended from Sahasrārjuna who is credited in the Purāṇas with having defeated the demon Rāvaṇa. They occupied the Nerbudda valley in very ancient times and are said to have fought with Sagara the solar race king of Oudh. They then obtained possession of South Kosala (Chattisgadh) and retained it down to the most recent times *viz.*, the days of the Marathas of Nagpore. In Volume I Chap. XV we have already given the history of these Haihayas of the Central Provinces and anticipated the history of the Kalachūris of Chedi who were undoubtedly a branch of these Haihayas of the Central Provinces. When the Kalachūris came to power and established their separate kingdom at Tripura (modern Jubbalpore) cannot be stated. Indeed the Kalachūris throughout their history down to the 14th century use an era of their own called the Chedi era and its commencement has been fixed by Kielhorn at 248 A.D. And this era is found to have been in use in even Western India *viz.*, Gujarat and Konkan and it is therefore probable that the Kalachūries enjoyed an extensive rule in centuries preceding even the Chālukyas of the Deccan. In fact it may be asserted that they succeeded to a great portion of the Āndhra empire of the the Śātavāhanas. They were certainly in possession of the almost impregnable stronghold of Kālanjara from a long time and had extended their sway up to the Jumna whence the name Chedi given to them.

Whatever this may be, it seems certain that the Kalachūris as a power came to notice in the mediæval period of Hindu India at about the middle of the ninth century. How they obtained the name Kalachūri need not detain us ; for names of families and clans arise in a thousand unknown ways and as

we have already observed, it is futile to inquire what Kalachūri means as to inquire what Haihaya means or Chālukya or Chāhamāna or Pratihāra and a score of other names mean (though poets and bards are fond of inventing legends to explain names which are fitly called etymological legends and which even though they may be found in the Ṛigveda are unfit to be seriously taken into consideration). It is undoubted that a king named Kokkalla belonging to the Kalachūri clan came to prominence at about 850 A.D. as may be gathered from the two earliest inscriptions of the Kalachūris edited by Kielhorn in Ep. Ind. Vol. I p. 255 and II p. 305 and called the Bilhauri stone inscription and the Benares copper plate inscription. The history of the Kalachūri line is given by Kielhorn from these records in Ep. Ind. Vol. II and we may still further summarise it as follows giving a few additional remarks of our own.

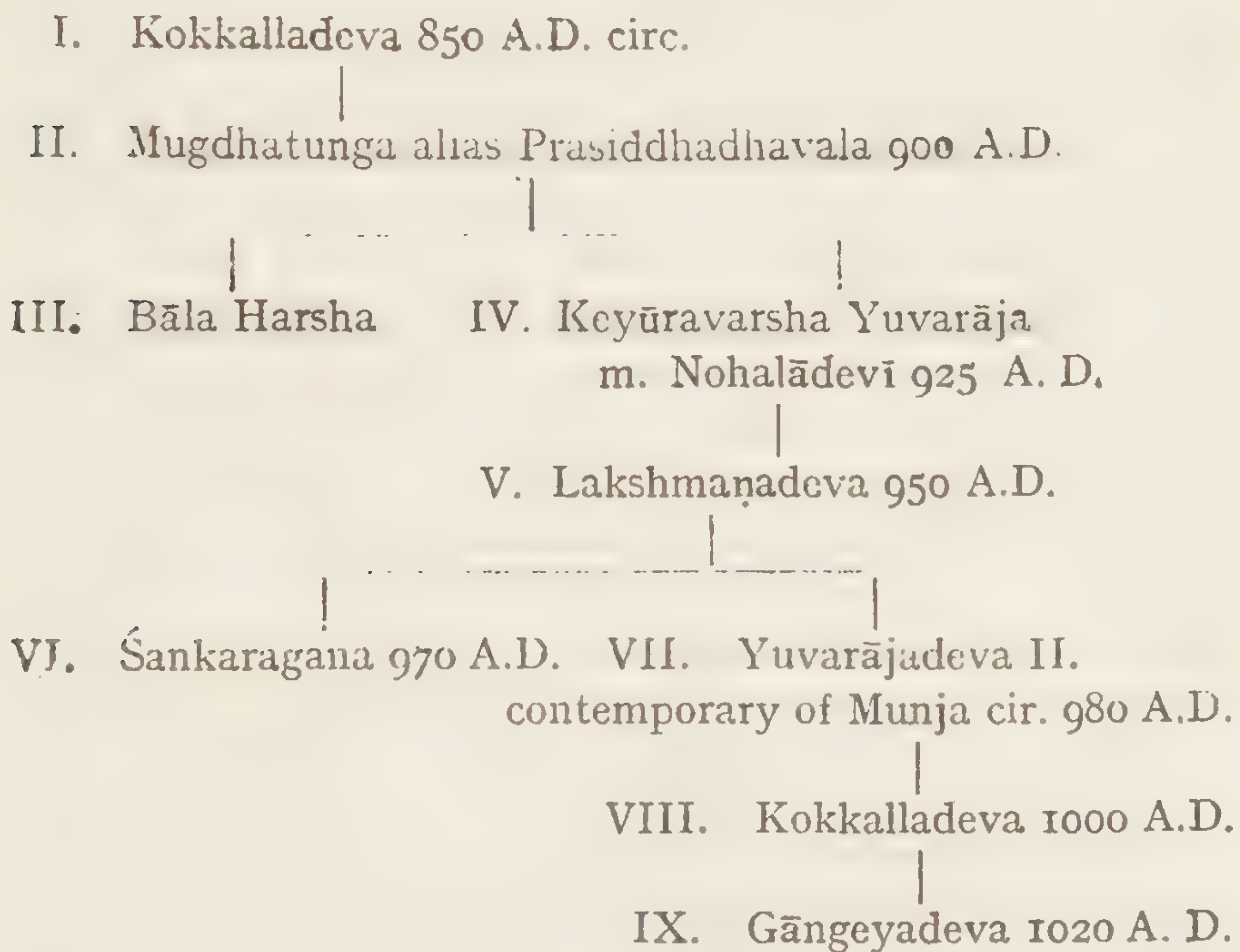
Kokkalladeva, the founder of the greatness of this family, is extolled in these inscriptions as having conquered the whole world and to have set up the two victory pillars in the North and the South *viz.*, Bhoja and Kṛishṇarāja. Now Bhoja is of course Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj whose dates are known as 862-76-82 A.D. while Kṛishṇarāja refers to the Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa II whose dates are known as 875-911 A.D. It is also stated that Kokkalla gave promise of security to Harsha of Chitrakūta a fact which we have already noticed. In another inscription Kokkalla is said to be Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati, the lord of Tri Kalinga. It is, however, difficult to believe that Kokkalla could have actually conquered all these powerful kings especially Bhoja and Kṛishṇa who were in fact the emperors of North and South India. It seems to be likely that the power of Kokkalla I, was recognised more owing to alliances than to actual conquests. We know that Kṛishṇa of the Rāshtrakūtas had married a daughter of Kokkalla and that he himself had Nattā sister of Chandella Harsha as his queen. It may be surmised that Bhoja of Kanauj was also connected with Kokkalla by marriage having probably married a daughter of his. The Haihayas were undoubtedly the best Kshatriyas and we know throughout mediæval history alliance with Haihayas was sought by all the Kshatriya families. The Deccan Chā-

lukyas of the seventh and eighth centuries and later married Haihaya daughters and Prithvīrāja too of the twelfth century was connected with the Haihayas by marriage. It must, however, be admitted that Kokkalla was indeed a powerful king as he is mentioned in these records as the founder of the family. But the eulogy that he raised two victory pillars in the persons of Bhoja and Kṛishṇa in the north and south can be sustained, historically speaking, not on the basis of conquest but of alliance.

Kokkalla's son and successor was Mugdhatunga or Prasiḍdhadhavala (or simply Dhavala) who had two sons Bāla Harsha and Keyūravarsha. The former seems to have succeeded but had probably a short reign. The latter became king after him and had a queen named Nohalādevi born of a Chālukya Sāmanta or feudatory chief. The Bilhauri inscription gives the story of the first Chālukya king springing from the handful of Drona of the Bhāradvāja gotra the importance of which legend we have already noticed. Nohalādevi had a temple built to Śiva called thence Nohaleśvara and the inscription records grant of villages to the temple and its worshipper. There appears to have been a reincarnation of Buddhist monks and monasteries, a continuation in Śaivaite monks and Mathas who professed the Śaivāgama of Lakulīṣa and almost all Rajput kings who now came to prominence appear to be Śaivite and followers of the Āgama, a fact on which we will comment later on when taking a general religious survey of the country.

Keyūravarsha was also called Yuvarāja and he seems to have been defeated by a Chandella king as mentioned in a Chandella record. His son was Lakshmaṇa whose queen was Rāhadā. Their daughter Bonthādevī was the mother of the western Chālukya Tailapa of the second or later family whose certain date is 973 A.D. Lakshmaṇa was followed by Śaṅkaragaṇa and after him by his second son Yuvarāja II who was a contemporary of Munja (974, 979, 993 A.D.). Yuvarāja's son and successor was Kokkalla-deva II whose son was the famous Gāṅgeyadeva of this family. His certain date from inscription is 1037 A.D. and his history naturally belongs to the third period of our history and will be dealt with in our third volume.

The Kalachūris, therefore, cannot be regarded as a new branch of Kshatriyas which came to the fore in the mediæval age ; but an old existing kingly line which attained prominence about 850 A.D. by alliance. Their greatest king Gāngeya and his successors belong to the period from 1000 to 1200 and they probably took advantage of the fall of the Kanauj empire caused by the shock of Mahmud's invasion. The line was always devoted to Śiva and it was also a pure well-known Kshatriya family. The dates are not quite certain but the genealogy of the family upto Gāngeyadeva may be given somewhat as follows :



CHAPTER IX.

THE PĀLAS OF BENGAL.

In the preceding chapters we have sketched the history of all the Rajput kingdoms which came to the fore in the second sub-period of the history of mediæval Hindu India *i. e.*, from about 800 to 1000 A.D. in what may be and is called the middle land comprising the modern U. P., Rajputana and Central India. These Rajput families were all orthodox Hindus, mostly devotees of Śiva and they first came to prominence owing to their offering successful resistance to Arab invasions from Sind. In the outlying provinces, similar Rajput kingdoms arose about the same time but not by the same causes. They arose in the usual way *viz.*, by the decadence of kingly families and the most important of these were the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāshtrakūtas of the Deccan.

It is interesting to note that India usually falls into the same divisions as those at present, owing to peculiarities of climate, soil, language and even the characteristics of the people. The present U. P. and Oudh formed then the empire of Kanauj. Oudh being directly held under it besides the Gangetic valley. Rajputana and Central India branch off into several kingdoms in the same way as now and is still distinct from U. P. Similarly, Bengal and the Deccan naturally constitute distinct kingdoms and so also the Madras Presidency usually tends to come under one rule either that of Chola or Pāndya. We need not, therefore, wonder that Bengal came to be one kingdom under the rule of the Pālas at about this period.

The rise of the Pālas is given in their documents in a manner which is, indeed, unique in Mediæval Hindu history, though it was a manner not uncommon in ancient times in India. We have seen in Volume I that after the fall of Harsha's empire

Bengal was divided into several small kingdoms which constantly quarrelled among themselves. During the empire of the Varmās and probably under Yaśovarman of Kanauj, Bengal nominally came under the suzerainty of Kanauj, the Gauda king being killed in fight with Yaśovarman. During the latter half of the eighth century, the central power of Kanauj becoming weak, the province became a prey to anarchy, called in the Khälimpur grant of Dharmapāla as a state of fishes eating one another. The people, consequently, by consent of all, elected Gopāla as the king of Bengal and he soon established a central government first at Pāṭaliputra and then at Monghyr or Mudgagiri which practically extended over the whole of Bengal including Magadha, Magadha and Bihar being often leagued with Bengal as they were a few years ago or separated from it as at present.

Gopāla was a Buddhist, Buddhism being still prevalent in Magadha and Gauda. There was, indeed, a reassertion of Hinduism against Buddhism in the time of Śaśānka of Karna-suvarṇa or under Mādhavagupta of Magadha. But this part of the country was the birth-place and stronghold of Buddhism which naturally lasted here longer than in the rest of the country. Gopāla was, however, a Kshatriya being born of the Śuryavaṇṣa as stated in Pāla records. The Varṇāśramadharmā which Buddhism had flung away in the beginning was strong again and even the records of these Buddhist kings show that they were keen observers of it and kept Varṇa pure. They also respected Brahmins and made gifts to them. The rule of the Buddhist Gopāla was not, therefore, troublesome and his ministers and many of his subjects who were Hindus were not much offended. Gopāla is supposed by some to have belonged to the Pratihāra Pāla dynasty of Kanauj but it seems that there is no reason to suspect this. The name ending Pāla is taken by many Kshatriya families ; in fact it is a suffix generally recommended for Kshatriyas who are required to take a suffix meaning protector and we consequently find Pāla and Gopa and Trātā as usual suffixes of Kshatriya names. Moreover, the rise of the Pāla dynasty did not follow the rise of the Pratihāra dynasty but was almost synchronous with it as will be presently seen.

Keilhorn has given the dynasty of the Pālas as follows in his paper on the Āmagācchi plates of Vighraharāja III putting together the inscriptions found till then. He has not assigned dates as unfortunately these inscriptions do not use any known era but give regnal years of kings. This is a great difficulty in fixing exact dates ; though this shows almost to a certainty that these were not open to influences which brought in the Vikrama era to the forefront in the rest of the country. We may, however, assign probable dates from contemporary events mentioned in these records of the Pāla dynasty.

The father and grandfather of Gopāla (Dayitavishṇu and Vāpyaṭa) may be omitted as we know that Gopāla was the first to obtain sovereignty by the choice of the people. He was the first king and appears to have fought with Vaṭsarāja of the west, Indrāyudha of the Varmā dynasty of Kanauj and the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda III as already mentioned. This gives for him a date about 780 to 800 A.D.

His son and successor was Dharmapāla who is said to have married a Rāshtrakūṭa lady. He conquered Indrarāja of Kanauj and replaced him by Chakrāyudha with the consent of many feudatory princes as stated in the off-quoted two ślokas of the Khālimpur and Bhāgalpur grants. He thus may be placed from 800 A.D. to 825 A.D. It is well known that Nāgabhata, son of Vaṭsarāja defeated Chakrāyudha and thereafter deposing him became the king of Kanauj himself. He had, of course, to defeat this Dharmapāla before he could seize the empire. He was himself, however, defeated by Govinda III Rāshtrakūṭa but as already stated the defeat was not so serious as to oust him from Kanauj. This Govinda III appears to have been the father-in-law of Dharmapāla ; for the Bhāgalpur inscription (Ind. Ant. XXI p. 250) mentions that his wife was Rānnadevi, daughter of Parabala of the Rāshtrakūṭas and Parabala has been well identified by Keilhorn with Govinda III. It seems, therefore, consistent that Govinda III should have gone to his help against his enemy Nāgabhata who had defeated Dharmapāla and should have rested content with his defeat of Nāgabhata as it prevented the latter from encroaching further upon Bengal.

Dharmapāla was succeeded by Devapāla, his nephew and he may be assigned a reign from 825 to 850 A.D. He again was succeeded by his nephew Vighrahapāla I. It seems that both Dharmapāla and Devapāla were without sons and adopted their nephews as sons. This explains why Devapāla is in one grant called nephew of Dharmapāla and in another his mother is said to be Rānnadevi. Vighrahapāla married Lajjā, a Haihaya princess (see Bhāgalpur grant). He may be assigned a reign from 850 to 875 A.D. His son was Nārāyaṇapāladeva who made this oft-mentioned Bhāgalpur grant. The year is not certain as the date is mentioned in regnal years. Nārāyaṇapāla was succeeded by Rājyapāla who married Bhāgyadevī, daughter of Rāshtrakūṭa Tunga who is identified as Jaggattunga. He may be said to have reigned till 925 A.D. and was followed by his son Gopāla II (925-950) who was followed by Vighrahapāla II (950-976) and he was followed by his son Mahīpāla who issued the Sāranath grant which for the first time gives us a distinct date viz., 1083 V.E. or 1026 A.D. By assigning 25 years to each reign we come to Mahīpāla's rule ending in 1000 A.D. and even if this inscription be supposed to belong to the last year of Mahīpāla's reign we have a difference of about 26 years which, distributed over 9 reigns, gives a difference of about 3 years for each reign. This is really negligible and we may suppose some one of the kings to have had a long rule and probably Mahīpāla himself. This inscription mentions that Mahīpāla was driven from his position by enemies; but that he recovered his patrimony by his efforts. Who these enemies were and how the kingdom was regained are matters of great curiosity. Perhaps the shocks of Mahmud's invasions which India received at this time were responsible for this mishap for the effect of these shocks might have reached even distant Bengal. But this belongs to the third volume of our history and we close our notice of this Pāla dynasty here though it did not continue for long hereafter and it was succeeded by the power of the Senas in the eleventh century A. D. (Mahīpāla was succeeded by Nārāyaṇapāla and he was succeeded by Vighrahapāla III who made the Āmagāchhi grant on which Keilhorn has recorded his valuable note.)

The grants of these Pālas show that they were truly Kshatriyas though they were Buddhists, probably only in the beginning or in name. They had marriage relations with the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Haihayas of Chedi. They made grants to Śiva temples and ascetics of the Śivāgama sect (most probably Lakulīṣa which was predominant at this time all over India). For Nārāyaṇapāla who made the Bhāgalpur grant does not call himself Saugata, though he calls his father so and he expressly states that he had constructed a thousand temples to Śiva (svayam-kārita-sahasrāyatanasya). Then again these grants show that a distinct further advance had been made in the art of government and administration as will be noticed in detail in our chapter on administration in this volume. But one thing seems rather retrograde and tending towards the final ruin of the land viz., that the army seems to consist not of local levies but of mercenaries from foreign races which are nearly the same as are now used by the British Government. The details of this will be found in our chapter on army in this volume.

The extent of Pāla rule appears to have comprised the whole of modern Bengal, Bihar and Assam and probably part of Orissa. The Bhāgalpur grant states that the Pālas had conquered Utkala and Prāgjyotisha or Assam. Magadha and Bihar were included in the very beginning as the Khālimpur grant is issued from Pāṭaliputra. Eastern Bengal, too, was included in their dominion; for we no longer read of two kings or kingly umbrellas in Bengal, a fact mentioned only in connection with Gopāla's rule.

The Pāla and Sena dynasties are both of them historical and have left contemporary records. Who was "Ādisura" and who the other kings whom tradition relates is a difficult problem to solve; but records as yet have not proved their existence beyond the shadow of doubt and we, therefore, refrain from expressing any opinion on the subject.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE PĀLA KINGS OF BENGAL.

(The dates are all tentative).

Gopāla elected king of Bengal.

780-800 A.D.

|

Dharṇapāla

800-825.

|

Devapāla ——— brother
(adopted nephew).
825-850.

|

Vigrahapāla I.

850-875.

|

Nārāyaṇapāla

875-900.

|

Rājyapāla

900-925.

|

Gopāla II.

925-950.

|

Vigrahapāla II.

950-976.

|

Mahīpāla

made a grant in V. E. 1083 or 1026 A.D.

CHAPTER X.

THE RĀSHTRAKUTAS OF THE DECCAN,

The Rāshtrakūṭas are represented as belonging to the race of Yadu. According to Wardha plates they belonged to the Sātyaki branch of the lunar race and were descendants of a princess named Rattā. Rattā is said to have had a son Rāshtrakūṭa after whom the family was named. But this is certainly a later theory and we already know that Rāshtrakūṭa, like modern Deshpande, is an official name. The first three princes of the Rāshtrakūṭa family given in grants hitherto discovered are Govinda I, Karka I, and Indra II (Dr. Bhandarkar mentions two earlier ones viz., Dantivarman and Indrarāja). Govinda, Karka and Indra II are noticed in only a few grants of the Rāshtrakūṭas and are described in general terms. The poets praise their bravery, their justice and their piety but nothing is said about them in particular.

Indra Rāja is said to have married a princess who was descended on her father's side from Śalikya (Chālukya) race and who was born in the Soma Anvaya (Samangada plates). With the state of relations during the succeeding reigns, matrimonial alliances between these two families were hardly possible. The Samangada plate which is the earliest grant of the Rāshtrakūṭas found upto this time gives us a clue to fix the dates of these kings (B. B. R. A. II p. 371). The grant is dated 675 Śaka *i. e.*, 753 A.D. and is given by Dantidurga the fourth king of the Rāshtrakūṭa family who first established his independence of the Chālukyas. Counting backward, therefore, and allowing 25 years for each generation the year 660 A.D. may be roughly assigned to Govinda I, 685 A.D. to Karka and 720 A.D. to Indra Rāja.

The fourth king Dantidurga the son of Indrarāja and his Chālukya queen was one of the greatest kings of the family. He is said to have acquired for his family the supreme sovereignty

of Mahārāshtra the limits of which were the Narmadā on the north and the Tungabhadra on the south. It is expressly stated in the Alās plate of Yuvarāja Govinda II (Ep. In. VI page 210) that he first conquered and conquered easily the Chālukya power, great as it was by its conquest of Kānchī, Kerala, Chola, Pāndya, Sriharsha and Vajrata (who the last is must be discovered).

The Sāmangad plate also attributes to Dantidurga this great exploit. He is said to have subdued without effort the Chālukya king Vallabha and to have obtained the title Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara and he is said to have defeated with a few of his followers the whole army of Karnātaka which had been renowned for humiliation of Shriharsha (of course, the famous Kanauj Buddhist king). The king Vallabha above named must be the last Chālukya king Kīrtivarman II.

Dantidurga probably died a violent death at the hands of his paternal uncle and successor Krishnarāja. This is not borne out by many of the grants which make no reference to the event at all but the Baroda grant states that " Krishnarāja destroyed a relative who followed an evil course and assumed the sovereignty for the good of the race." If we take into consideration how anxious the court poets might be to avoid all references to internal dissensions in the families of their patrons we may accept this account as true even though mentioned in only one grant.

Krishnarāja carried on the work of Dantidurga and completely subjugated the Chālukyas. In the Rādhanpur plate he is said to have in short and swiftly torn the fortune of the Chālukya race. He it was who built the famous temple of Kailāsa at Elāpura (Verul or Ellorā). In the Wardha plates he is described as one " who protected the earth by the temples of Īśvara constructed by him by which the earth shines as by many Kailāsa mountains. The Baroda plates state a good deal alone about the beauty of this temple of Kailāsa : " When gods saw the temple, ' say the Baroda plates, " they were struck with wonder and said ' this temple of Śiva is self-existent, for such beauty is not to be found in a work of art '."

Krishnarāja was succeeded by his son Govinda II. Nothing particular is said about this king except the usual praise and the

Vani-Dindori, the Rāadhanpur and the Baroda plates drop his name altogether. This shows that he was a negligible king: The Wardha plates state that "sensual" pleasures made him careless of the kingdom and entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as a sovereign to become loose. The Vani-Dindori and the Rāadhanpur plates, however, seem to imply that he was dethroned by his younger brother Nirupama.

Dhruva, also known by the names, Nirupama and Dhora, was an able and warlike king. He conquered and imprisoned a prince named Ganga and also drove Vatsarāja the king of the west who was proud of having conquered Gauda to Maru land; and took from him the two umbrellas he had taken from Gauda (Rāadhanpur grant Ep. Ind. VI p. 243). He also conquered a Pallava king in the south. It seems that this king Dhruva is referred to as reigning in the south, by the Jain *Harivaṃśa* written in 783 A.D.

The next king, Dhruva Nirupama's son, was Govind III. He is also called Jagattunga. The Vani-Dindori and Rāadhanpur plates were issued by him in Śaka 730 *i.e.* in 808 A.D. Govind III was undoubtedly the greatest king of the Rāshtrakūta line. The Kāvi grant states that he was raised by his father to the supreme sovereignty for his great qualities which his brothers and enemies resented and a confederacy of 12 princes raised a rebellion against him. In such a condition Govind III seems to have acquitted himself bravely. He fought the confederacy and subdued it completely. After this he released king Ganga whom his father had imprisoned "from the prolonged pain of fetters" but Ganga remaining determined in his enmity Govinda subdued him again and again put him into confinement. He then undertook an expedition against the Gurjar king who fled when he heard of Govinda's approach and he probably took Kanauj. Next Govinda received submission of the king of Mālava, "who by this time had learnt to form a just estimate of his own powers." This was probably not a king of the famous Paramāra line. Then on his reaching the slopes of Vindhya hills, a king called Māraśarva hastened to offer him presents. Then having passed the rainy season at Shrībhavana (Malkhed)

he advanced with his army to the banks of the Tungabhadra and again subdued the Pallavas whom his father had conquered already. Finally, he ordered the lord of Vengi into his presence and made him assist in building or fortifying a city. Govinda III's *biruda* ending in *varsha* was *Prabhutavarsha* "raining profusely". He has given the two grants mentioned above from Mayurakhandi. This place has been identified with a hill-fort in Nasik territory of the name of Morakhand.

Govinda III was succeeded by his son known by the name of Amoghavarsha. This probably was one of his *birudas* but what his proper name was is not ascertained. In his grants he is also referred to as *Atiśayadhavala* and *Lakshmīvallabha*.

The date of the beginning of the reign of Amoghavarsha can be ascertained from the Nilagunda inscription (Ep. Ind. VI. p. 100). The inscription is dated Śaka 788 *i. e.*, 866 A.D. and the grant recorded in it is said to have been given in the 52nd year of the reign of the king. This shows that Amoghavarsha must have begun his reign in 814 or 815 A.D. The latest grant made by Amoghavarsha is recorded in a Kanheri inscription (Ind. Ant. XIII p. 115 No. 43) which is dated Śaka 799 *i. e.*, 877 A.D. This shows that the reign of Amoghavarsha came to a close at about 877 A.D. and extended over the unusually long period of sixty years.

In the Kharda grant, the city of Mānyakheta is spoken of as being very prosperous in Amoghavarsha's time and the question is whether it was this king who founded the city and made it his capital. The Wardha plates are clear on the point. In them Amoghavarsha is said to have founded Mānyakheta which laughed down the city of Indra, king of gods. Mānyakheta is identified with the present Malkhed in Nizam's territory. But we already have seen that Govinda, his father rested at Śrībhavana or Malkhed, and it seems that it was already chosen as capital by Amogha's father.

Amoghavarsha waged wars with the Chālukyas of Vengi and probably conquered some territory belonging to them. In the Kharepātan plate he is said to have marched against them and put several princes to death. The Nilagunda inscription

represents him as being worshipped by Vanga, Anga, Magadha, Mālava and Vengi.

Amoghavarsha gave certain grants for the benefit of Jain sanctuaries. Dr. Bhandarkar in his history of the Rāshtrakūtas (Bombay Gaz. Vol. I. p. 11) alludes to two stanzas to be found in the historical appendix at the end of a Jain work entitled Uttarapurāṇa where Amoghavarsha is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jain saint named Jinasona. In his note on Amoghavarsha as a patron of literature (Ind. Ant. XXXIII p. 197) Dr. Fleet refers to a small Sanskrit tract, containing about thirty verses consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled Ratnamālīka or Praśnottaramālā. In the Digambara Jain recension of the work there is a stanza at the end which represents Amogravarsha as having abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the religious spirit in him. From this we may infer that Amoghavarsha was a patron of Digambara Jains, though we have no evidence to prove that he had accepted that faith. Amoghavarsha in the Deccan and Mihira Bhoja in the north seem to be contemporaneous powerful kings, a repetition, so to speak, of Harsha and Pulakeśin II of the seventh century A.D.

Amoghavarsha's son and successor was Akālavarsha. He married Mahādevī, daughter of Kokkala, a king belonging to the Sahasrārjuna (Haihaya) race. The proper name of this king was Kṛishṇa as is clear from the Wardha and Kardā plates.

The Wardha plates state that this king frightened Gujara, destroyed the egregious pride of the arrogant Lāta king and deprived the people on the sea-coast of their sleep. Further, his command was obeyed by the Āndhra, Kalinga, Ganga and Magadha kings waiting at his gate.

The Navasari plates dated Śaka 836 give a description of Akālavarsha's wars with Gurjara as given by the old men of the time of the grant. This shows that the wars must have taken place about 25 or 30 years before this time *i. e.*, in about Śaka 811 or 806. According to Dr. Bhandarkar the date of this king ranges between Śaka 797 and 833 *i. e.*, between 875 and 911 A.D.

Akālvarsha's son was Jagattunga but his name is not given in the list of kings given in the Khārepātan grant. After Akālavarsha, the name of Indrarāja is mentioned who is spoken of as the grandson of Akālavarsha. The doubt is cleared by the Wardha plates which state that Jagattunga was taken to heaven by the creator without his having got the kingdom. Jagattunga married Laxmī, daughter of the son of Kokkala who is called Raṇavigraha in the Sangli and Navsari grants and Śankara-gaṇa in the Kerdā plates. From this union sprang Indra who succeeded his grandfather.

As stated above Indra III came to the throne after Akālavarsha. His title was Nityavarsha according to the Navasari grant. Nityavarsha is the donor of the Navasari grant. He is represented as residing at his capital Mānyakheta but as having gone to Kurunda on this occasion for his Pattabandhotsava. This must have been a ceremony in honour of his coronation. He is said to have weighed himself against gold on this day and is said to have given that gold to Brahmins. The grant is issued in Śaka 856 (934 A.D.) and Indra appears to have ascended the throne in that year. Dr. Fleet has published an inscription in Ind. Ant. XII p. 224 according to which Indra appears to be ruling in Śaka 838 *i. e.* in 916 A.D.

As regards the next king, there is some confusion in certain grants. The Sangli grant, however, is clear. It is recorded in these plates that Indra married Dvijāmbā (Vijayāmbā according to Dr. Bhandarkar) daughter of Anaṅgadeva who became by his virtue the son of Kokkala of the Haihaya race. By this wife Indra had a son named Govinda who is the donor of the Sangli grant. The Khārepātan plate, however, states that Govinda was the younger brother of a king named Amoghavarsha. The Wardha grant is more explicit. In this it is stated that Amoghavarsha died immediately after his father "as if through affection for him" and his younger brother Govindarāja ruled the kingdom.

This king as appears from the Wardha and Khārepātan plates was not a good ruler, the Khārepātan plate describes him as always surrounded by crowds of young damsels while the Wardha grant says "Fettered by the chains of the eyes of women, he displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses, and

his limbs becoming enfeebled and the constituents of the (political) body becoming non-coherent, he met with destruction." The Sangli grant, however, which is issued by this king pours praises upon him.

The Sangli grant is issued in Śaka 855 *i. e.*, 933 A.D. In an inscription published by Dr. Fleet Govinda under the name Prabhūtavarsha is said to be reigning in Śaka 840 -41 *i. e.*, in 918-19 A.D. We have seen above that Indra ascended the throne in Śaka 836 so that it seems that Govinda had a short reign.

From the Khārepātan plate it appears that after Govinda IV, his paternal uncle and the second son of Jaggattunga came to the throne. The Wardha plates state that "after the death of Govinda IV king Amoghavarsha's son Jaggattunga being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rattas ascended the throne of heroes."

Amoghavarsha III was succeeded by his son Kṛishṇa; the Wardha grant which is made by this king describes him in detail. The enemies who transgressed his commands were punished, he put to death Dantiga and Bappaṭa who had grown insolent. He thoroughly subdued the Ganga prince. Hearing of the ease with which he captured the strongholds in the south the Gurjara king who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kālanjara and Chitrakūṭa in the north had to give up the enterprise. All feudatory chiefs between the Himālayas and Simhala (Ceylon) paid obeisance to him. The Wardha grant is made by this king in the name of his younger brother Jagattungadeva and is dated, Ś. 862 *i. e.*, 940 A.D. He appears to be reigning in Śaka 873 (Ind. Ant. XII 256). From a statement at the end of a Jain work called Yaśastilaka Dr. Bhandarkar gathers that Kṛishṇa was the reigning monarch in Śaka 881. He thus seems to have ruled between 940 and 959 A.D.

Kṛishṇa III was succeeded by his younger brother Khottiga. The Kardā grant states "when the elder brother Kṛishṇarāja-deva went to heaven, Khottigadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarsha on Khandakādevī, the daughter of Yuvarāja, became king." Kṛishṇa and Khottiga thus appear to be the sons of the same father but of different mothers. Khottika appears to be reigning in Śaka 893 (Ind. Ant. XII. p. 255).

Khottika was succeeded according to the Khārepātan grant by Kakkala, the son of his brother. The name of this brother according to the Kardā grant was Nirupama. From the Kardā grant Kakkala appears to be a brave soldier. He is stated to have conquered a numerous army of his foes in Gurjara and played and amused himself with Chola. He is said to be a constant protector of Hunavi prince and was dreaded exceedingly by the sovereign of Pāndya. Kakkala was, however, conquered in a battle by Tailapa who belonged to the Chālukya race and thus the sovereignty of the Deccan passed from the hands of the Rāshtrakūtas into those of the later Chālukyas about 974 A.D.

The Kardā grant was made in the reign of Kakkala and is dated Śaka 894 or A.D. 972 and another grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 270) represents him to be on the throne in Śaka 896 or 974 A.D. The Rāshtrakūtas were thus the supreme masters of the Deccan from about 750 A.D. to 974 A.D. An attempt was made to set up Indra IV a son of Kṛishṇa III by a western Ganga prince but it did not succeed and in an inscription (Ind. Ant. XXIII p. 124) it is said that Indra IV. starved himself to death by the performance of the sallekhana vow on 20th March 982 A.D. (Ep. Ind. VI. p. 182). *

* The kings of this line with dates of accession or death may be given together for the readers' benefit as follows (pedigree given separately).—

- I. Dantidurga 753 A.D.
- II. Kṛishṇa Akālāva. 773.
- III. Dhruva Niru Dhārava. 783.
- IV. Govinda III. Jagat. Pra. 808.
- V. Śarva Nripat-Amoghav. 814-875.
- VI. Kṛishṇa II Akālāva-Subhat. 875-911.
- VII. Indra III Nityav, 914 grandson.
- VIII. Amoghav. II.
- IX. Govinda IV br. Suvarnav. d. 933.
- X. Baddliga Amoghav. III uncle.
- XI. Kṛishṇa III Akālava. 940-961.
- XII. Khottika Nityav 971.
- XIII. Kakkala or Karka II. Amoghav. 972-974 ; lost the kingdom being conquered by Tailpaa Chālukya.

We will close this chapter with a few general observations about the Rāshtrakūtas of Māikhed. They must be first distinguished from the Rāshtrakūtas or Rāthods of Rajputana. The former were lunar race Kshatriyas with probably Atri as their gotra, while the latter were and still claim to be Suryavamśi Kshatriyas with Gautama as their gotra. In this, the Rāshtrakūtas resemble their predecessors the Chālukyas. The Maratha Chālukyas with Mānavya as their gotra and probably solar-race Kshatriyas are distinct from the Rajput Chālukyas who are in inscriptions described as lunar race Kshatriyas with Bhāradvāja as their gotra. The identity of names should not mislead us. The same family name does sometimes recur, but the families are distinct. This is usually so where the name is a mere designation like Rāshtrakūta. The later inscriptions of these Rāshtrakūtas notwithstanding, as we have already shown in Vol. I, the word Rāshtrakūta meant the chief revenue officer of a province, Kūta or chief of Rāshtra or province. It is a revenue official designation like Deshmukh of modern times and it gradually became a surname. In the Maratha country the Deshmukh or head of a district is generally a Maratha and the Deshpande or the clerk of the district is generally a Brahmin. When the Maratha Aryas settled in Mahārāshtra they even then adopted this arrangement much like the Normans and distributed the head-ships of Rāshtras or districts (which is peculiarly a Mahārāshtra word) among the leading Maratha families who were thence designated Rāshtrakūtas. These Rāshtrakūtas were, therefore, pre-eminently Marathas and their empire in the Deccan from about 750 to 974 A.D. is the most glorious period of Maratha history.

The great danger of a Mahomedan invasion of Mahārāshtra had already been averted by the prowess of a Maratha Chālukya chief of the Gujarat branch in 738 A.D. as the Navasari inscription indisputably proves. The greatness of this exploit is evidenced by the titles which the sovereign lord of the Deccan bestowed upon the Chief in Gujarat. He was given the title of the "repeller of the unrepellable." The Mahomedans had come onward in their career of conquest like a whirlwind having conquered Sindha, Kachha, Chāpotkata, Maurya, and others and had rushed

southwards "to conquer the whole of the Deccan." They were met by their equals or superiors and annihilated by the sword of the Marathas. The danger of foreign conquest was thus averted from Mahārāshtra for five centuries more. The rise of the Rāshtrakūtas took place after this event and throughout their history the Arabs were their friends being the enemy of their common foe the Gurjaras, the kings of Kanauj.

The rise of the Rāshtrakūtas commenced with Dantidurga and his successor Kṛishṇa built or rather cut out the famous rock-cut temple of Elora which is, indeed, even now a wonder of the world. A whole temple of Śiva has been cut out of solid rock from a mountain and consists, so to speak, of one stupendous rock. The design is, indeed, sublime and the ornamentation is minute. It speaks volumes of the skill of the excavator engineer who must have carried the whole design in his head, plans and estimates being probably then unknown. The Rāshtrakūtas have signalised their name for ever by this work though they appear to have left nothing more, Mānyakheta, their new capital, having in its delapidated condition nothing to boast of.

The Rāshtrakūta kings generally have simple names such as Kṛishṇa, Govinda and Indra a practice which continues down to this day in Mahārāshtra. But they too have birudas or titles of high sounding character. Besides the title Prithvivalabha or simply Vallabharai (Balhara of the Arabs) inherited from the Chālukyas, they took delight in special titles ending in varsha, such as Prabhūtavarsha, Amoghavarsha, Nityavarsha and so on and in tunga and the student of history is very often at a loss to remember what particular varsha or tunga each king is.

The Rāshtrakūta Marathas like their predecessors the Chālukyas and their modern representatives the Bhosles hold possession of Lāta or southern Gujarat especially Navasari which is still in possession of the Maratha Gaikwads. They also often held possession of Malwa. In the south they conquered up to Tanjore like their predecessors and successors. But the Rāshtrakūtas unlike the Chālukyas but like the modern Marathas went conquering north as far as Kanauj which as the seat of the Northern Empire, was the natural objective as much as Delhi the seat

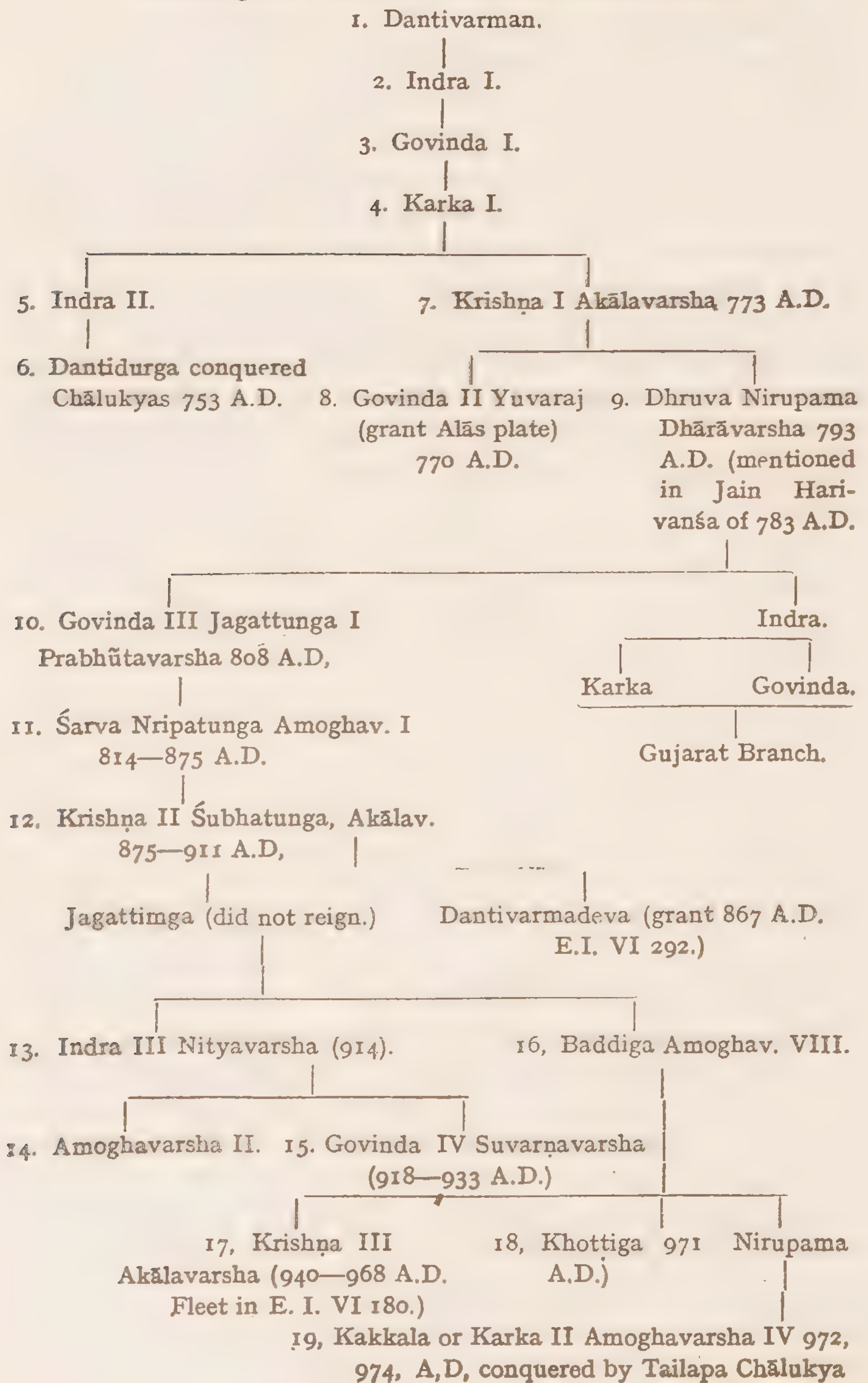
of the Mogul Empire was the objective of the modern Marathas. It does not appear that the Chālukyas had gone so far north. Pulakeśin had, no doubt, defeated Harsha and Vinayāditya had conquered Yaśovarman but that was probably in the Nerbudda region where the northerners had come and not in the heart of their own empire. The exploit of Indra is referred to with pride in the Cambay plates of Govind IV (Ep. Ind. VII p. 36) in crossing "the deep Jumna vying with the sea or the Indus" with cavalry swimming and storming and devastating Kanauj so that it truly became Kuśasthali or a plot overgrown with grass. The Jumna is broad and deep even now and must have been much more so in those days when it was not cut up by canals. And there were no bridges to cross it. The feat of cavalry swimming unfordable rivers is, indeed, not uncommon in history and the Marathas were then as now known for their horsemanship. These cavalry raids of the Marathas appear then to have been as effective as in modern history. Along with cavalry for which they were known the Rāshtrakūtas appear, however, to have kept up infantry also and a goodly elephant force (see Arab writers).

The Rāshtrakūta government was well regulated and what is strange they kept their army regularly paid as we shall presently see. They were by religion Śaivites but later kings appear to have an inclination towards Jainism and the spread of Jainism among the agricultural population of the Karnatic has to be specially noticed and may be thus explained. These Rāshtrakūtas of the Deccan had marriage relations with the Rajputs of the north, as we find Rāshtrakūtas marrying into the Pāla family of Bengal and the Haihaya family of Chedi. Then we are told in the Ātpurā inscription of Mewad that Allata's mother was a Rāshtrakūta princess; we are inclined to believe that she was a princess from the Deccan. There was then no Rāshtrakūta family of renown in the north and the special mention of the family of this princess here indicates that she came of a powerful family. The Nilagund inscription of Amoghavarsha I of 866 A.D. tells us that the Rāshtrakūtas had come into conflict with and defeated the people of Chitrakūta (Ep. Ind. VI. p. 106). Among the Rajputs conflicts

and marriages follow one another without difficulty as in European history.

The same Nilagund inscription tells us that the Lānchhana (crest) of the Rāshtrakūtas was an eagle or Garuda. They appear to have used three white umbrellas (obtained by conquest), the Pāli Dhvaja of the previous Chālukyas and other ensigns of empire. The usual titles of emperors viz., Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara and Bhattāraka they certainly use. It is strange that no comment has been made on the title Lattalūra-pura-Parameśvara by any writer. It appears to us that this indicates that before the founding of Malkhed the Rāshtrakūtas ruled in Lattalura ; where this town is has not yet been stated or discovered. Mr. Rājwade V. K. the well-known researcher in Maratha history thinks that it was a town in the Chedi country.

Genealogical Table of the Rāshtrakūta family.



CHAPTER XI.

THE OTHER KINGDOMS IN INDIA.

FROM 800 TO 1000 A.D.

We have heretofore described the most important kingdoms in India which came into existence in the second sub-period of Mediæval Hindu Indian history (800-1000 A.D.), and will in this chapter notice the remaining kingdoms of India existing during this period. Many of them have already been noticed and described at length in our first volume and we shall name them here merely for the sake of completeness. Sind as far as Multan was under the Arabs, the governors being appointed from Baghdad by the Khalifas whose power gradually declined during this period and was finally supplanted by the Turks. Next we must notice the Shahi kings of Kabul already described at length in our first volume (p. 190-198). The Kshatriya Buddhist dynasty noticed by Hiuen Tsang ruled in Kabul till about 880 A.D. when the dynasty becoming effete was supplanted by a Brahmin Commander-in-Chief named Lalliya. He founded the Brahmin Shahi dynasty of Kabul which ruled from about 880 to 1021 A.D. when it was finally conquered by Mahmud of Ghazni. The kings of this dynasty are known from Alberuni as well as from coins and Rājataranginī (Vol. I p. 201) and were as follows—

1. Lalliya 880-900 A. D.
2. Sāmanta 900 -920 A.D.
3. Kamalu 920-940 A.D.
4. Bhīmadeva 940-960 A.D.
5. Jayapāla 960-980 A.D.
6. Ānandapāla 980-1000 A.D.
7. Trilochanapāla 1000-1021 A.D.

Shahi was the title of these kings from ancient times borrowed from Persia and even the previous Kshatriya dynasty kings bore the same title. The former dynasty was Buddhist but the latter was, as all over India, Hindu being worshippers of Śiva or Vishṇu.

As there was a Brahmin dynasty in Kabul, so there was a Kshatriya dynasty in Kandahar (see evidence of Arab travellers noted in next chapter) the history of which we will try to discover from Mahomedan records in our third volume. This dynasty probably belonged to the Bhatti clan of Rajputs and was overthrown by the Turks. In fact, Kabul and Kandahar were from ancient times parts of India; but since the invasions of the Turks they have been lost to India owing to the complete conversion of the population.

With these few remarks about the countries beyond the Indus we proceed to notice Kashmir the history of which has already been given in detail in our first volume. After Jayāpīda of the Karkota dynasty who ruled from 751 to 782 A.D. the kings of Kashmir rarely interfered in the concerns of the countries of India proper. This dynasty began thence to decline but it lived on till 855 A.D. when the vigorous rule of Avantivarman of the Utpala dynasty succeeded. But his dynasty soon became effete and came to end in 939 A.D. when there being no claimant, the people elected Yaśaskaradeva as king. His incapable son was set aside by Parvagupta of the Divira dynasty in 950 A.D. This dynasty, too, after two kings fell into the hands of the notorious Queen Diddā who practically ruled supreme and set up minor puppets on the throne one after another till her death about 1004 A.D. when her brother's son founded the Lohara dynasty of Kashmir. This dynasty produced many capable kings who prevented Kashmir falling like Kabul into the hands of the Turks. Kashmir, therefore, lived on as an independent Hindu kingdom during the third sub-period of our history (Vol. I p. 237) as we shall see again in our third volume.

Going on to the Panjab, we must notice first the Jālandhara or Kangrakota kingdom of Trigarta ruled by kings of the lunar race of Suśarman from the most ancient times. As stated in Vol. I p. 384 we have the mention of Jayachandra in an in-

scription which gives us a date 804 A.D. and Kalhana mentions a king Indrachandra in 1040 A.D. The dynasties in the Himalayan regions are all long-lived being free from molestation though the history of the fall of Kot Kangra before Mahmud forms an interesting episode in the history of Jālandhara which we shall have to relate in the account of Mahmud's invasions.

It is, indeed, difficult to determine what other kingdoms existed in the Punjab during this period. The Tekka kings, the Gujar Ālakhan, and Mihira Bhoja (Kanauj) are mentioned in the Rājataranginī but we have no direct inscriptional evidence nor any continuous account. The history of Mahmud's invasions shows that there was a kingdom at Lahore which made strenuous efforts to resist Mahmud but we have only Mahomedan records to prove its existence. It is, therefore, a very difficult thing to determine the Panjab kingdoms of this period and we rest content here with this short notice of the Panjab.

At Delhi a new kingdom had been founded by this time by one Anaṅgapāla Tomara (Tuar) see Tod by Croke Vol. I p. 104 where the Bardic tradition is given that Anaṅgapāla a descendant of the Pāndavas refounded the ancient Indraprastha in V.E. 848 (797' A.D.) which came to greater notice in the third sub-period of our history. We, however, find that even as early as about 913 A.D. the Chāhamāna king Chāṇḍana had to fight with a Tomara king named Rudreṇa. The fights between the Delhi Tomaras and the Sambhar Chāhamānas appear to have become hereditary and were natural as the Tomaras were the neighbours of the latter on the north. The king Tantrapāla defeated by the Chauhan Vākpati (943 A.D.) may be taken to be a Tomara king; and Vākpati's son Sinharāja is said distinctly to have defeated a Tomara king (name not given) in the Harsha stone inscription. We have very few inscriptions of the Tomaras of Delhi, then an insignificant town, which came into view only in the third sub-period of our history. These Tomaras of Delhi must have been subordinate to the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj as the Pehewa inscription (Ep. Ind. I p. 242-184) shows. This inscription is dated 882 A.D.

Passing on to the modern U. P. and Oudh we have already stated that these two provinces were then under the direct control of the emperors of Kanauj and there were no subordinate kingdoms in these parts.

In Nepal as stated in our first volume (p. 375-376) the Lichhavi dynasty came to end about this period and the Rajput dynasty of Nepal was established. This was, of course, in consonance with the trend of history in India generally. We have no inscrip-tional evidence relating to these kings ; and we have to rely solely on local tradition and local Vamśāvalis. This dynasty founded an era of its own which runs from 879 A.D. and it was certainly not the first king of this line who founded this era. We may, therefore, state generally that a Rajput dynasty of kings ruled in Nepal from about 800 A.D. down to the end of our sub-period.

We have next to notice the kingdom of Kāmarūpa or Assam which seems to be still under the rule of the same Bhagadatta line of Bhāskaravarman. This kingdom was sometimes subordinate to the Pālas of Bengal but its continued existence cannot be doubted even as an independent kingdom. For Arab writers of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. as shown elsewhere mention Kāmarūpa as an important kingdom of India to the east of Bengal.

Eastern and Western Bengal were during this period united under the Pālas of Monghyr and we, therefore, go on to notice the kingdom of Orissa, the history of which has already been given in detail in our first volume (p. 320-326). The Kesari line of kings continued to rule in Orissa during the second sub-period of our history and they were orthodox Hindu kings and worshippers of Śiva, the predominant deity of this period over the whole of India. Their rule according to the palm-leaf records of Jagannath lasted till 1132 A.D. when the modern Viṣṇu worship of Jagannath was introduced, But this is not quite reliable, for other records show that a line of kings who were worshippers of the Sun intervened between them. When this Sun-worshipping line of kings was established we have no evidence of a contemporary character to show. The records which mention them are of much later date and give only probable information which may simply be noted here.

We have next to notice the Yavana kingdom in Āndhra ruled by Vindhya-Śakti and others called Kainkila Yavanas in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas. The existence of Yavanas about 800 A.D. is proved by the Khālimpur grant of the Pālas where the Yavanas are described as subordinates of Kanauj. And in Kanauj records, too, we find mention of Āndhra being conquered. These Yavanas ruled till about 900 A. D. when their rule was subverted by a Vaishṇava dynasty which we shall notice in our third volume (see Vol. I p. 352-353).

In Kośala or Chattisgadh, the ancient Haihaya dynasty continued to rule during this sub-period. So also in Vengi the Eastern Chālukyas ruled. They were, indeed, fortunate as their rule lasted from 633 A.D. to about 1015 A. D. that is, about 400 years which is twice the average duration of a kingly dynasty. In what is modern Madras Presidency, many subordinate kings ruled but they were subject to the over-lordship of the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed. The Pallavas of Kanchi became effete about the same time as the early Chālukyas of Badāmi and the later Pallavas were subject to the Rāshtrakūtas, their king Dantivarman being defeated by the Rāshtrakūtas about 803 A.D. (Vol. I p. 293). These Pallavas were finally supplanted by the Cholas whose rise belongs to the third sub-period of our history as it took place after 1000 A.D. There were other minor kings like the Pāndyas and others, but the vigorous kingdoms of the south like those of the Cholas and the Hoysalas and the Gangas belong to the third period and we shall speak of these in detail in our third volume.

On the west coast and at Kolhapur ruled two important kingly families of the Śilāhāras. They ruled from about 800 to 1200 A.D. They were certainly subordinate to the Rāshtrakūtas during this period and their greatness belongs to the third sub-period of our history and will, therefore, be treated of in our third volume.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTEMPORARY ARAB WRITERS.

Very interesting and corroborative information is found recorded in the accounts of travel of contemporary Arab writers and it deserves to be summarised in a special chapter. It is difficult to have access to the original writings of these writers as these are translated into French only ; but we can make use of the extracts given by Elliot in his most interesting history, *Research* in his time was in its infancy, and Elliot could not identify the names of kingdoms and towns, but now that the history of Mediæval Hindu India is much more explored, it is pleasant to note how the writings of these Arab travellers exactly represent the political, social and religious conditions of this period (800-1000 A.D.). We make, therefore, no apology to quote the relevant extracts here and to note their significance.

The first traveller noted by Elliot (Vol. I) is the merchant Sulaiman who made several voyages from the Persian Gulf to India and China and wrote his work in 857 A.D. He observes that the four great kings of the world are the kings of Babylon, of China, of the Greeks (Constantinople) and the Balhara who is the most eminent of the kings of India and is acknowledged as such by them. Elliot could not identify Balhara, nor his capital Mankir, but it is now well known that Balhara is the Arabic pronunciation of the word Vallabharai and Mankir is Mānyakheta, the capital of the Rāshtrakutas which is, no doubt, very distant from the sea. That the Rāshtrakūṭa king was the most powerful king in India at that time we have already seen and he was the over-lord of the whole of southern India. Sulaiman further says that "every prince in India is master in his own state but all pay homage to the Balhara". We have always insisted upon the fact that ancient Indian Empire did not mean annexation. Each subject king was allowed to rule

as before and had merely to pay homage on occasions to his over-lord. Unlike other kings the Balhara appears to have maintained a regular army and "this army was regularly paid as among the Arabs." "He has many horses and elephants." "The coins in use are the Tataria Dirhams and they are dated in the year in which the dynasty acquired the throne. They do not use any era like the Arabs." This is rather strange; for, the Rāshtrakūtas always use the Śaka era in their inscriptions; but possibly their coins had only regal years. "The Balhara is partial to the Arabs and his subjects follow his example." "Balhara is a title which is borne by all kings."

"The Balhara is always at war with the king of Jurz." The next important kingdom in India then was thus that of Jurz and Jurz or Gurjar is, undoubtedly, Kanauj as other Arab writers also testify. "This king of Jurz has most excellent cavalry. No other prince has so fine cavalry." "His camels and horses are numerous. He is unfriendly to the Arabs." "His territories form a tongue of land." This can be explained on the fact that the Kanauj empire extended into Kathiawar. "Exchange is carried on in this state by silver and gold dust." We know that Bhoja first struck coins called the *Ādivarāḥa drama*. "No country in India is more safe from robbers." We have already quoted this certificate about the extremely well ordered administration of the empire of Kanauj which is valuable especially when we remember that the territories of modern Gwalior and Bundelkhand which were then under Kanauj have always been noted for dacoits.

The next kingdom mentioned by Sulaiman is Tafik which is a small state and where the "women are white and the most beautiful in India." Scholars are at a loss to identify this kingdom. It cannot, of course, be Aurangabad as Elliot thought. It may be located in the Himalayas as one Arab traveller actually states that it was in the mountains. If the name Tafik cannot be equated with any Indian name, it is, indeed, a misfortune but we think this kingdom may be identified with Jālandhara or part of the Panjab and the word Tak comes nearest to Tafik.

It is equally a misfortune that the next kingdom mentioned *viz.*, that of Rahmi cannot also be properly identified. "All

these three kingdoms border on it and it is at war with Jurz ;” would identify it with Bengal which seems most probable as from other Arab writers it appears that it extended up to the Bay of Bengal. “ He has a great elephant force,” exaggerated to 50,000. This is also well applicable to Magadha and Gauda in the jungles of which elephants abounded. “ There is a stuff made in this country which is not found elsewhere, so fine and delicate that a dress made of it may pass through a signet ring. It is made of cotton and we have seen a piece of it.” This clearly refers to the fine muslins made in Bengal and this testimony shows that Bengal was famous for its fine muslins even through the days of Mediæval Hindu India. This fact further identifies Rahmi with Bengal. But what is Rahmi ? We have not yet found its Indian equivalent.

We have next three kingdoms mentioned viz., Kashbin (probably in the Himalayas with white people), Kiranj and Serendib (Ceylon) but these do not belong to India proper. The political condition reflected in this short description by Sulaiman of 850 A.D. shows as it really was at that period, the Rāshtrakūtas, the Pratihāras and the Pālas of the Deccan, the Gangetic valley and Bengal being the three most powerful kingdoms in India. We will refer to other statements recorded by Sulaiman in our notice of the social and religious conditions of the country.

II. Ibn Khurdadba who died about 912 A.D.

“ The greatest king of India is the Balhara ; the other kings are Jabal (Java), Tavan, Jurz, Rahmi, Kamrun (Kamrupa). Between Rahmi and the other kings communication is kept by ships. He has 50,000 elephants. His country produces cotton cloth and Aloe wood.” This amply identifies Rahmi with Bengal. This author describes the 7 castes of the people in a manner which requires special mention and these will be noticed separately.

III. Al Masudi, an acute Arab writer of 332 A. H. (953 A.D.) After describing some imaginary kings of ancient India he says, ‘ After Koresh (Sri Harsha) the country broke up into diverse nations and tribes such as Sind, Kanauj and Kashmir. The city of Mankir submitted to a king called Balhara. There pre-

vails a difference of language and religion and they are frequently at war with one another. The greatest king is the Balhara of Mankir. Some kings have their territory in the mountains away from the sea as Kashmir, Tapan etc. The troops of the Balhara are innumerable including elephants but his troops are mostly infantry as his capital lies among mountains. One of the kings far from the sea is the Bauura who is the lord of the city of Kanauj. This is the title given to all the kings. He has armies on the west, the south, the east and the north."

Now this word Bauura offers a further puzzle which is yet unsolved. Foreigners twist Indian names into strange words. The Portuguese called the Adilshah of Bijapur Yādilcao. The word Baunra is repeated by other Arab travellers and historically applies to the Pratihāra Emperors of Kanauj. Ra is rai as in Balhara, but Baur leads to nothing unless one sees in it Pratihāra.

"The Mihran (Indus) comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, and Kanauj and from Kashmir, Kandahar and Tapan." This shows first that the empire of Kanauj extended into the Panjab and secondly that the Tapan country lay in the Himalayas.

"The king of Kandahar is called Hāhaj a name common to all sovereigns. Kandahar is called the country of the Rahbut (Rajput). The king of Kashmir is called Rai. Kashmir forms part of Sind." What is Hāhaj is another riddle, but that there were Rajput kings in Kandahar at this period is clear from this. Kashmir forming part of Sind is an absurdity. Perhaps the Arabs of Sind laid claim to it in their vaunts.

"The Bauura king of Kanauj keeps four armies in the field in the four quarters. Each of these numbers 7 to 9 lakhs of men. The army of the north wars against the king of Multan and the Musalmans on the frontier and the army of the south fights against the Balhara king of Mankir." This is candid testimony to the power of the Kanauj emperors who kept the Arabs long confined to Multan and did not allow them to extend their conquest. The Rāstrakūtas of the south who were leagued with the Arabs were equally watched. The kings of Kanauj appear thus to be very rigid orthodox kings, powerful enough

not to only check the Arabs but even to expel them from Multan. For this traveller further testifies that " whenever the unbelievers march against Multan and the faithful do not think themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break the sacred idol of the Sun and their armies immediately withdraw." What a strange testimony to the foolish superstitious beliefs of the Hindus of the 9th and 10th century !

Finally, Al Masudi speaks of the kingdom of Rahmi which he says " extends both along the sea and the continent." It is frequently at war with Juzr and with Balhara on whose kingdoms his dominions border. " It is bounded by an inland kingdom called Kaman " whose inhabitants are fair and have their ears pierced." This is plainly a reference to the kingdom of Kamrup or Assam the inhabitants of which we orthodox Hindus.

IV. Al Istakhri who wrote about 951 A.D. " From Kambaya to Saimur is the land of the Balhara." This distinctly shows that the Rāshtrakutas ruled in Gujarat, south and middle, and in Konkan. " And in it there are several Indian kings—" shows that there were subordinate kings under them. One of these was in Lāta or Gujarat itself. " It is a land of infidels ; but there are Musalmans in the cities and none but Musalmans ruled over them on the part of the Balhara." This political arrangement resembles the modern capitulations of the Europeans in Egypt and elsewhere. " There are Juma Masjids in them." The Deccanies appear to be, from of old, tolerant and not very rigid Hindus, like the Hindus of the U. P. or Kanauj.

V. Ibn Haukal who seems to have finished his work in 976 A.D. " From Kambaya (Khambayat) to Saimur (Chaul) is the land of the Balhara and in it there are several kings. The city in which the Balhara resides is Mankir. From Kambaya to Saimur the villages lie close to one another and there is much land under cultivation." This shows that Gujarat and Konkan were in good flourishing condition under the rule of the Rāshtrakūtas.

BOOK V.

GENERAL SURVEY.

CHAPTER I.

LANGUAGE.

Arab travellers record that there were diverse languages in India. This is, indeed, true of Mediæval Hindu India. But what languages were these? Were they the classical Prākṛits—Mahārāshṭrī, Śauraseni, Māgadhī and Paisachī which once were certainly spoken languages in the south, the middle, the east and the north-west respectively? We have some, yet not ample, Indian records to prove that the modern representatives of these, viz., the Marathi, the Hindi, the Bengali and the Panjabi had come into existence by this time. We exclude from our consideration the Non-Aryan languages of the extreme south viz., the Tamil, the Malyāli, the Kanarese and the Telagu of the eastern coast. Tamil was the oldest of these and, in fact, the parent of them all and these, too, appear to have come into existence about this time. We have observed in our first chapter that the second sub-period of Mediæval Hindu History viz., A.D. 800-1000 was characterised by the rise of modern languages. We believe that Marathi, Bengali, Hindi, and Panjabi came into existence about the same time and by about the same causes; and their rise cannot be traced further back than this period. Even the Kanarese, the Malyāli and the Telagu came into existence at this time by the operation of the same causes which we proceed to note.

When Buddhism was overthrown and Hinduism or Aryanism re-established, it was both a political and a religious revolution.

Buddhism was mainly professed by foreigners ; even now foreigners are more in favour of Buddhism than Hinduism. The reason is plain. Hinduism is exclusive while Buddhism is not. Hinduism again believes in the revelation of the Vedas, Buddhism does not and hence has no connection with past India. When, therefore, Hinduism was established, ancient orthodox kingly families of Kshatriyas came to the front and the foreign ruling families or the Vaiśya and Śūdra ruling families disappeared. Naturally, Sanskrit began to be studied by the Kshatriyas and by others to a greater extent and the Prākṛits which were taken up by Buddhism and Jainism for their sacred literature gradually fell into disuse. The infusion of Sanskrit, therefore, began to operate on the spoken languages of the people and the modern vernaculars of India with their sterner character and stronger pronunciation began to be formed. The need of religion also assisted the process. New Hindu philosophy notably the philosophy of Śaṅkara arose about this time viz., about 800 A.D. and it was necessary to preach the new ideas to the people in their vernaculars. It was thus that the modern languages with their provincial peculiarities began to be formed in every province under both political and religious necessities. Thus under the influence of the same impulses by the infusion of Sanskrit words and Sanskrit sounds, the modern Sanskrit-born and even Tamil-born languages arose about this time in the different provinces of India. What were these new languages named ?

Al Masudi who describes the countries of the east and the west as they were in his age (332 A. H. or 943 A.D.) records that the inhabitants of Mankir which is the capital of Balhara speak the Kiriya language which has this name from Kira the place where it is spoken. On the coast as in Saimur, Subara, Thana and other towns a language called Lariya is spoken which has its name from the sea which washes these countries." (Elliot I p. 25.) Now here there is no mention of the name Marathi and Gujarati though the language spoken on the coast of Thana and Sopara and above the Ghats at Malkhed must have been the same. It seems that a language called Lādi did once exist in Lād or Lata country *i.e.*, modern southern Gujarat and that it

it has now merged or changed into the Gujarati language. But Kiria must certainly be a name given to the new language of Mahārāshtra by the Arabs as it is expressly stated that the name was derived from Kir name of the place. The Arabs pronounce Indian names most strangely. Balhara is now known to be Val-labharai; while Mankir is Mānyakhet; and from Kir the second portion of Mankir the Arabs must have given the name Kiriya to the language. As the word Kiriya does not contain na, it does not seem that Kiriya is an abbreviation of Kānari, nor can kā be changed into ki. It must, therefore, be held that Kānya is the name coined by the Arabs for the Marathi language which then was being formed and was not a name actually in use in Mahārāshtra. Naturally at such a time there must have been strong differences in the speech of different localities. Under the influence of greater communication and of written grammar and vocabulary, the Marathi of modern days is nearly the same all over Mahārāshtra, Khandesh, Konkan, Baroda, Berar and Nagpore. But in the beginning there must have been greater local differences and the language of Thana, the capital of Northern Konkan must have been markedly different from the language of Mankir, the capital of the Ghat country; and hence the language of North Konkan must have struck the Arab traveller as different. Even at the present day, the language of the Mahomedans of Kalyan and Bhiwandi, though it is Marathi, is different from the language of the educated Hindus which again differs in some respects from the language of the villagers. The Marathi language of these North Konkan Mahomedans is again quite distinct from the language of the Southern Konkan Mahomedans; while the Konkani language of Goa is again distinct. These differences of Marathi require to be studied and they will show us how the present Marathi language emerged from the ancient Mahārāshtri Prakṛit.

That the Prakṛits were once spoken languages cannot be doubted. The rules of Sanskrit dramaturgy require that certain characters should speak certain Prakṛits. For poetry and higher thought, Mahārāshtri is prescribed and for ordinary speech of women and other characters Śauraseni. For servants Māgadhi

is to be used and for ruffians etc., the *Paiśāchi*. These rules show that occupations like provincial linguistic differences stick. The Pandits of the south were then as now learned men and servants came from the east; while soldiers and ruffians came from the north-west. It, therefore, cannot be denied that the *Prakrits* were once spoken languages. But it cannot also be denied that they ceased to be spoken languages in the 8th or 9th century A.D. They were then used in compositions by learned men only and had become as artificial as Sanskrit. Thus, when *Rājaśekhara* wrote his play in *Mahārāshtri* and the same was acted at Kanauj it could not have been understood by the common people, but could have been appreciated only by the learned. How different modern Marathi is from the *Mahārāshtri* of *Rājaśekhara* will appear to any one who reads that work.

There it will appear that every Sanskrit word is softened into the corresponding *Mahārāshtri* word by prescribed rules of softening the Sanskrit forms and letters. The new vernaculars gave up this effeminate character, began to use Sanskrit words without change, thus introducing *Tatsama* words in addition to *Tadbhava* and evolved new forms of inflexions and conjugations. These were, of course, different in different provinces but all were derived from Sanskrit originals. Even the Non-Aryan languages began to use Sanskrit words as they were and thus gave a different turn to themselves though inflexions and conjugations could not be copied from Sanskrit and nouns and verbs were inflected and conjugated with Non-Aryan suffixes. It seems thus that the Kanarese language was formed about this time and spread in the Southern Maratha Country. How this country which is Maratha by race and which is properly called Southern Maratha Country even now, became *Karnatik* by language is a problem which has not been solved. That the people of this part spoke *Mahārāshtri* in centuries previous has already been shown by us in Vol. I page 317. Inscriptions of ancient times up to the 4th century A.D. undoubtedly prove that *Mahārāshtri* in a cultivated form was spoken in the country now the home of Kanarese. Why and how this change occurred we have not materials to discuss; but it is certain that this change

had taken place by the end of the 8th century as we proceed to show.

The Alas Plate of Yuvarāja Govind II (Ep. Ind. VI. p. 260) states that Dantidurga "easily with a small force conquered Karnāṭaka which had humbled Kānchi, Kerala, Chola, Pāndya, Sriharsha and Vajrata." This is again repeated in the Paithan grant of Govind III dated 794 A.D. (Ep. Ind. III. p. 108) and is also mentioned in a grant of Kṛishṇarāja I (Ep. Ind. XVI. p. 121) of 772 A.D. It seems thus clear that in the latter half of the 8th century A.D., the Chālukya kingdom of Badāmi was looked upon as Karnāṭaka; while the Rāshtrakūtas from the north who conquered them from the north considered themselves as Marathas or Rattas. It must be remembered that Hiuen Tsang in about 640 A.D. described Pulakeśin of Badāmi as ruler of Mahārāshtra; in fact, his Mahārāshtra extended from the Nerbudda down to the Tungabhadra. A hundred and fifty years later Badāmi was Karnāṭaka, of course, by language and not race. The Kanarese language, it seems, like Northern Gaudian modern languages, had come into existence and had extended its influence up to the Kṛishṇā by this time.

The Eastern Chālukyas who were by race and origin Marathas had become by this time Andhras or Telagus. They were off-shoots from the Chālukyas of Badāmi and were nominally subject to their suzerainty. When the Rāshtrakūtas conquered Karnāṭaka Chālukya Empire, they laid claim to suzerainty over the Eastern Chālukyas and naturally had to establish it by the sword. The Alas plates speak of this conflict. The Eastern Chālukyas submitted and are shown to be subordinate to the Rāshtrakūtas in later grants and are described as Kalingas or Telagus. They had become so by language and by local marriage relations. They called themselves Chālukyas in their records; but were called Kalingas by outsiders. The Telagu language, too seems to have emerged into prominence at about this time.

We need not and cannot speak much of the Bengali which emerged out of the Māgadhi about this time with provincial

peculiarities still the same ; nor of the Hindi, Eastern and Western. It is a subject of study by itself. But we give in the following note extracts from Dr. Grierson's Survey of Indian languages showing how far back the written literature in each important language goes back. These will support, to great degree, our theory that the modern vernaculars of India, whether Sanskrit-born or Tamil-born began to flourish from the 9th century A. D.

NOTE.

Extracts from Dr. Grierson's survey of Indian Languages relating to the dates of the oldest writings in each Indian Language.

(1) Kanarese :—The oldest works go back to at least the 10th century A.D. The origin of the Kanarese literature is due to the labours of the Jains and the first literary works are largely influenced by Sanskrit. Three periods are distinguished in Kanarese Literature (1) Ancient Kanarese from at least the 10th to the 13th. The principal productions are based on prosody and grammar based on Sanskrit originals, sectarian works and poetical works in a highly artificial style. This literature is in an old dialect which is said to be quite uniform and to show an extraordinary polish. It is full of Sanskrit loan words and differs from modern Kanarese in phonology and inflexional system ; e.g. Pampas Adipurana (941 A.D.) &c. (2) Mediæval Kanarese. The old rules of inflexion and syntax are no longer observed and new forms are introduced—13th to 15th centuries. (3) Modern Kanarese. Literature can be traced back to about the beginning of the 16th century. A large proportion of Vaishṇav poetry agrees with the dialect of the 2nd period.

(2) Telagu :—According to tradition the first Telagu writer was Kaṇva. His work is lost and the earliest extant work in Telagu belongs roughly to A.D. 1000. About that time King Viṣṇuvardhana alias Raja—Rajanarendra (1022-1060) was a great patron of the Telagu literature and at his court lived Nannaya Bhatta, the author of the oldest extant Telagu grammar, and the principal author of the Telagu version of the Mahābhārata (p. 580 Vol. IV). Hiuen Tsang mentions that the Andhras had language of their own written in an alphabet which did not much differ from that of the north. Kumarila mentions the Andhra Dravida Bhasha (he mentions only the Dravida Bhasha) while the use of the same alphabet by Andhras noticed by Hieun Tsang is memorable.

(3) Bengali :—There is no doubt about the fact that it is from some eastern form of Magadhi that Bengali is directly derived. The very same incapacities of vocal organs exist with Bengali now that existed with their predecessors 800 years ago. A Bengali cannot pronounce kshṁ any more than they could. He cannot pronounce a clear s, but must make it sh. The compound letter hy beats him and instead he has to say jjh. In literature, one of the oldest poet is Chandidasa who flourished about the 14th century and wrote songs in praise of Kṛishṇa (page 15 Vol. V.)

(4) Eastern Hindi :—From earliest times Oudh has been the centre of literary activity and to describe the old literature would require a difficult study. But when Tulsidasa wrote his works in Hindi it sealed its fate altogether (he died in the year 1624) and every author writes in his manner. Malik Mahommad Jaisi wrote the epic *Padmavati* before him (1540) which deals with the adventures of Ratnasing, king of Chitor and its siege and sack by Alauddin (Vo. VI. page 13.)

(5) Western Hindi :—Bhils, through Dravidians, of Rajputana and Khandesh have given up their language and speak a western Hindi dialect called Bhili.) Rajasthani and Marwadi have old literature which have not been studied. *Prithviraj Rasa* by Chand though the oldest extant work is of a suspicious character. Marwadi has an old literature which is called *Diṅgal*. The poems of Mirabai are in what is called the Braj Bhasha also called *Piṅgala*. (Vol. IX page 15.)

(6) Marathi :—*Ramatarkavagiśa* and *Kramadiśvara* mention *Dākshinātya* as a form of Mahārāshtra apabhraṁśa. The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* makes *Dākshinātya* identical with *Vaidarbhika*. Modern Marathi is so old that *Dākshinātya* and *Vaidarbhika* might well refer to it. The oldest Marathi inscription of which any thing is known goes back to about 1115 A.D. and an inscription of some extent is dated in 1207 A.D. Ep. India Vol. I page 343 and Vol. IX page 109 (Vol. VII page 15.)

CHAPTER II.

CASTE AND SOCIAL CONDITION.

We propose in this chapter to describe the social condition of India including caste (which is the most prominent feature of the Hindu society) during the second sub-period of our history. The materials for taking such a survey are not ample but nevertheless we can make an attempt from inscriptions as well as the writings of foreign (Arab) travellers whose evidence is always very important, for things striking strike foreigners more than they do ourselves. We have unfortunately no native writer like Bāṇa to assist us in this period ; but we propose to take some help from the later Smṛitis which were probably composed during this period though we can never be certain about their dates. We think a fairly accurate account of the social condition of the country can be presented from these materials. To begin with, the first observation to make is that caste was still not rigid as it is at present and that the ramification of the main castes into minor sub-castes had not yet begun. That is to say, the Brahmins, for instance, throughout India formed one caste without sub-divisions as at present based on provincial or other minor differences. Thus we do not find Brahmin donees in inscriptions described as Kanojia or Dravida. Indeed, the same method as prevailed in the preceding periods obtained of describing Brahmins by their gotra and by their Śākhā and the same practice in describing these continued viz., adding sa to the gotra name and the term Sabrahmachāri to the name of the Śākhā. Thus, for instance, the Vardhā grant of Rāshtrakūta Akālavarsha A.D. 940 (Ep. Ind. V) mentions the donee as नन्दिवर्धनविनिर्गत भारद्वाजसगोत्र वाजिकाण्यसब्रह्मचारिणे. In modern times the Brahmins have nearly forgotten their Śākhā or Sabrahmachāriship and if they remember their gotra they do not know that they have to add sa to it when mentioning it along with their

name. It is not necessary to give many instances of this, for they occur in almost every grant. Brahmins were, therefore, then known and distinguished by their gotras and their Śākhā (or branches of Vedic ritual or Sūtras) and not known as Gujarati or Deccani though their place of residence is usually mentioned. Thus in the grant of Karkarāja dated 812 A.D. (J. Bengal VIII p. 292) चातुर्विद्यसामान्य वात्स्यायनसगोत्र माध्यंदिनसब्रम्हचारिणे is the description of the donee. A Brahmin from Valabhi in Kathiawad who had gone to the Rāshtrakūta king in Malkhed might well have been described as a Lāta or Saurāshtra Brahmin. So the donee in the Sangli grant (I. A. XII) is a Brahmin from Paundra-vardhana; but he is not called a Guad Brahmin, but is as usual described as कौशिकसगोत्र वाजिकाण्वसब्रम्हचारि. It seems certain that the modern distinctions had not yet arisen and that the Brahmins of India formed one caste throughout India*. The same may be said of the second caste viz., the Kshatriyas. They too formed one caste without distinction of Khatri or Rajput, Bais or Maratha and freely intermarried throughout the whole country. The Kshatriyas no doubt ceased during this period to mention their gotras in their inscriptions. Whereas in the preceding centuries we find the Chālukyas of the Deccan taking pride in describing themselves as Mānavyasagotra and the Pallavas of Kānchi as Bhāradvājasagotra, the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed in the same Deccan nowhere mention their gotra in their records and the same may be said of the Kshatriya families of the north. Thus the inscriptions of the Pratihāras of Kanauj nowhere mention their gotra, nor those of the Guhilots of Mewad. The gotra of the Chāhamānas appears incidentally in their records while the Vasishtha gotra of the Paramāras also is not mentioned usually but only in the legend of the origin of the Paramāras. So also the gotra of the Chālukyas of the north is only incidentally mentioned in the legend of their origin. Probably the kula of the Kshatriyas became important from this time and began to assume importance which it holds to-day.

*We may here refer to the following śloka from Parāśara Smṛiti as showing that gotra and charaṇa were the only things that then differentiated Brahmins, न पृच्छेद्गोत्रचरणे न स्वाध्यायश्रुते तथा । (48-1) in connection with an Atithi.

In fact the kula began itself to be called gotra and in one inscription we find that the name of the kula is given as the Pratihāra-gotra (Buchk. Ins. E. I. IX. p. 199). So also the Naravāhana inscription of V. S. 1028 describes Bappaka as Guhilagotra-narendrachandra. This must be due to the fact that Vedic ritual and Vedic sacrifices were now not in vogue with the Kshatriyas and the worship of Puranic deities, especially of Śiva, became supreme. The former required the recital of gotra and Pravara, while the latter did not. Naturally gotra and Pravara lost importance with the Kshatriyas who, however, never lost respect for the Vedas and Vedic ordinary ritual not involving the killing of animals and hence have preserved the memory of their gotra and Pravara to this day, though they have ceased to count them of importance.

The Vaiśyas, too, may be presumed to form yet one caste throughout India, for we yet do not come across the names of their modern subdivisions Maheśri, Lād and so on. They, of course, had already lost touch with Vedic ritual, having turned Buddhists in far greater number than the higher two castes and hence they have not preserved the memory of their gotras. This must be placed even as early as the first spread of Buddhism under Aśoka, for we find that the Śrauta Sūtras in their Pravarādhyāyas treat Vaiśyas separately from Brahmins and Kshatriyas and assign to them only one gotra and Pravara viz., Vatsapri. When the Vaiśyas returned to Hinduism they became mostly followers of Vaishnavism for reasons which we will elucidate in our third volume.

These three castes were and are the most important ones, but there were many intermediate main castes also. These are not much mentioned in the inscriptions though the Kāyastha caste as writer of inscriptions often finds mention. These Kāyasthas, too, were apparently one caste throughout India, and had not yet split up into subdivisions as at present. The same may be predicated of other intermediate main castes.

The number of these main castes must have been even then large though not as large as it is at present. For, we have a description of Indian caste from an Arab traveller of the time and he counts the castes as seven only, much in the same way as

Megasthenes gave the number of Indian castes as seven. Ibn Khurdadba who wrote his book about 900 A.D. thus describes Indian castes :—" There are seven classes of the Hindus ; viz., 1st Sabkutria who are men of highest caste from among whom kings are chosen. The people of the other classes do homage to this class only. 2nd, Brahmins who totally abstain from wine and fermented liquors. 3rd, Kataria who drink not more than three cups of wine. The daughters of the class of Brahmins are not given in marriage to this class, but the Brahmins take their daughters. 4th Sudaria who are by profession husbandmen ; 5th Baisura who are by profession artificers and domestics ; 6th Sandalia who perform menial services. 7th Lahud ; their women are fond of adornments and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill." This is a pretty correct description of caste as it existed in India in the 9th and 10th centuries and as it struck an outsider who though not acquainted with its intricacies can not but have marked the essential features of it. Strangely enough, in this list the Sabkutria who plainly form the class of the royal families of India (subsequently enumerated as 36) are placed even above the Brahmins. But that the Rajputs separated themselves from ordinary Kshatriyas is plain and they rightly deserved by their valour, their high morals and their indomitable spirit of opposition to Mahomedanism the first place assigned to them. The next class is plainly that of the Brahmins. The third are the ordinary Kshatriyas. The fourth can well be recognised as the Śūdras who now formed the bulk of the agriculturists of the country. But they ought to have been placed below the fifth viz., the Baisura. These are the Vaiśyas. They had long given up agriculture which had belonged to them even according to the Bhagavadgīta and those who still practised it were as we have already shown in Vol. I, treated as Śūdras. The Vaiśyas are described herein as artificers and domestics. They are not, strangely enough, described as traders who are nowhere mentioned. Probably this is an omission. But Megasthenes also includes merchants under artificers who again are usually treated as Vaiśyas in India. The sixth Sandalia are the Chāndālas and they performed all menial services. We saw in Bāṇa that the Chāndālas were employed

as grooms in Harsha's army. Lastly, the Lahuds appear to be the ancestors of many of our wandering tribes from their description, viz., that their women are fond of ornaments and their men are fond of amusements and games of skill. All these names are identifiable, it must be lastly remarked, except the first and the last viz., the Sabkutria* and the Lahuda and their Sanskrit equivalents can not be guessed ; but from the description of their occupations these two castes are plainly the highest Rajputs and the lowest rope dancers and others.

Caste, as we have already explained elsewhere, has two aspects, the occupational and the matrimonial ; and in the above description of Khurdadba we have some hints as to the matrimonial aspects of caste also which we proceed to develop. First marriage appears to have been restricted generally to the caste itself. But Ibn Khurdadba marks, like Megasthenes, one exception viz., that the Brahmin could marry a daughter of a Kshatriya which was the fact. Probably, the Kshatriya also claimed a similar privilege and married Vaiśya wives. The provisions of later Smṛitis may be referred to here with advantage. The Vyāsa Smṛiti has the following interesting śloka :—

ऊढायां हि सवर्णायामन्यां वा काममुद्रहेत् ।
तस्यामुत्पादितः पुत्रो न सवर्णात्प्रहीयते ॥
उद्रहेत् क्षत्रियां विप्रो वैश्यां च क्षत्रियो विशाम् ।
न तु शूद्रां द्विजः कश्चिन्नाधमः पूर्ववर्णजाम् ॥

Now this provision of law belongs somewhat to the previous period, but it represents the state of facts accurately even for this period with one exception. Formerly, by the Manu Smṛiti the Brahmin could marry Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra wives. Now the marriage of a Śūdra woman by a Brahmin or generally by the higher castes was prohibited. We have seen that Bāṇa had Pāraśava brothers and, therefore, such marriages were practised even as late as Bāṇa's father. Now the marriage of Śūdra women by all the three higher classes was prohibited. A Vaiśya could formerly marry a Vaiśya and a Śūdra wife, but now he had only one wife viz., his own caste woman. The Kshatriya could

* Is it possible that Sabkutria may be a distortion of Sukshatriya

marry still a Kshatriya and a Vaiśya woman, and a Brahmin could marry three. This is what is laid down by Vyāsa. But the remarkable thing is that the Smṛiti provides that a man must marry first a woman of his own caste and then marry a lower caste woman. Indeed, such seems to have been the general practice in this period which eventually led to the stoppage of marriage with other caste girls. Of course, among Brahmins, only those in affluent circumstances or in high position could get Kshatriya or Vaiśya wives. Ibn Khurdadba allows the privilege to Brahmins only who could marry a Kshatriya wife; but a Kshatriya also from the Smṛitis could marry a Vaiśya wife. The Brahmins could get Kshatriya wives as late as Rājaśekhara of the 10th century A.D. who had a Chāhamāna lādī to wife. It may be noted that the Brahmin royal families of Kabul and Sind were, to all intent, Kshatriyas and were Brahmins still only in the fact that they could get Brahmin women still to wife, which the Kshatriyas could not. This privilege of marrying a woman of the lower caste in the Aryan varṇas could not but have had a wholesome influence socially in bridging over the feeling of separateness caused by caste which did come over India in the next period when marriages became restricted to the same caste. Such marriages were feasible, it must be borne in mind, because the food of the three higher classes was still the same.

But the feeling of separateness must have begun to arise even then owing to the lower status that now began to be assigned to the progeny. The above quoted dictum of Vyāsa says that the progeny of the lower caste women was still of the higher caste. "A son born of her is not lower than a savarna." This was certainly the oldest law, a law which led to the present mixture of blood discernible in all classes. But the latest law prevailing in the 9th and 10th centuries was that progeny belonged to the caste of the mother. The intermediate step of assigning the progeny to a mixed caste which was neither that of the father, nor that of the mother must have led to many inconveniences and troubles. The progeny under the new rule would revert to the mother's caste and it would be cared for by the mother and her relations only.

This state of the altered status of the progeny, as has already been shown, is reflected in many inscriptions of the time.

Having described caste in its racial or matrimonial aspect we will now go on to describe caste in the 9th and 10th centuries in its occupational aspect. And here, as in marriage so in profession, Brahmins were at liberty to take to professions of the lower castes in addition to their own peculiar profession, viz., the priestly. They were particularly soldiers and government officers of high as well as low rank. The Brahmins, no doubt, still kept the van in the professions of learning. Thus the merchant Sulaiman, both in corroboration of and in addition to what Ibn Khurdadba has recorded says "in all these kingdoms the nobility is considered to form but one family. It is the same with learned men and physicians. They form a distinct caste and the profession never goes out of it." (Ell. I. p. 6). Abu Zaid says "There are men devoted to religion and science called Brahmins. They have also their poets who live at the court of their kings, astronomers, philosophers, diviners. Among them, are diviners and jugglers who perform most astonishing feats. These observations are specially applicable to Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Jurz." (ditto p. 10). This shows that Brahmins followed the most varied professions of intellect and that Brahmins of Kanauj or rather Northern India were still ahead of the Brahmins of India as in the days of Bāṇa. Al-Masudi similarly records "Brahmins are honoured as the most illustrious and noble caste. Royalty is confined to one family. The positions of Vazir etc. are also hereditary." Thus Brahmins and Kshatriyas were usually proficient in letters and arms their respective professions. We may note, however, certain special features of the period. And first though religion and letters were the usual occupation of Brahmins and arms the occupation of Kshatriyas, there were many Kshatriyas who were devoted to letters. In as much as there was no objection to Kshatriyas studying the Vedas and the Śāstras, they often excelled in these branches of study and it is satisfactory to note that in all the leading Rajput kingly families there were found kings who were as expert in letters as in arms. Indeed, Maharaj Amarsing of

Mewad was right when he said "it is only since the establishment of the British Raj that the Kshatriyas have forgotten both śāstras and śāstras. The most famous instances of learned kings were, undoubtedly, those of Munja and Bhoja of the Paramāra dynasty ; but instances of learned kings were not uncommon in other lines during this period. King Harsha of Kashmir and Vinayāditya of the Eastern Chālukyas who was a mathematician and hence called Guṇaka are instances in point. It may be generally stated that the Rajputs of those days, whether kings or not, were usually men of education, men who knew the Vedic mantras and had learned the śāstras as the Valabhi kings especially are in their inscriptions described. Secondly, it appears from the Parāśara Smṛiti which may be assigned to this period of Hindu history, that during this period many Brahmins and Kshatriyas took to agriculture. Indeed, whereas in the past only Vaiśyas were agriculturists, in the mediæval period, Vaiśyas ceased to be agriculturists altogether and Brahmins and Kshatriyas took to agriculture along with the Śūdras who now were the principal cultivators. According to Buddhist and Hindu sentiment, agriculture is sinful because it requires the cutting of the ground and thus involves the killing of various insects. The Vaiśyas, therefore, during the Buddhist period becoming Buddhists abstained from agriculture altogether and left it to Śūdras. When Buddhism was supplanted and Hinduism prevalent, Brahmins and Kshatriyas probably for want of occupation took to agriculture in place of Vaiśyas. They, no doubt, found it difficult to reconcile their occupation with their religious sentiment and the Parāśara Smṛiti came to their aid. The provisions of this Smṛiti in this respect are worth quoting here in detail. " I will detail hereafter the work and the duty of men in the Kali age, which is common and possible to all the four Varnas. The Brahmin who performs the six duties assigned to him, may also do the work of cultivation ; but he should not yoke a bullock when thirsty, hungry or tired. He should cultivate half the day and then bathe and then perform the sacrifices enjoined with corn produced by himself in his own field." In this manner the duties of Brahmins are reconciled with the occupation of agri-

culture. The sin of agriculture is admitted. For, it is stated "what sin a destroyer of fish commits in one year, a plougher with the iron—mouthed rafter commits in one day." But the sin can be atoned for by sacrifice and gifts. "The cultivator who cuts trees, tears land and destroys vermin and insects is freed from the sin incurred, by Khala-sacrifice i.e. gifts to Brahmins at the barn here also prescribed, indeed, to the extent mentioned in the Chachanama or history of Sind. "Having given $\frac{1}{8}$ to the king and $\frac{1}{20}$ to gods and $\frac{1}{30}$ to Brahmins the agriculturist is freed from all sins of agriculture." We have seen in our first volume that in Sind the Brahmins used to get 3 p.c. of land produce in gift and that Mahomed Kasim confirmed the payment even under Mahomedan rule (Vol. I. p. 182). In this way the profession of agriculture was allowed by the Kaliyuga Hindu Śāstra to Brahmins. The same permission was granted to the Kshatriyas also. "A Kshatriya may also, similarly, cultivate and worship gods and Brahmins. So also a Vaiśya and a Śūdra may follow either agriculture, trade or some handicraft." Agriculture became, in fact, permitted to all the four varṇas and during this period Brahmins and Kshatriyas did, as a matter of fact, cultivate. The Kshatriyas, probably, split up in consequence into two classes the Rajputs i.e., the kings and rulers and ordinary Kshatriyas or cultivators and land-holders. This distinction is probably reflected in the enumeration of the seven castes, recorded by Ibn Khurdadba and, indeed, continues among the Marathas of the Deccan.

As the profession of agriculture which mainly belonged to the Śūdras was allowed now to Brahmins and Kshatriyas and was actually practised by them, so the profession of arms which mainly belonged to the Kshatriyas was allowed to be shared by the Brahmins and the Vaiśvas. The provision of Manu Smṛiti is explicit on this point. शस्त्रं द्विजातिभिर्ग्राह्यं धर्मो यत्रोपरुध्यते thus restricting the permission to occasions of danger to religion. But the Vaśistha Smṛiti adds प्राणत्राणे वर्णसंकरे वा ब्राह्मणवैश्यौ शस्त्रमाददीयाताम् । क्षत्रियस्य तन्नित्यमेव रक्षणाधिकारात् ॥ (Chapter 3). Here the word Dvija of the Manu Smṛiti is expanded into Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas and the further object of self-protection is added for the taking up of arms. Probably, it will

be remembered that in Sind history we read that Chacha did not allow the Jāts to carry swords or to ride horses. Under the Rajputs during the Hindu period, the same prohibition must have obtained ; for, the practice had sanction of the Hindu Śāstras also, the Vaśistha Smṛiti embodying to our mind the prevailing practice of the period.

Certain provisions with regard to the occupation of selling are worth noticing, when a Brahmin in adversity takes to the Vaiśya profession of trading. He is not to sell salt, tila unless produced in his own fields by his own labour, honey, liquor, flesh, milk and its products and other minor articles too numerous to mention, (an old provision of Smṛiti law). It is to be noted that the sale of liquor was prohibited even to the Vaiśyas and was allowed not even to good Śūdras. The sale of milk and its preparations was prohibited to the three higher classes probably because it was a good article and to sell it was as heinous as to sell bad articles like liquor. But the sale of milk and its products curds and whey was allowed to be done by good Śūdras though not liquor*.

We may close this disquisition on caste by the remark of Al-Masaudi that the Hindus are distinct from all black people such as the Zanjis and others in point of intellect, government, philosophy, strength of constitution and purity of colour.

Having described caste we go on to describe ~~the food~~ of the people and the first thing that strikes us is that the Indians were little addicted to drink. The Brahmins as of old were total

* The prohibition of the profession of usury to Brahmins and Kshatriyas was of old standing ; but it is interesting to note that Vaśistha lays down certain limits such as Dām Duppat and Dhān Tippat. It is difficult to understand the following provision which regulates interest according to caste. Practically even now there is a difference of interest charged to Brahmins and Śūdras but this is due to the greater credit of the former. Vaśistha says " a man should take interest per cent per mensem, two, three, four and five from the different varnas ". But the rate of five per thirty, per month per cent mentioned further on, is monstrous and inconceivable even though charged to Śūdras who pay at present, at the utmost two per cent per month. This made usury reprehensible and Brahmins were properly prohibited from practising usury.

abstainers from all intoxicating liquors but even the Kshatriyas especially kings are described as such by Arab travellers. Al Masaudi writes "The Hindus abstain from drinking wine and censure those who consume it. If it can be proved of one of their kings that he has drunk wine he forfeits the crown, for he is not considered able to rule as his mind is affected" (Elliot, I p. 20). Ibn Khurdadba makes the strange observation that "the kings and people of Hind regard fornication lawful and wine as unlawful." Whatever may be said of the first part of the observation, the second is indeed creditable to the Indians. The Kshatriyas are not bound by religious precept to abstain from wine but it is a fact that most of them abstained and do now abstain from wine like the Śisodias of Mewad. With regard to the Kshatriyas, however, Sulciman's observation that they were allowed three cups is strange. The Vaiśyas, then as now, were total abstainers though there must have been many exceptions.

Secondly, abstention from flesh, as the result of the great efforts of Harsha, the last Buddhist Emperor mentioned in Vol. I p. 13, was gradually gaining ground over the country. The Brahmins were generally abstainers from flesh though not quite completely. When Al Masaudi remarks that "they (Brahmins) do not eat the flesh of any animal." he spoke more of the recluses both Hindu and Buddhist or Jain than of the Grihasthas or house-holders, for, he further observes that both women and men wear yellow threads suspended round their necks like a baldrick to distinguish them from the other castes of India" (Elliot Vol. I, p. 10). Now Brahmins put on a thread but it is not yellow; while Buddhist and Jain recluses put on yellow clothes, and not threads. Whatever the explanation, it is clear that some Northern Brahmin subcastes still eat flesh. The provisions of later Smṛitis show that the Brahmins were not in the habit of using flesh generally; but Vyāsa observes that Brahmins invited to a Śrāddha or sacrifice must eat flesh, otherwise they would fall into perdition* It seems that in

*नाश्रियाद्ब्राह्मणो मांसमनियुक्तः कथंचन । कर्तौ श्राद्धे नियुक्तो वा अनश्रन् पतति द्विजः ॥

sacrifices which were becoming rare and in Śrāddhas which were still performed, flesh was necessarily served not only among Kshatriyas but among Brahmins and Vaiśyas also. The next following śloka provides flesh in Śrāddhas even for Vaiśyas.† But for a Brahmin and even a Kshatriya or Vaiśya there was a general prohibition to kill or to eat flesh. “A dvija who eats flesh unconsecrated or kills animals except for proper ceremonies falls into everlasting perdition.” The Brahmins were further not to drink the milk of any animal but cow and she-buffalo, nor to eat onions and other bad vegetables. Of course, the general prohibition against beef and the flesh of larger animals like tigers was imperative on all, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The Chāṇḍālas or out-casts alone did not observe this prohibition and hence were treated as out-casts. They were compelled to live outside towns and villages and were to walk in town streets so carefully as not only not to touch the other Hindus but not even to throw their shadows upon them as evidenced by the various precepts in the Smṛitis.

It may be further stated that the different higher castes had then no objection to take food at one another's house. And the privilege extended even to some higher grades of the Śūdra population. Not only is there no provision against a Brahmin eating with a Kshatriya or Vaiśya, but the Vyāsa Smṛiti specially allows such practice धर्मेणान्योन्यभोज्यान्ना द्विजास्तु विदितान्वयाः. The only condition here is one must know the family with whom one eats to be a Dvija family. And the Smṛiti allows the taking of food by Dvijas with the following Śūdras viz., barbers, friends of the family, coparceners, servants and cowherds. नपिपितान्वय-मित्रार्धसीरिणो दासगोपकाः । शूद्राणामप्यमीषां तु भुक्त्वान्नं नैव दुष्यति ॥ This free intercourse in food like the restricted intercourse in marriage among the different castes during the mediæval period can not but have had a good effect in strengthening the sense of unity in the different portions of the Hindu society. Of course, the food of the people was still the same, flesh being.

† मृगयोपार्जितं गांसमभ्यर्च्य पितृदेवताः । क्षत्रियो द्वादशानं तत्क्रीत्वां वैश्योपि धर्मतः ॥

still allowed to be eaten by Brahmins and hence there was no hitch in this intercourse in food.

We now go on to describe the dress of the people of India ; and on this point our informants are the Arab travellers alone ; for we have no other material to rely upon except sculpture on ancient temples which it is difficult to interpret. But the writings of these travellers are detailed and afford reliable evidence and they tend to show that in Sind and in Multan and to the west-ward of these, under the influence of the Arab rulers dress had changed. Al Istakhari says that the dress of the people (in Mansura) is like that of the people of Irak, but the dress of their kings resembles that of the kings of India in respect of the hair and the tunic (Elliot I, p. 27), a statement repeated by Ibn Haukal who substitutes trousers for hair only. Regarding the people of the Balhara territory from Kambaya to Saimur, the latter states " the people both Hindu and Moslem wear the same dress and let their hair grow in the same fashion ; they use fine muslin garments on account of heat. The men in Multan dress in the same way " (Elliot I, p. 39). Here the difference is not clear from the dress of people of Mansura (Sind) : but apparently no trousers were worn and people in the Deccan and the Panjab continued the use of the two dhoties or pieces of cloth of ancient times. In Mckran (Persian border) all wear short tunics except the merchants who wear shirts and cloaks of cotton like the men of Irak and Persia " (Ditto).

With regard to ornaments the Indians were as fond of them as in previous centuries. The Arab travellers in particular were impressed by the ear ornaments of the kings. Abu Zaid says, " The kings of India are accustomed to wear ear-rings of precious stones mounted in gold." These certainly were worn in the lobes of the ears and were in use down to the days of the Peshwas, witness the large ear-rings shown in the ears of Nana Phadnavis in his picture. To put on golden ear-rings in the ear appears to have been prescribed to every Hindu householder (धारयेद्दुक्मकुंडले-वाशिष्ठ) and the custom still prevails in the Panjab and elsewhere, " They also wear necklaces of great value formed of the most precious red and green stones." Big green stones necklaces may still be seen round the necks of

Indian princes. " Pearls, however, are held in the highest esteem and are greatly sought after " (Elliot I, p. 11), which is still true of Indian princes and rich merchants. Pearl necklaces were worn by both men and women. The story of a pearl necklace purchased by a Kanauj emperor of the previous Varmā dynasty, told in a drama of Rājaśekhara, is well known. We may record here finally our view that the nose ornament usually made of pearls worn by married Indian women, the natha, does not find mention in any work of the time and is according to our view an ornament borrowed from the Mahomedans hereafter.

It is indeed strange that Abu Zaid records " most of the princes of India when they hold a court allow their women to be seen by the men who attend it, whether they be natives or foreigners " (Elliot I, p. 11). This might have been true of the princes of Malabar and south, for there is and was no pardah with them. It can not be said to be true of the courts of northern kings, for pardah prevailed there from of old. Probably the traveller was misled by the presence of the female attendants of the kings who always attended upon him even in open court as described by Bāṇa. The king's wives and queens could not have appeared in open court in the north of India or even in Mahārāshtra. In other castes than Kshatriya, pardah is not so strict even in northern India, though it is partially observed at present even by them, except among the Śūdras. It is a mistake to suppose that pardah was introduced in India by the Mahomedans. For we find it recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa that the appearance of women in the open was not objectionable at the time of festivity, of sacrifice and of great calamity. This constituted the difference between the Indian and the Mahomedan pardah and there was then no absolute bar to women appearing in public in India.

Another popular misconception has to be noted here and that is that child marriages in India date from the time of the Mahomedan conquest. Women in India began to be married, it is believed, when quite young *i. e.*, of seven and eight years of age in order to prevent them from being seized by lustful Mahomedan conquerors. But the absurdity of this view would appear clear if one considers the fact that marriage could never

have been a bar to the lust of conquerors ; and young women could be seized whether they were married or unmarried. Historically considered, it appears that child marriages came into vogue in India during this second sub-period and not in Mahomedan times. We have already stated in Vol. I from the description of Rājyaśrī's marriage by Bāṇa, that girls until the days of Harsha were grown up at the time of marriage. There is no direct evidence to show that early marriages began to be introduced thereafter. But this may be inferred from the fact that Smṛitis like those of Parāshara and Vyāsa which are undoubtedly later Smṛitis and belong to this period prescribe marriage for girls from 8 to 10 years of age. The text of Pārāśara is well known. विवाहयेदष्टवर्षमिव धर्मो न हीयते । . Vyāsa also recommends the marriage of girls who still wear lower cloth only i. e., a girl at marriage should be so young that she has not yet taken the upper cloth to cover her shoulders. The very meaning of the word *Gauri* was changed. It meant according to Amarakosha a girl who is not yet matured, but according to Parāshara *Gauri* meant a girl of eight. It is, therefore, nearly certain that early marriages came into vogue about this period; why they did so it is somewhat difficult to explain. But as we have long ago stated elsewhere, this was a result of the revulsion of feeling against Buddhism and especially Buddhist nuns. A grown up unmarried girl had a right to become a nun according to the Buddhist canon. To effectually prevent women from becoming nuns, girls began to be married when they were 8 or 10 years old even in the north, a custom probably borrowed from the south, where among the Non-Aryans such marriages seem to have been a rule from ancient days. A comparison between the older Smṛitis together with the ancient Grīhya Sūtras which prescribe consummation immediately after marriage and the later Smṛitis show that this change must have come over the Indian society after Bāṇa who describes that consummation took place in the case of Rājyaśrī's marriage immediately after marriage. Whether the Kshatriyas adopted early marriages or not it is difficult to determine. We gather from poetical descriptions of Bilhana and others that they did not ; but from historical instances it appears that they too now and then married girls

when very young. The marriage of girls before maturity began certainly to be insisted upon from this period. The Vyāsa Smṛiti lays down that the bestower of a matured girl incurs the sin of Bhrūṇahatyā. But it does not seem that in former times maturity was ever considered a defect in the girl. From Kālidāsa's poems or from the Gṛihya Sūtras girls at the time of marriage could not but have been matured. The Śakuntala described by Kālidāsa in his drama must have been a matured girl and her father Kanva Rishi never thought that he had been incurring the sin of Brūṇahatyā. But when this idea gained ground, marriage of girls even before the twelfth year must have been thought advisable for fear of girls becoming matured before marriage. The Parāśara Smṛiti even invented conventional immaturity as opposed to real, when it laid down that a girl above 10 years of age was to be considered a *pratyakā* or matured girl.

The enforced widow-hood of women among the higher castes was an ancient custom in India and must have been the rule during this period also when the Hindu religious feelings were even stronger. The combination of the two customs of early marriage and enforced widow-hood gives birth to that unfortunate class of beings the child-widows and these might have begun to increase now as child marriages spread, but the provision of the Smṛitis that child widows if unmatured might be remarried must have prevented the evil from being then felt. This provision was also abrogated later on in the third sub-period by a Kalivarja text.

The custom of Sati too is an old custom and it must have been in force during this period also. The custom of loyal servants of kings sacrificing their lives for their masters and burning themselves when they died noticed in Vol. I is also noticed by Arab travellers during this period. Abu Zaid records a peculiar custom. "Some of the kings of India when they ascend the throne have a quantity of rice cooked and served on banana leaves. When the king has eaten some of the rice, he gives it to some of his companions who join him of their own free will. Each in his turn approaches, takes a small quantity and eats it. When the king dies or is slain, all those who have taken rice with the king

are expected to burn themselves on the very day of the king's decease."

The practice of men committing suicide in sacred places especially when they were old is noticed by Arab writers also during this period. We have already recorded the instance of king Dhanga drowning himself in the Ganges at Prayāga recorded in an inscription of the Chandellas. Abu Zaid records "When a person, either man or woman, becomes old and the senses are enfeebled, he begs some one of his family to throw him into fire or to drown him in water" (Elliot I, p. 10). "In the states of the Balhara and in other provinces of India one may see men burn themselves on a pyre. This arises from the faith of India in metempsychosis." The later Arab writers speak of the famous tree at Prayāg from the top of which people used to throw themselves into the Ganges which shows that the myth is as old at least as the 10th century A. D. Such instances, however, must be rare, and except in these circumstances, suicide even among the Hindus was considered to be sinful. In India the practice obtains and then obtained of burning the dead as Arab travellers have also recorded. The days of mourning and the practice of lamenting are also very old and have been mentioned by these writers*

It must lastly be mentioned that the Indians always bore a high character for probity with foreigners from the Greeks of the fourth century B.C. down to the Arabs of the 10th century A.D. Speaking of the people between Kambaya and Naharwala (modern Gujarat), Al Idrisi writes :—"The Indians are naturally inclined to justice and never depart from it in their actions ; their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known and they are so famous that people flock to their country from every side and hence the country is flourishing."

* The people of India burn their dead and do not raise any tomb. The Mussalmans in Hind and Sind like Indians do not give way to long lamentations. (Elliol. I, p. 89).

We may also quote Al Idrisi on the food and kind-heartedness of the people of Gujarat typical of the character of people of other parts of India as well. " The inhabitants of Naharwala live upon rice, peas, beans, buricats, lentils, mash, fish and animals that have died a natural death ; for they never kill winged or other animals. They have a great veneration for oxen whom they inter after death. When their animals are enfeebled by age and are unable to walk they, free them from all labour and provide them with food without exacting any return."

NOTE.

SMRITI LAW OF ANULOMA MARRIAGE

It is necessary to show how different Smritis treated the progeny of marriages with lower caste women and thus to see how gradually its position declined eventually leading to the stoppage of Asavarna Anuloma marriages; of course, we are treating here of Anuloma marriages only which were allowed in historic times and were actually in vogue. To begin with Manu, we have the following provisions :—

स्त्रीष्वनन्तरजातासु द्विजैरुत्पादितान् सुतान् ।

सदृशानेव तानाहुर्मातृदोषविगर्हितान् ॥ ६-१०

अनन्तरासु जातानां विधिरेष सनातनः ।

द्वयेकान्तरासु जातानां धर्म्यं विद्यादिमं विधिम् ॥ ७, १०

ब्राह्मणाद्वैश्यकन्यायामम्बष्ठो नाम जायते ।

निषादः शुद्रकन्यायां यः पारशव उच्यते ॥ ८, १०

“ From wives belonging to the immediately next Varna sons of Dvijas are treated as equal, though they are blemished by the defect of their mothers. This rule is of long standing with regard to sons born of immediately next Varna women. And the proper rule with regard to wives who are one or two Varnas lower should be known as follows. The son of a Brahmin from a Vaiśya wife is Ambashṭha, while from a Śudra wife is a Nishada also called Pāraśava.” This was the state of law with regard to progeny of mixed marriages in ancient times *i.e.*, down to the beginning of the Christian era. Let us see how it changed later on.

First with regard to Śudra wife, Yājñavalkya does not ban her but expresses his own opinion that a Śudra wife should not be taken. Such marriages presumably continued to take place, though rarely, down to the days of Bāṇa of 600 A.D. as he speaks of two Pāraśava brothers of himself. Later Smritis, however, entirely put a ban on the Śudra wife. Thus Vyāsa says—

उद्बहेत् क्षत्रियां विप्रो वैश्यां च क्षत्रियो विशाम् ।

न तु शूद्रां द्विजः कश्चिन्नाधमः पूर्ववर्णजाम् ॥

And the epithet 'husband of a Śūdra wife' (वृषलीपति) became contemptuous in Smritis and he was treated as unfit to talk with or dine with; see Parāśara असंभाष्योऽह्यपांक्त्यः स विप्रो वृषलीपतिः ।

Secondly and principally, with regard to the Kshatriya wife married by Brahmins, we have seen such marriages down to the 10th century A.D. Rājaśekhara poet mentioning his own wife to be a Chāhamāna lady. The progeny of such marriages according to the Manu Smṛiti was a Brahmin. But Yājñavalkya treats it as 'Murdhāvasikta' a new word, not found in Manu, विप्रान्मूर्द्धावासिको हि क्षत्रियायां विशः स्त्रियाम् । अम्बष्ठो शूद्र्यां निषादो जातः पारशर्वोऽपि सः । He does not recognise the Anantara and Ekāntara wife distinction. His first rule is सवर्णेभ्यः सवर्णासु जायन्ते हि सजातयः । That clearly says "only from the same caste women can same caste progeny be born."

Later on there is a distinct change in the Vyāsa Smṛiti विप्रवद्विप्रविन्नासु क्षत्रविन्नासु क्षत्रवत् । जातकर्माणि कुर्वीत ततःशूद्रासु शूद्रवत् ॥ वैश्यासु विप्रक्षत्राभ्यां ततः शूद्रासु शूद्रवत् ॥ The meaning is not quite clear. The third line, however, makes it clear that the progeny of Brahmins and Kshatriyas from Vaiśya wives was treated alike. And hence it seems that the progeny of Kshatriya wives from Brahmins was treated not as Mūrdhāvasikta but as Kshatriya. This is 'no doubt' seemingly contradicted by the following further śloka of Vyāsa : ऊढायां हि सवर्णायामन्यां वा काममुद्वहेत् । तस्यामुत्पादितः पुत्रो न सवर्णात् प्रहीयते ॥ But this is conditional on the man marrying first a wife of his own caste. The Auśanasa Smṛiti which is solely concerned with this subject of mixture of caste, distinctly states:—नृपायां विधिना जातो विप्रान्नृप इति स्मृतः "A son born of a Kshatriya woman from a Brahmin by a legal marriage is a Kshatriya." A previous śloka mentions a new distinction which is worth mentioning but which cannot properly be understood. विधिना ब्राह्मणः प्राप्य नृपायां तु समन्त्रकम् । जातः सुवर्ण इत्युक्तः सानुलोमाद्विजः स्मृतः ॥ It seems that when a special rite was performed at the time of the marriage, the son born of a Kshatriya woman from a Brahmin was called a *Suvarna* Brahmin. What rites and ceremonies were performed is not clear. But the professions assigned to the *Suvarna* Brahmin show him to be not a Brahmin. The next śloka in the Smṛiti gives his duties as follows:—अश्वं रथं हस्तिनं च वाहयेद्वा नृपायाः । सेनापत्यं च भैषज्यं कुर्याज्जीवेच्च वृद्धिषु ॥ It may be taken that this Smṛiti reflects the latest phase of mixed marriages. And according to it the son of a Kshatriya wife from a Brahmin was generally a Kshatriya; and naturally the son of a Vaiśya wife from a Kshatriya was a Vaiśya, as expressly stated in the śloka नृपाज्जातोऽथ वैश्यायां गृह्यायां विधिना सुतः । वैश्यवृत्त्या हि जीवेत क्षत्रधर्मं न कारयेत् ॥

The marriage of a lower class woman to a higher class male was generally a luxury and Brahmins unless they were very learned men or great officers must rarely have got Kshatriya wives.

The marriage of a Kshatriya with a Vaiśya wife was, however, not uncommon. In fact, the rule prescribed by the Vyāsa Smṛiti "that after first marrying a wife of one's own caste one may for pleasure marry a lower caste wife" was generally observed among the Kshatriyas. Their first wife was always a Kshatriya but the second was generally a Vaiśya woman. I was told in Jaipur that the practice led to the second wife being called *Gujari*. She was generally from the healthy and strong Jāt or Gūjar castes and these may be taken from this very fact to represent the real Vaiśyas in India to whom was entrusted the *krishi* and the *gorakshya* of the country.

CHAPTER III.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

“ In India ” says one Arab traveller of the 10th century “ there are forty-two religions. ” Perhaps the word forty-two signifies only many. Al-Idrisi of the 11th century A.D. gives more details. “ Among the principal nations of India there are forty-two sects. Some recognize the existence of a Creator but not of Prophets while others deny the existence of both. Some acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones and others worship holy stones on which butter and oil is poured. Some pay adoration to fire and cast themselves into flames. Others adore the sun and consider it the creator and director of the world. Some worship trees ; others pay adoration to serpents, which they keep in stables and feed, and consider this to be meritorious. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion and deny everything.” Such is the description of the religious state of the country given by Arab travellers who were the staunchest believers in one God and the severest unbelievers in idol worship.

It was natural for the Arabs to believe that there were many religions in India. But they all constituted the different modes of worship recognized by the one great religion which has been given the name of Hinduism. We must, therefore, say that the Arabs were wrongly impressed; for, there was no conflict or opposition in any of the different modes of worship enumerated above. Strangely enough, it can be said of this time or of any other time past or future that India was universally under one religion. Different gods such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, Āditya, Devī and Gaṇeśha were indeed worshipped, indeed even some trees and animals yet all these kinds of worship were phases

of one religion and had no ill-feeling or animosity among themselves. And the Vedic religion was considered supreme above all these and was supposed to sanction and countenance all these different worships. As a matter of fact, therefore, there was one religion in India at this time. For Buddhism had been supplanted and had vanished from the land except in Magadha, Jainism was yet a small religion and had not yet made extensive conquests though it was slowly spreading in the south. Hinduism flourished throughout the land and recognized every worship from the Agni worship of the Vedas down to the worship of stones and trees but specially of the five deities of modern Hinduism.

The Purāṇas now were re-edited and amplified and were devoted to the praise of some one of the five gods. Śiva, however, was a favourite deity with the rising kingly families; though as in olden times the son might change his deity and be a devotee of Viṣṇu or the Sun. The genealogy of the Pratihāra emperors as given in their documents clearly brings this out and shows that the favourite deity changes almost at every step in the pedigree. While the first is Parama Vaishṇava, the next is Parama Māheshvara and the third is Bhagavatī-Bhakta and the fourth is Parama Āhitya-Bhakta. It seems certain from this that there was no sectarian jealousy yet, between the devotees of the different gods and consequently among the gods themselves.

The kings and their queens, their ministers and their rich subjects delighted in building temples to their favourite deities. Such temples must have arisen over the whole country and the presents brought to these temples gradually accumulated riches in them which excited the cupidity of foreigners. Nay, even the Arabs of Multan allowed the worship of the famous Sun-god there for greed of the presents which the worship constantly brought⁴ from worshippers from over the whole of India. The Sun temple of Multan was famous and it is interesting to note that the powerful Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj could have very easily taken Multan which was, so to speak, an abutment on their territory, had it not been for the bigotry of the Hindus.

The Arabs when opposed by greater numbers, it is recorded by Arab writers, "threatened to break the idol and the Hindus retired." This speaks of the great reverence in which the idol of the Sun at Multan was held by the people of India.

The whole country was covered over with temples and idols. In fact, both Aryan and non-Aryan civilizations had joined hands in evolving this idolatry. Śiva, Viṣṇu and Āditya were Aryan deities and Gaṇapati and Śaktī or Bhagawatī were probably non-Aryan deities. To these were added the worship of uncouth stones, trees and serpents. And the idolatry was rampant not only among the Aryans but the non-Aryans down to the lowest strata of society. It is strange that the Hindus with their high philosophic minds did not penetrate to the essence of the principle of idol-worship which is allowed by Hinduism. As just stated, they believed in the inherent power of stones and trees and idols to do good or to do mischief. As stated in our Vol. 1 p. 102 an idol is after all an image of the highest Original and there can be no more absurd superstition than a belief in the supernatural power of idols, irrespective of man's devotion or high spiritual elevation. The deity is not in the idols but in man's own head and heart and an idol cannot effect wonders by itself. Idolatry is permitted in Hinduism on the principle that the idols help in the concentration of the devotional mind towards God. In fact, the ceremony of *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā* by Vedic mantras is necessary for the invocation of the deity in the image. There is also a ceremony of *Prāṇa-visarjana* and by appropriate Vedic hymns the deity invoked may be sent back. It really strikes us, living as we do in this different age, as pitiable ignorance of the Hindus of those days that they should have returned without seizing Multan for the fear that the idol of the Sun would be broken by the Moslems. The Hindus could have asked the priests of the idol to make *Prāṇa-visarjana* by appropriate mantras and then the image would not have been more than an ordinary stone or an ordinary block of wood. After conquering Multan and driving away the Moslems, a new idol could have been made and installed with the due ceremony of *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā*. Such ignorant feel-

ings, however, continued to increase and how advantage of them was taken by the idol-breakers we shall have to relate at length in our third volume.

It is not necessary to mention all the famous idols of India of this day. The Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara-khand, chapter 107, gives a list of 68 famous temples of the great god Śiva all over India including those of Nepal and Kālanjar, Prabhāsa and Ujjain. There were many Viṣṇu temples also and the Sun-temple of Multan; the temple of Jwālāmukhi Devī in the Kangra valley and the Vinlhyavāsini at Ghazipur. Benares was the most sacred spot with the temple of Viṣṇvanātha; (strangely enough, the Skanda Purāṇa list does not give this name for the Benares idol but merely calls it Mahādeva).

The worship of these different deities developed new rules and rituals and new philosophies and these were embodied in what were called Āgamas which gradually assumed precedence even over the Vedic rules and ritual. The growth of Āgamas probably led in future years to the rivalry between the different worships which so disfigures them in later centuries. The Śivāgama was most studied at this time and its professors were most respected as inscriptions testify. These professors were usually Śūdra ascetics. The Hindu mind, both Aryan and non-Aryan, is peculiarly susceptible to the feeling of admiration for asceticism. Where thousands run after the pleasures of life, the few who inflict upon themselves untold sufferings only for the sake of their merit are admired in India very highly. It is perhaps a cynical observation to make that the admiration of the people keeps up asceticism in India more than the real belief in the unseen merit of it. For, we actually find that in the present age when new enlightenment has permeated the Hindu mind, the admiration for asceticism has sensibly declined and the number of ascetics too, along with it. Whatever that may be, Tapas and Sanyāsa have always held a foremost place in the Hindu mind and Jainism and Buddhism too made Tapas and Sanyāsa their own but respectively. In the matter of Tapas and Sanyāsa the Aryans first tried to keep the non-Aryans out of them and the

Śūdras were not allowed to perform austerities or to become Sanyāsis. But the triumph of Buddhism and Jainism made the way easy for them. After the supplanting of Buddhism, Hinduism did not apparently stop them. The Vedic Tapas and Sanyāsa were indeed prohibited, but those prescribed by the Āgamas of the different deities were now freely open to them. The devotees of Śiva especially were probably generally non-Aryans and they lived in mathas built for them and performed austerities of various kinds. In fact, in the matter of physical suffering the non-Āryan Śūdra could easily beat the Āryan Brahmin bred in a more delicate way. These Tapasvis, therefore, multiplied and filled the land. They could be met with in cities and towns as well as in jungles. Sulaiman, the Arab traveller, mentions an ascetic who stood facing the Sun in the market of Multan for sixteen years in the same position without being 'melted by the heat.' He describes the jungle ascetics in this manner. "In India there are persons who according to their profession wander in the woods and mountains and rarely communicate with the rest of the mankind. Sometimes they have nothing to eat but herbs and fruits of the forest. Some of them go about naked" (Elliot I).

These tapasvis were ranged into different sects according to the Āgamas they followed. The Āgamas, at least the Pāñcharātra Āgama, is as old as the Mahābhārata. But their growth and their greater sanctity belongs probably to this age. There was the Śivāgama and the Saurāgama also and the Vināyaka Āgama and the Devī Āgama while the Vaishṇava Āgama developed out of the Pāñcharātra. It is necessary to study these different Āgamas to ascertain their age and their relative importance. But the subject is vast and we leave it here without going into further details.

The Vedic house-holder, sacrificing morning and evening to the house-hold fire, was still alive though his number was declining. The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas alone seem to have kept up this worship and we do find in Sulaiman's description the worship mentioned. Agnihotra, however, was too troublesome to be long practised and the worship of the holy stones represent-

ing Śiva and Viṣṇu which gradually was now introduced into almost every household left the other worship neglected. The later Smṛitis still speak of the house-holder sacrificing in fire and the Kalivarjya prohibition which finally stopped Agnihotra belongs to the third sub-period.

Indeed, the sacrifice to fire with inanimate offerings had still the reverence and the sanctity which belonged to it from of old. Even the kings performed such sacrifices when solemn acts were to be performed. We find from inscriptions of this period that the kings often made the grant of a village with the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping Śiva and sacrificing to the holy fire. Strangely enough, when such grants are made to Jain temples, even then the donor king goes through these Vedic formalities. They were looked upon even by the Jains as useful in giving a greater binding force. Vedic religion thus was the religion of the Hindus at least in profession and was respected. The practices of idolatry under the different Āgamas, however, were in greater vogue and even the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas followed the general trend. The performance of the daily ablutions and of Sandhyā was probably still continued while Śrāddhas and other Vedic religious ceremonies were respectfully performed as before, with the difference that flesh was no longer served at Śrāddhas or served only at the houses of Kshatriyas.

The Arabs were struck with the firm belief of the Hindus in metempsychosis. In fact, this creed is peculiar to the Hindus and the wonder is that it has remained unshaken throughout all the changes in philosophical thought. That the soul is everlasting and that it migrates from body to body, even a vegetable body, has been believed in by the Vedic Aryas, the Buddhists, the Jainas and the Hindus too, whatever be the philosophical system they adhere to, Dvaita or Advaita; and both the orthodox and the unorthodox, the Hindus and the Buddhists have utilised their belief in metempsychosis to inculcate high principles of morality. The punishment for sin and the reward for merits were sure to overtake the soul in the next life if not in this and this fear, it cannot but be said to the credit of it, made the Hindu society moral, even more moral than other

societies in the world. We have already quoted the testimony of Arab writers which goes to prove the honesty, justice and truthfulness of the Hindus which made it so pleasant to deal with them.

The generality of the people abstained from drink. The Brahmins were total abstainers and it is indeed creditable to Brahmins that they were total abstainers from the most ancient times and while the rest of the world was immersed in drink. The kingly family too abstained totally from drink, from the evidence of the Arab travellers supported by the known example of the Guhilots of Mewad. This is indeed still more creditable that being placed at the head of power the kings abstained from drink totally. Such self-abnegation in power is rarely witnessed in history. The ordinary Kshatriyas were temperate in drink and took *three* cups of wine only!!! The Vaiśyas were probably total abstainers. The religious precept of the Smṛitis is that Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas should not drink liquor (तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराजन्यौ वैश्यश्च नं सुगं पिबेत्). But the heinous sin or mahāpātaka of Surāpāna (liquor-drinking) was prescribed for the Brahmin only (नित्यं सुरा ब्राह्मणानाम्), and was visited with the most drastic punishment. Śūdras and others drank for we have evidence in inscriptions that liquor was manufactured and was a good source of revenue. But the example of the higher classes must have acted beneficially on the people generally and hence the drink habit in India was within reasonable bounds

With regard to flesh-eating, the state of things was perhaps contrary to the above. The Vaiśyas and many Śūdras who had been Buddhists had abjured flesh; and many Brahmins and Kshatriyas under the influence of the revived doctrine of Ahimsā. But the Vedic religion did not generally prohibit flesh though it did certain kinds of it; and the performance of Śrāddhas which was a principal part of that religion and which under revived Vedic feeling of Hinduism were again performed with great respect (the Buddhists and the Jains had derided Shrāddhas) required the preparation of flesh-food for the propitiation of the *pitris* (manes). Śrāddhas were, therefore, the opportunities when flesh was required to be eaten. A Smṛiti text

declares that a Brahmin who declines to eat flesh at Shrāddhas will go to perdition. There are texts that Vaiśyas who had no way open to them of procuring flesh might buy it of Kshatriyas who could obtain it by hunting. Brahmins, except for sacrifices, could not kill animals. The result thus was that while the highest classes, Brahmins and Kshatriyas, who were orthodox followers of Vedic religion ate flesh, the Vaiśyas and many men of other castes totally abstained from flesh-eating. The Brahmins eventually, after the second sub-period, divided into two classes the flesh-eaters and the non-flesh-eaters ; and thus began the ramification of caste into sub-castes.

The influence of Ahimsā gathered strength by and by and the Jain religion which has put Ahimsā in the forefront of its principles seems to have gathered strength hereafter. In the second sub-period it was not, however, a progressing religion though we find, in Southern Māhārashtra, Jainism spreading not only among Vaiśyas who were always, for reasons inexplicable, prone to receive Ahimsā religions, but also among the agricultural population. Even some of the Rāshtrakūta kings were devotees of Jain saints. The Jain pandits now used the Sanskrit language itself for disputations and often defeated the followers of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā in them. This proficiency of the Jains in Sanskrit culminated, as we shall see in the third sub-period, when Hemachandra the greatest pandit of the Jainas became the Rajaguru of Kumārapāla. But it does not appear that Gujarat was yet under the influence of Jainism. Inscriptions in Gujarat still speak of the influence of Śiva worship which was the predominant worship of this period. A history of the spread of Jainism in the different parts of India will be very interesting but in the absence of it, the above seems to us to be the condition of that religion during this period. We speak with great hesitation, but we think that Jainism was spreading in Southern Maratha country at this time and thence it went in Gujarat into the third sub-period (1000 to 1200 A.D.) of our history.

Of course, Śiva worship was most predominant in those days. The Rajput families, almost all of them, which established powerful kingdoms at this time were worshippers of Śiva. We

have seen that the Guhilots, the Chāhamānas, the Rāshtrakūtas were Śiva worshippers. The Chāvadas were also Śiva worshippers though Jains believe that they were followers of their religion. The Paramāras, the Haihayas and the Chandellas were also worshippers of Śiva and have left stupendous Śiva temples which still excite admiration. The Pālas of Bengal were known as Buddhists but they also built temples to Śiva. The Imperial Pratihāras alone are described as sometimes Parama Śaivas and Parama Vaishnavas and even Parama Bhagavatī Bhaktas. Thus almost all the Rajput kingly families were worshippers of Śiva. Is Śiva worship more congenial to valour and the spirit of independence? It seems to be so. Śiva-worship compared with other worships seems to make people warlike and stubborn.

It would, indeed, be invidious to enter into the relative effects of the different systems of belief or worship comprized under Hinduism. It would, however, be necessary to remark that Śiva worship, absurd and even repulsive in its adoration of the linga, has been from ancient times connected with the highest religious philosophy, the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad identifying Śiva with Parabrahma. Consequently when the Hindus worship the god in its linga form, they never are conscious of any idea but of the deity being the highest god. Śiva worship originally in the Linga form was probably a non-Aryan worship; but the Aryans soon identified the god with the god Rudra of the Vedas and the Upanishads raised it to the position of the highest Parabrahma. It is no wonder thus that Śiva worship was and is more prevalent than any other worship. There was already, in the days of the Mahābhārata and the Vedantasūtra, a system of philosophy connected with the worship of Paśupati. When Lakulisa whose Śaiva philosophy seems to have been popular at this time flourished and preached we do not know. Śaṅkara has refuted his doctrines; but we do not find it on the wane at this time, Śaṅkara for himself was a real Vedantin and advocated all worships equally, though he refuted their special doctrines. But probably in response to the general sentiment, he appears to have worshipped the linga, a practice which his successors still follow. It is, hence, we believe, that

Śaṅkara's philosophy which was preached in the beginning of the ninth century had little influence on the prevalence of Śiva worship. As to Kumāṛila he was soon forgotten for he advocated Vedic sacrifices only. Yet he too in the sphere of the establishment of modern Hinduism had effected a great deal. It is necessary that our history should contain a short sketch of the life and preaching of both Kumāṛila and Śaṅkara, and though the materials are not very reliable, we treat this subject in the next chapter on the life and teaching of these great philosophers of the Mediæval Hindu age.

CHAPTER IV.

KUMĀRILA AND ŚĀNKARA.

A history of Mediæval Hindu India cannot be complete without a life of Kumāṛila and a life of Śāṅkara, the two great intellectual luminaries of the age who in fact laid the foundations and reared the superstructure respectively of modern Hinduism. Unfortunately we know so little about them that there is in fact nothing which can be said with certainty about their lives. Indeed even the fact is itself not undisputed that they belonged to this period since some place them in the centuries preceding the Christian era. We are, however, tolerably certain that they must have lived after Hiouen Tsang who makes no mention of them, and whose success as the most formidable exponent of Buddhism could not have happened after them. To add to the difficulty again they do not utter a word in their numerous writings about themselves; nor do they refer to any event, circumstances, or political entity of their time, so fully engrossed are they with the exposition of the respective doctrines of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, in other words, of the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsā philosophies. Lastly, strangely enough, in spite of the fact that their writings and their labours wrought great changes in the ideas and feelings of the people yet no inscription, so far as we know, makes any mention of them, or their great triumphs in philosophical discussions during the tours which they are said to have, and which they most certainly must have, made throughout India. Handicapped as thus we are we will still make an attempt to place a few facts about their lives and their work before the curious reader from probabilities, from their writings and from traditions given in later works, most of which, however, are unreliable as history.

To commence with Kumāṛila then, his greatest achievement was that he established the sanctity of the Vedas and the efficacy

of Vedic ritual, both of which were denied by Buddhism. In fact, he destroyed Buddhism in India by his philosophical writings. Even the Vedantists who subsequently triumphed under Śāṅkara admit this, for the Śāṅkaradigvijaya says that Śāṅkara, when he met Kumāṛila, as he was about to burn himself on a pyre, said "I know you are Guha or the god Kārtikeya incarnated on earth for the purpose of destroying the Buddhists who had opposed the religion of the Vedas".* There is a little sting even here by the Vedantist author. For he hints that as Śāṅkara was an incarnation of Śiva, the father of Guha, he could hence easily conquer the followers of Kumāṛila. One fact is, however, prominent from this verse. It is that it was Kumāṛila who finally conquered the Buddhists and not Śāṅkara as many suppose. As Harsha's rule was the last triumph of declining Buddhism, naturally the date of Kumāṛila falls about 50 years after Harsha and he is properly placed by most scholars about 700 A.D.

We may take this as the date of Kumāṛila burning himself on a pyre. We may take support in proof of this date the fact mentioned in our first volume that S. P. Pandit believed from the colophon in a manuscript of Uttararāmacharita that Kumāṛila was the teacher of Bhavabhūti who, as the Taranginī says, was a poet at the court of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Yaśovarman's date falls about 700 A.D., and hence Kumāṛila must have lived before this period and died about 700 A.D. The meeting of Śāṅkara and Kumāṛila is a myth like the meeting of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, or the supposed fight between Vikrama and Śātavāhana.

Having approximately settled Kumāṛila's date we will speak about his place of birth or at least his country. It is said somewhere that he was an Assamese and some believe him to be a Dravida Brahmin. It seems to us that he was a resident of the middle country or of Āryāvarta proper like Bāṇa whose uncles, as related by him in the Harshacharita, were great students of Mīmāṃsā. For he speaks in the Tantravārtika with great respect

* श्रुत्यर्थधर्मविमुखान् सुगतान् निहन्तुं ।

जातं गुहं भुवि भवन्तमहं नु जाने ॥

of Aryāvarta *and treats people outside as mlechha which he would not have done if had been an Assamese or a Dravida. He tries, no doubt, to show in one place that Dravida words are derived from Sanskrit such as *ehor* meaning corked rice, *tatar* road, or *vair* belly, yet this may have been owing to his communion with Dravida pandits. He certainly seems to have travelled much and known many languages. But if he had been a Dravida himself, he would not have treated the Dravida language as non-Aryan. We know that Dravida and Kānārese pandits of the time attempted to prove that these languages were derived from Sanskrit. But Kumārila does not believe in it from this passage in the Tantravārtika (p. 157).

The non-Aryan languages which he mentions here are Pārasika, Barbara, Yavana and Romaka, exactly the languages which we have noticed in a note in Vol. I p. 354 which also supports the theory that Kumārila belonged to the 8th century. The Greek and Roman languages could not have been spoken in India later. It seems that during Buddhistic times, Buddhists from different countries beyond India came to India to study Buddhism or to visit holy places like Hiouen Tsang and hence people had occasion to speak here these languages. Kumārila indeed mentions even interpreters or Dvaibhāshikas as he calls them (म्लेच्छैरवगतं पश्चादायै द्वैभाषिकैः कचिन्). He mentions the word Pīlu as meaning in Sanskrit a particular tree and in Mlechha language an elephant (यथापील्वदिशब्दानां वृक्षहस्त्यादिबोधने । समाविप्रतिपत्तिः स्यादायम्लेच्छादिबोधने). Now the word Phila in Persian really means an elephant. It seems, therefore, that Persian was really spoken and understood in India at that time*. We are thus led to believe in the truth of the tradition that Kumārila studied Buddhism under Buddhist masters themselves and thus came into contact with many and diverse foreigners. Of course, there was no treachery in this, as the tradition would make us believe. The Buddhists were not an exclusive people. They were indeed willing to teach intelligent Brahmin students if only they came to them. The

* हिमवद्विन्ध्यान्तरालकृष्णमृगचरणायुपलक्षित आर्यावर्तनिवासि-व्यतिरिक्त-
बर्ह्रादिभाषागतम्लेच्छितत्वसमानाधिकरणापशब्द p. 198.

ranks of the Buddhists were constantly filled by recruits from Brahmins and Kshatriyas. And hence that Kumārila learned Buddhism by representing himself to be a Buddhist and thus practising deception upon his teachers need not be believed. He is supposed to have burnt himself in expiation of this sin viz. of deceiving his teachers. His manner of death was the usual manner of self-immolation with old devout Hindus of the time as we have already stated ; and there was nothing strange in it when the practice of that age is considered. In later times, of course, this way of putting an end to one's own life became obsolete and people invented some explanation for this seemingly strange act of Kumārila.*

There is good reason to believe that Kumārila was not a Dākshinātya which was then the word used for a Māhārāshtra. For, he derides in a way the Māhārāshtra practice of marrying one's own maternal uncles's daughter. That this unorthodox practice belonged to Māhārāshtra is most certain. Nay, it comes from the Chandravansī Yādavas themselves whose descendants the Marathas are. But if Kumārila had been a Māhārāshtra, he would not have railed at the practice though he might have mentioned it. He would not have used the word तुष्यति in the line स्वमातुल्यतां प्राप्य दाक्षिणात्यस्तु तुष्यति (p. 129 ditto).

There is another observation which marks him as a Northern Central Indian man. The observation अन्तरीयोत्तरीये हि योपितामिव वाससौ shows that he looks upon female dress as consisting ordinarily of the nether piece of cloth and of the upper one. Now the Deccan or more southern women always used and now use one long piece of cloth only which serves the purposes of both.

Lastly, he belongs to a state of society wherein Brahmins freely and willingly ate flesh. The remark शुद्धिमादसंबंध यज्ञं तुष्यन्ति हि द्विजाः । तेभ्य एव हि यज्ञेभ्यः शाक्याः शृद्धयन्ति पांडया ॥ . " Brahmins are glad when they get a sacrifice where animals are killed, while the same enrages and pains the Buddhists " shows

* It is curious to note that the instances of mlechha words in use in Sanskrit given by S'abara and also by Kumarila are *pika* (cuckoo), *nem* (half), *tāmarasa* (a lotus) and *sata* (a wooden pot). We recognise *nem* or *nim* as Persian for half but to what language do the other words belong ? And *pika* and *tāmarasa* seemed to be original Sanskrit words ! ! !

that Brahmins were then glad to get opportunities of eating flesh. The Deccan and Southern Brahmins seem from Buddhist times to have disliked animal sacrifices, at least flesh-eating and hence the subsequent division of Brahmins into northern and southern or rather flesh-eaters and flesh-abstainers. Kumārila seems to have belonged to the former class.

These are the few straws which we have gathered in the sea of disquisition on Mīmāṃsā topics written by Kumārila in which a historian vainly seeks for some personal remarks or a remark that throws light on the social or political condition of the time. We will close with the one political observation which we came across. The question is being discussed whether the word Rājā in the Śruti dictum Rājā Kājasūyena Yajeta means a Kshatriya king only or any king *de facto*. Of course, the reply is that the provision applies to a Kshatriya king only as Kshatriyas alone have a right to rule. Kumārila says that the doubt arises from the fact that all the four castes are seen ruling in different kingdoms. (तच्च राज्यमविशेषेण चत्वारऽपि वर्णाः कुर्वाणा दृश्यन्ते). दृश्यन्ते "are seen" is in the present tense and this shows that Kumārila lived in times when kingdoms were actually ruled by kings belonging to all castes. Now we can describe such a time. Up to the days of the Nandas the old rule obtained viz., that Kshatriyas alone should rule. Chandragupta was the first to break through this custom and hence the remark of the Purāṇas नन्दान्तं क्षत्रिय कुम्भ. From 300 B.C. up to Harsha and his immediate successors kings belonged to diverse castes. We know from Hiuen Tsang that in his days Harsha was a Vaiśya king, there were Kshatriya kings in Bhinmal, Valabhi, Mahārāshtra and Kānchi; Brahmin kings in Ujjain, Chichīto, and Maheśvarapura and a Śūdra king in Sind. We also find that from the days of Bappā Rāwal and other Rajput new dynasty founders, the old rule was revived and Rajputs alone were thought competent to rule. In the second sub-period of our history we find Rājputs alone ruling every where. Perhaps this Mīmāṃsa controversy itself led to the assertion of this right by the Rājputs. The fact is noted by even Arab travellers. It seems, therefore, clear that Kumārila must have lived at least before 750 i.e., 650 to 750, as we have already supposed. He may have lived at an earlier

period when even mlechhas ruled in India. But he does not mention such rulers. Indeed, our point here is that he could not have lived later. That he could not have lived before Hiouen Tsang we have already shown.

There is a further interesting remark of Kumāṛila here in which he differs from or explains away the Bhāshya and which we have not been able to understand, Śībara remarks on this point; ननु जनपदपुररक्षणमनुपजीवत्यापि क्षत्रिये राजशब्दमान्धाः प्रयुज्यन्ते "The Āndhras use the word king even with respect to a Kshatriya who does not rule." Now Kumāṛila observes here दक्षिणात्य सामात्येनान्द्राणामिति भाष्यकारणेक्षम् "The Bhāshyakāra speaks of the Āndhras here as they are the same with Dākshinātyas". Now this probably means that in Kumāṛila's time it was the custom with the Dākshinātyas i. e., Māhārāshtras to use the word Rāja with respect to a Kshatriya who is not ruling; and that he thinks that Śībara has spoken of the Āndhras inadvertently when he should have spoken of the Dākshinātyas. It is, indeed, difficult to know what the practice was in Māhārāshtra and what in Āndhra in the days of Śībara and those of Kumāṛila. In the latter country we know that there were Yavana kings at this time.

Such, then, is the little that can be or has been gathered by us from Kumāṛila's Tantravartika alone. It is possible that an industrious perusal of all his works might yield some more information. But the patience required is so great that the task is almost prohibitive. So far then we have been able to show that Kumāṛila must have worked from about 650 to 700 A.D. It is not possible to hold that he might have flourished in the second century B.C. for he quotes a verse from Kālidāsa himself कतां हि नदेशपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः—(p. 133). Even if Kālidāsa be held to belong to 57 B.C., Kumāṛila can not go to the second century B. C. Kumāṛila belonged to the middle country or Āryāvarta. He studied Buddhism under Buddhist teachers. He had an acquaintance with several non-Aryan languages, Indian and foreign. He was a great dialectician and his greatest achievement was that he conquered the Buddhists in controversy and established the shaken belief in the revelation of the Vedas. In very old age, he probably burned himself on a pyre as a religious meritorious act.

Between Kumāṛila and Śaṅkara there must be supposed a pretty long period, a hundred years at least, to have elapsed. The greater renown and the greater success achieved by Śaṅkara was due to the fact that he appealed to some of the most pressing demands of the people. To be in union with the most absorbing sentiment of the time is the usual key to the success and highest popularity of new leaders of thought. Śaṅkara is often said by his opponents to be a Prachhanna Bauddha ; *i.e.*, a Buddhist in disguise. This is probably said in reference to the Māyāvāda preached by him which was somewhat like the Vijñānavāda or Nihilism of the Buddhists. Whatever may be said of his philosophical views, in two points, we think, Śaṅkara responded to the returned Buddhistic feelings of the people. The Mīmāṃsā doctrines of Kumāṛila, no doubt, triumphed but they could not entirely remove the sentiment of the people against animal sacrifices ; nor suppress the tendencies of the people towards Sanyāsa or renunciation of the world ; a tendency which had characterised the Indian Aryans from the Upanishad times *i.e.*, for at least three thousand years. Kumāṛila established the revealed character of the Vedas ; but at the same time his philosophy was entirely antagonistic to Sanyāsa and his method of worship was by Agnihotra and animal sacrifices. To a *Karmatha* the sacred fire was everything. A Sanyāsi was a nuisance, a sight offensive to him. It was, therefore, impossible that the popular sentiment should not return again in favour of Sanyāsa. It was impossible that people should again generally take to Agnihotra giving up their usual Puranic deities viz., Śiva, Viṣṇu and Āditya and even Devī and Gaṇeśha. The rebound of feeling against animal sacrifice was still greater. as Ahimsā was a doctrine which had been preached even by Aryanism or Vedantism before it was taken up by Buddhism and Jainism. And especially among those people who had given up flesh-eating, the doctrines of Kumāṛila could not have been popular. And a preacher arose from among such people viz., the Brahmins of the south who had given up flesh-eating for centuries before, a preacher of remarkable power of controversy, and graceful diction and of great common sense, and politi-

cal shrewdness who preached a new doctrine based on the Vedas themselves and the old Vedānta sūtras and who thus appealed to the people strongly because he advocated Sanyāsa and deprecated Agnihotra and animal sacrifices, who further, though he did not give it the highest place, sanctioned the worship of idols, of Śiva and Viṣṇu, Āditya and Devī. This is the way in which Śāṅkara may be said to have revived Buddhism except its doctrine repugnant to Aryan feeling viz., denial of the sanctity of the Vedas and denial of caste distinctions. Śāṅkara may be said to have thus raised the whole super-structure of modern Hindustan on the foundations of the Veda laid by Kumāṛila. This is the reason why a pandit of the south gained renown and why he may be called in a sense a Buddhist in disguise.

The date of Śāṅkara and his native place are more certain than those of Kumāṛila. He is generally believed to have belonged to Kerala or Malabar and he was born in a family of Nambudri Brahmins. His birth-place is said to be Kāladi where a great temple has recently been raised to his memory. The date of his birth is traditionally given as Ś.ka. 710 or 788 A.D. and this is extremely probable as his sphere of activity falls about a hundred years after the death of Kumāṛila. Some place both Kumāṛila and Śāṅkara in centuries preceding the Christian era and even carry them to about the 5th century B. C. taking Buddha himself again several centuries before his accepted date. We think all such theories upset the course of Indian history already settled with tolerable certainty, the sheet-anchor being Chandragupta's date fixed in conformity with Greek history at about 312 B. C. We shall, therefore, not try to refute such theories at any length and content ourselves with making the above observation.

The details of his life given in the several *digvijayas* may be taken to be generally historical. Having lost his father in early life, he was fondly brought up by his mother. Owing to his phenomenal intelligence, he mastered the Vedas and the Vedic literature even in his boyhood. The mother then began as usual to form plans of marrying him. But Śāṅkara being without a father to check him, had already formed his own plan of

leading a life of Śanyāsa. Perhaps, he had already vivid glimpses of his mission in life viz., that of establishing Śanyāsa against the doctrines of the Mīmāṃsā philosophers. His extraordinary plan of roving about as a Sanyāsi shattered to pieces the fond mother's simple plain ideal of a household life with grand-children moving about and she was sorely grieved; but Ś.ñkara eventually succeeded in inducing his mother to give him permission to be a Sanyāsi; and promising to return to his native place when his mother would call him, he set out on his first journey in his itinerant life.

In the Vindhya region he found a teacher to his heart's satisfaction and he received regular ordination as a Sanyāsi from Govinda Guru who was himself a disciple of a famous teacher viz., Gaudapāda who has left a commentary on the Śāṅkhya Kārikā. Having for some years studied under Govinda Guru, Śaṅkara went to Benares, the most prominent seat of learning in India and the accepted touch-stone of all new doctrines from ancient days-even from the days of Buddha. There, in Benares, Ś.ñkara published his new doctrine of Vedanta and convinced the Pandits of Benares of its truth. He wrote, it is said, his commentaries on the Prasthānatrayī there and this has become traditional with later teachers viz., to write commentaries on the ten Upanishads, the Bhagvadgītā and the Vedanta Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. He also composed several minor works and poems. The literary excellence of Śaṅkara's writings has been recognised by all, even Western scholars and his Bhāshya on the Vedanta Sūtras stands supreme as a high specimen of both literary finish and polemic power.

Having reduced his doctrines to writing and established the truth of his views among the Pandits of Benares, he left Benares on an extended tour throughout India. The account of his controversies is not all historical, but the one he had with Maṇḍana Miśra, the renowned teacher of Mīmāṃsā must be taken to be a fact. For, the latter was eventually defeated, his own wife being represented as the umpire between the two; and as the wager was, he became a Sanyāsi himself and a disciple of Śaṅkara. He was, as Sanyāsi, named Sureshvarāchārya and he is mentioned as the first successor of Śaṅkarāchārya on the

gaddi of the math he founded at Śringeri. He, in fact, is the St. Peter of India's popes. Śāṅkara is said to have visited Ujjain which was also then a seat of learning in India and vanquished in argument a Pāsupatācharya, Ujjain being a famous holy place distinguished for worship of Mahākāla. Śāṅkara is said to have also visited Assam which again is represented as a seat of learning. He, of course, visited Kashmir which has all along been famous for the learning of its pandits. And he is said to have opened the forbidden gate of the temple of Śārada which he alone could do who would defy the whole world of Pandits. Śāṅkara is, of course, represented as having defeated all his adversaries. He finally went on a pilgrimage to Badarikāśrama in the Himalayas and established a math there also.

We have already said that Śāṅkara was a man of remarkable common sense and great political tact. Moreover, his equable temper and love for all without any undue favour, his *samatva buddhi*, in short, properly secured to him the respect of all shades of opinion in the country. The title *Jagadguru* given to him was properly bestowed on him and he was rightly looked upon as a teacher of the whole world so much so that the word Śāṅkarāchārya has now become a common noun meaning pope or head priest of any sect. Thus they speak even of a Jain Śāṅkarāchārya. He saw that for the permanent preaching of his doctrine and for its continued hold over the whole country, certain permanent institutions were necessary and he founded four sees in the four directions in India, sees which still carry his apostolic succession down to this day. The chief of them is the Śringeri math in the south of India founded in the country of his birth. The other three are the sees of Dwarka in the west, Puri in the east and Badari Kedāra in the north.

Śāṅkara, it is said, carried out his promise to revisit his mother whenever she thought it imperatively necessary. When she fell ill she called for him and Śāṅkara came and was present at her death-bed. Carried by filial love, he desired to perform her funeral obsequies himself though he as a Sanyasi could not do so. His relatives opposed him in his design and would not come to assist him in the funeral. Śāṅkara, therefore, had to burn his mother's body in the compound of his own house, a practice

which commencing from that time is still observed in Kāladi, his birth-place in Kerala. It is difficult to imagine that Śaṅkara would insist upon doing a thing prohibited by the Śāstras or that he who had conquered the whole world and himself would be so carried away by filial love as to do a wrong act. There must be some other explanation of this practice and Śaṅkara must have burnt his deceased mother in his compound according to an already existing custom. Or the whole story may be a myth, the custom having arisen in times of Mahomedan religious oppression.

Śaṅkara again went on his religious tour, being an itinerent Sanyāsi and with a purpose, a mission before him. He moved throughout India. As stated above, it is really strange that we do not possess any contemporary record referring to Śaṅkara or his great work. There is one single exception, however, which we have already noticed in Vol. I. In the native historical records of Nepal there is a reference to the visit of Śaṅkara to that country. It is stated he came to see whether the rules prescribed by a former Śaṅkarāchārya a thousand years before regarding the worship of Paśupati, the national deity of Nepal were duly observed. It cannot be said that this is a contemporary record, but it is an old one. And it proves that Śaṅkara visited Nepal's god Paśupati and made certain regulations for his worship. It is pertinent to remark here that the worshippers of Paśupati in Nepal are from old times Mahārāshtra Brahmins ; others, it is believed, will not do. Nepal Brahmins are flesh-eaters and perhaps not learned in the Vedas ; while Mahārāshtra Brahmins are the reverse. Whether this rule was introduced by Śaṅkara cannot be determined though it is generally believed that in the temple of Kedāranātha in the Himalayas, supposed to be built by Śaṅkara, the practice from his days is that the worshippers must be Kerala Brahmins. This preference given in two places in the Himalayas to Southern Brahmins may be solely attributed to Śaṅkara, for Brahmins learned in the Vedas and proficient in Śiva worship could have been obtained in those days without difficulty in the north, though in later centuries under Mahomedan oppression, most probably

northern Brahmins are now mostly devoid of Vedic learning almost devoid of the knowledge of even a single Vedic Mantra.

Śaṅkara, it is said, in one place died at a very early age, some say at the age of 32, while Macdonell in his history of Sanskrit literature says "Śaṅkara was born in 788 A.D., he became an ascetic in 820 and probably lived to an advanced age." Here 820 is taken as the date of Śaṅkara's ordination by adding 32 to 788. We do not know the authority for this statement as also for the last statement that he lived long. He is said to have died at Badarikaśrama and it may be that he retired to that holy place in the Himalayas at the age of 32 and ever afterwards remained absorbed in holy contemplation till his death, whenever it may have happened.

Śaṅkara's reputation as a great metaphysical philosopher will always stand high among the philosophers of the world. His Māyāvāda or theory of cosmic illusion is, indeed, the greatest stretch of human imagination to pry into the mystery of the world. Whether this theory of illusion has anything to do with the political capacities of the people, whether Śaṅkara's upholding of Sanyāsa had any evil influence on the tendencies of the people and whether finally his sanctioning or at least encouraging the worship of images of Puranic gods, either made by hand and established in temple, or nature-made in the form of certain small stones exhibiting certain signs such as Śālagrāma worshipped in almost every household, led to the fostering of superstitions of the people, we shall have to discuss in our next volume, though this is, indeed, a subject which is both delicate and subtle and admits the possibility of the most diverse and conflicting opinions.

NOTE.

DATE OF ŚĀṆKARA.

The various dates suggested for Śāṅkara with their authorities have been given by Mr. K. K. Lele in a Marathi paper published by him in "Achārya" of 13th May 1916. He favours the date we have adopted, viz., Śaka 710 or 788 A.D. which was first urged by Prof. Pathak on several authorities. These are 1. Śāṅkara-Mandera-Saurabha of Nīlakantha, 2. Kudalēgi Matha tradition :— Nidhināgellavanhyalḍe vibhave Śāṅkarodayah " i. e., ' Śāṅkara was born in Kali year 389.' 3. In the Śringeri Pīṭha tradition the same date is given in a stotra. 4. This the chief Matha founded by Śāṅkara is believed in the Matha to have been founded in the Kali year 3909 'Kalyalḍe nidhikāṇḍāgni śeṣha samvatsare matham samsthāpya bhāratipīṭham &c. 5. In the traditional stotras of the same Matha Śāṅkara's entering a guhā 'cave' in the Himalayas is placed in Kali year 3921. 6. Kudali Matha in Shimoga, Mysore, gives the same dates.

In support of these outside authorities, Prof. Pathak adduces the following chief arguments from internal evidence. 1. The Chinese traveller Itsing states in his travels that the famous grammarian Bhartrihari died in 650 A.D. Kumārila has repeated one statement of Bhartrihari; hence Kumārila and, therefore, Śāṅkara must have flourished after this date. 2. Sureśvara a pupil of Śāṅkara in his Vārtika on the Brīhadāranya has repeated a statement of the Buddhist Dharmakīrti by name. Now the Chinese traveller Fa-hian states that Dharmakīrti was his contemporary in 695 A.D. Hence Śāṅkara and his pupil Sureśvara cannot be taken back before 695 A. D. 3. Jain Pandit Akalankadeva flourished in the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga Sāhasatunga of the 8th century A.D. Śāṅkara refutes his opinion in his works, and therefore his date must be later than that of Akalankadeva. 4. The Kāśikāvṛiti on the sūtras of Pāṇini was written in the 7th century A.D. Śāṅkara quotes some of its sentences. All these arguments conclusively prove that Śāṅkara cannot go back before 700 A.D. The opposite tradition of the Kāmakoti Matha is not valuable as compared with that of Śringeri. And the manner in which the first tries to reconcile itself with the latter by supposing that there were two Śāṅkaras, one before the Christian era and the other in the 8th century A.D., is, to say the least, suspicious.

Mr. C. V. P. Aiyar, Astronomer of Cochin, has shown that the planetary positions given by Vidyāranya at the time of Śaṅkara's birth indicate that date to be Śaka 728 or A.D. 806 which again has been reiterated by S. V. Venkateśvara in a paper published in R. A. S. 1915 (Jan.) and he further shows that the date of Śaṅkara's death must be taken 60 years later than the usual one viz., A. D. 820. Both these views are according to our opinion not correct; for, the astronomical data given by Vidyāranya 500 years after Śaṅkara cannot be reliable. Moreover, when Śaṅkara was born he was an unknown person and the exact time of his birth can not have been marked or remembered. We know how, when a man becomes celebrated, a horoscope with uchcha grahas is invented for him. The tradition of the Sringeri Matha about its foundation is the most reliable of all. Lastly, that Śaṅkara lived up to the 85th year of his age cannot be accepted on the basis of a line in a stotra supposed to have been composed by Śaṅkara himself. It is likely that some one of his successors who are all called Śaṅkaracharyas like Cæsar may have composed it and spoken of himself therein as 85 years old. And men of extraordinary intellect and energy who finished their brilliant career at 32 are not historically impossible in this world of ours.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL CONDITION.

We have explained at length in our first Volume Chapter VII (pp. 115-127) how the development of political ideas in the east and the west have been divergent and how in India the sentiment of nationality never came into existence. The idea that the state was the people's never gained root in this country although in the beginning the people not only formed the state but gave the name to it. The inclusion of a large aboriginal population as Śūdras in the state having no or very few political rights gradually concentrated political power in a few of the leading spirits among the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas and finally in the kingly family. And while the king, as a matter of fact, possesses political power because of the consent of the people, the latter were gradually forgotten and the king's power was supposed to be drawn from the favour of gods extended in recompense for performance of severe austerities in former lives. Under such a view of kingly power the sentiment of nationality was naturally absent as also the feeling of patriotism. The sentiment of loyalty generally and steadfast attachment to a particular kingly family are alone developed. They are, of course, often cancelled by contrary tendencies born of treason and ambition; and as the people were believed to have nothing to do with the choice of the king, usurpers often succeeded in founding new royal families by the help of treacherous officials. We must also remember that kingly families tend to deteriorate in kingly virtues and become old and rotten like every thing in this world and do require to be uprooted now and then. The founding, therefore, of new vigorous kingly families is not always an evil; and such we actually find to be the case in India about the beginning of the 9th century A.D. The new Rajput families that were founded about this time were all despotic kingly families and did maintain themselves in power not

by the consent of the people but by their own energies and the support of the bhaibands as they are called in Rajput history. Such a state of political philosophy is, no doubt, favourable to the establishment of any ruling dynasties if they are only strong and fortunate. And yet the testimony of Arab writers shows that the people of India did, in fact, exercise some choice in the matter of their giving allegiance to rulers. This indicates that the Indian people had yet some life left in them.

This evidence is afforded by almost all Arab writers who, perhaps, copy statements from one source. Sulaiman, the earliest traveller, records "The Indians sometimes go to war for conquest but the occasions are rare. I have never seen *the people of one country submit to the authority of another* except in the case of that country which comes next to the country of pepper (Malabar). When a King subdues a neighbouring state, he places over it a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince who carries on the government in the name of the conqueror. *The inhabitants would not suffer it to be otherwise.*" (Elliot I. p. 7). We have often laid emphasis on the fact that in Ancient or Mediæval Hindu India empires never meant annexation. The conquered king was allowed to rule or some one belonging to his family as before, subject only to payment of some tribute. Thus within the Kanauj empire of the Pratihāras we find from inscriptions that there were many subordinate kingdoms like the Chāvotakas of Wadhwan or the Chālukyas of Bhārapa. And in the same way, under the Rāshṭrakūṭas there were many subordinate kings as even Arab writers state. The further clear statement, however, of Sulaiman that "The inhabitants would not suffer it otherwise" shows that there was some life, some consciousness of power, yet in the people. Strangely enough, Sulaiman mentions an exception and that of the state which adjoined the country of pepper. This seems to indicate that the non-Aryan Dravidian kingdoms which existed in the south of India were not alive even to this modicum of the sentiment of nationality. We are of the opinion that this sentiment of nationality is strong in the Aryans and next to it in the Mongolian race which, indeed, are the two advanced races of the world, but that the Dravidian and the

Negro are so undeveloped yet that they are not susceptible to this sentiment. They do not even now exhibit that strong antipathy to foreign rule which characterises the white and the yellow peoples of the world. In the rest of India too, which is half Aryan and half non-Aryan, nationality is barely existent and this is one of the root causes why India has almost permanently been enslaved by foreign domination. There was no such force alive in India as is described in the short sentence of Sulaiman "The inhabitants would not suffer it otherwise," when the Mahomedans under Ghorî finally conquered India.

There were thus, in India, during the Mediæval period as before, many kingdoms, some of which were large and were, in fact, empires having many subordinate kingdoms under them. And these were often at war not for conquest but to prevent conquest of one by another as we see from the struggle going on during this period between the Pratihāras of Kanauj and the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed as also between either of these and the Pālas of Bengal. These kingdoms were all governed by Rajput families, the Kshatriya Rajputs alone now being considered to be entitled to exercise sovereignty by divine law. And the people exercised their power by sometimes electing or rather accepting kings as founders of new families as Bappā Rāwal was chosen in place of the effete or rather defunct Mori dynasty or as Gopāla was elected in Bengal.

The right of descendants alone of such founders to rule was recognised by the customs and the sentiment of the peoples as in Europe of this or even later period. The hereditary rights of the kingly families, nay, their even divine right, was acknowledged in Europe. It is, therefore, no wonder that in India such right should have been conceded and religiously respected at this period.

But the people in the west asserted their right to guide and control the state affairs through popular assemblies while in India such assemblies never came into being. How did then the people assert their semi-recognized right of accepting or refusing a king? This difficult question is solved if we take into consideration the further statements of Sulaiman. "The troops of the kings of India are numerous but they do

not receive pay. The king assembles them only in case of a religious war. They then come out and maintain themselves without receiving anything from the king" (Elliot I. p. 7.). This state of things in India was also similar to that in Europe at this time. Generally, there were no standing armies paid regularly in India as in Europe at this time. Certain classes of Kshatriyas and chiefly Bhaibands (kulaputras) and others were bound in their enjoyment of land by the obligation of military service and they provided the necessary volunteers whenever required. They were not paid by the state but they maintained themselves out of their own income and probably by plunder also. Such armies having interest in the land and not paid by the state in cash must have had a great power in times of change of dynasties and could withhold their allegiance from new masters if they chose. And hence the statement of Sulaiman that the people always insisted on a scion of the old reigning family being allowed to rule.

We must note, however, a few exceptions to the rule that there were no standing regularly paid armies in India; and these are recorded by Arab writers themselves. The Balhara or the king of the Rāshtrakūṭas maintained a standing army and it was *regularly paid*. It is refreshing to note that the Marathas of the 9th century could pay their army regularly which fact was found impossible by their modern representatives the Marathas of the 18th century. But it seems that armies were kept in this way by the Pratihāras of Kanauj also and by the Pālas of Bengal. In fact, the example set by Harsha was followed in this respect by all the Hindu *empires*. Harsha, indeed, acquired and kept under subjection a vast empire by means of a well equipped regularly paid army and the same practice was followed by the successive imperial dynasties of Kanauj and also by the Rāshtrakūṭas and Pālas as they were also in a sense Imperial kings having kingdoms subordinate to them. In Kanauj it is recorded that four armies were regularly posted east, south, west and north, and chiefly in the west for the empire was confronted there by the rule of the Arabs in Multan and Sind who were ever ready to rush on Hind as they called it. The army in the south was posted against the Bal-

hara who was a friend of the Arabs. There was not much work for the army in the east and the north though danger was always apprehended in these directions also from Bengal and Kashmir and it is recorded by the Arabs that these two armies constantly moved from place to place. We further glean from Arab writers that the army of Kanauj consisted chiefly of cavalry while that of the Rāshtrakūṭas consisted of all the three arms, foot, horse and elephant. Bengal was strong in elephants which abounded in its jungles though the number of elephants has been exaggerated to 50,000 by these Arab writers.

It is natural that inscriptions do not assist us in this matter, these being generally recorded to commemorate gifts to Brahmins and temples and we are really indebted to Arab travellers for this valuable information. But from the Bhāgalpur inscription we come to know that the army in Bengal consisted of many foreigners such as Mālava, Khasa, Hūṇa, Karnāta and Lāta (Ind. Ant. XV. p. 305). It must be noted here that a standing army consisting of foreigners is always dangerous to the sovereignty of the state. Whenever a people resign to foreigners the task of protecting them or even of aggrandizement abroad they soon lose their martial nature and slide downwards on the path of enslavement. The kingly family, too, becomes an instrument of oppression and plunder in the hands of a foreign army. This was experienced even in the modern history of the Marathas at Poona and of the Moguls at Delhi or the Turks at Constantinople, as at Rome by Romans in ancient times and at Bagdad in the middle ages by the Arabs. It is, therefore, pertinent to enquire of what material the standing armies in India at this time were composed. The army of the Rāshtrakūṭas probably consisted of Marathas and that of Kanauj, Pratihāras or Rajputs of Marwar. The army of Bengal appears, however, to have consisted of foreign military castes such as Khasas etc., as the inscription records and this need not be wondered at as the kings were Buddhists and the people also generally Buddhists just converted to Hinduism. It seems that in Bengal the long prevalence of Buddhism and its still continuing influence made the people effete and unfit for military service. Yet Magadha in ancient Hindu times for nearly 800 years

from Chandragupta 300 B. C. to Budhagupta 500 A. D. had by its own armies held almost the whole of India under subjection

The despotic character of the rule in Indian kingdoms had, however, one relieving feature viz., that according to the Indian political view kings had no power to promulgate new laws. The sacred Smṛitis contained all the laws that were required for human guidance and no human institution had any authority to change the laws prescribed by Brahmā in the beginning of the world for the guidance of Manu, the first king. However absurd the story, the theory was correct that despotic government had no legislative powers. Despotic as the rulers were they were bound by the Smṛiti-made law and could not thus add to the evils of despotic administration the evils of despotic legislation. The Smṛiti law may be defective in many respects but was practically the law prescribed by good conscience and the experience of wise men and hence was always conducive to the happiness of society. The expenses of government were limited and no state or king ever thought of taxing the subjects more than the prescribed $\frac{1}{8}$ th of land produce and $\frac{1}{50}$ th of trade profits. And when the kings paid their greatest attention to the suppression of robbery, the chief duty of the state (as the Pratihāras did during the period), the Indian states with even autocratic kings were well governed and happy.

The several states of India were often at war with one another and did not form a league or confederacy. This was not an evil according to our view though it is sometimes thought that India fell before the Mahomedans because of the constant wars among the kings and because of their not forming a confederacy. We have already answered these arguments in our first volume and will here add some further observations on the subject. Constant wars may be an evil, but occasional wars are necessary for the progress of humanity. Such wars keep up the martial qualities of the people and lead them onward in intellectual progress. In fact, Europe progresses by its occasional wars and so did India in the Mediæval period. And even if the Rāshṭra-

kūṭas took the help of the Arabs in their wars against the Pratihāras of Kanauj, this did not interfere with the solidity of the latter kingdom or of the whole country. As pointed out in our first Volume, Chapter VII, France under Francis I took the help of the Mahomedan Turks in its wars against their own Christian brethren, the Germans. But neither the French, nor the Germans have fallen before the Turks. Why the states of Europe were able to stand against the Saracens or the Turks can be explained only on the ground of the intense feeling of nationality which animates the people of these states. In India during the Mediæval period although the different kingdoms fought among themselves, and some sometimes even sought the help of foreigners they were still strong states, for, the sentiment of nationality was alive, to some extent, as noted by the Arab writer Sulaiman in his pithy sentence " the people would not suffer it otherwise."

According to our view the normal political condition of India was and has been that there were different kingdoms in the country and their coming under one empire occasionally as under Aśoka or Harsha was its abnormal condition. Differences of languages, of nature, of climate, of tradition and provincial capacities must lead to the foundation of different kingdoms and nations in India. Although India as a whole has naturally marked boundaries, while the different kingdoms in it have not, strong natural boundaries are not a *sine qua non* of a state. The boundaries of Holland and Belgium are almost threads as against Germany and France and yet they have maintained their independence through a thousand years against repeated attacks by the latter. The boundaries of such kingdoms in India as Sind, Panjab, U. P. with Oudh, and Bengal are not very marked or strong and yet these kingdoms which flourished in the Mediæval period might have remained strong and invulnerable if but they could have produced and developed the sentiment of a strong nationality.

The sentiment of nationality is developing under the unification of the country under British rule which extends over the whole country and transgresses provincial boundaries. Under

the operation of this sentiment India as a whole can become one state or at least a confederacy of states like the United States of America. There are many factors which make for the whole country being one state. But India in the Mediæval age resembled Europe under the Holy Roman Empire in many essential points. The people of India were one by race like those of Europe viz., Aryans with, no doubt, an admixture of Dravidian blood. Though there was a diversity of languages as in Europe they professed one faith viz., Hinduism with its belief in the revelation of the Vedas and the worship of the Puranic gods chiefly Śiva and Viṣṇu, just as Europe under the Holy Roman Empire professed the Roman Catholic faith with the Bible as its revelation and the worship of many saints. The different kingdoms in India recognized the same laws viz., the Smṛiti prescribed laws just as Europe was governed by and recognized the same Roman law. The boundaries of the different states in India were again as fragile as the boundaries of European states and their number was as great as in Europe. And yet as Europe under the Holy Roman Empire could not be consolidated into one state, India in the 10th century could not, because the provincial sentiment of nationality was too strong to be overcome and the different kingdoms in India did not and could not merge into one state. But as we have said, this was not an evil either in India or in Europe, had the provincial sentiment of nationality been developed here as in Europe. Unfortunately it declined as we shall try to elucidate in our third volume and India finally fell before the Afghans and the Turks at the end of the twelfth century. Not that the Indian kingdoms did not attempt combination against foreign domination and foreign faith. Such attempt was twice made as Europe attempted to combine against the onslaught of the Mahomedan Arabs and Turks. The difference only is that while Europe has succeeded, India failed ignominiously.

Such combination was possible because in this period of Mediæval history the several kingdoms of India were all ruled by Rajput families who, indeed, formed one clan or separate caste as the Arab writers state. From Kabul to Kāmarūpā and from

Kashmir to Konkan all kingdoms were under Rajputs and these in a sense constituted a confederacy of 36 Royal families. This number seems to have become traditional long before Chand first mentioned it, for as stated before, we find it mentioned in the Rājataranginī of Kalhaṇa who wrote his work in 1148 A.D. This was also as in Europe where almost all royal families were connected with each other by marriage.

CHAPTER VII.

CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

(A) CIVIL.

In our first volume we have detailed at length the civil and military administration of the countries of India in the seventh century A.D. and it needs no stretch of the imagination to conceive that in the ninth and tenth centuries the form of the administration remained practically the same. We get glimpses of the system of administration in the inscriptions of the period which are usually grants to temples or Brahmin donees by kings. And we are assisted in this inquiry, as in the previous century by the writings of Hiouen-Tsang, so in these centuries by the writings of Arab travellers. We propose in this chapter to give a short description of the system of civil and military administration as disclosed in the writings of the period.

The whole country was parcelled into several tens of kingdoms which were called *Deśa* and which were ruled by despotic kings. Some of these kingdoms were empires, so to speak, but empires in the old sense, subordinate kingdoms being allowed to be ruled independently, rendering nominal allegiance to the emperor. Such empires were the three kingdoms of Kanauj in the north, Mahārāshtra or Malkhed in the south and Bengal or Monghyr in the east. These empires and these kingdoms were usually well governed, though ruled despotically. As stated in our first volume, (p. 128) according to the Hindu view of a state, the state or the king had no legislative power and hence the chief root-cause of mal-administration *viz.*, the promulgation of pernicious arbitrary laws was absent. The laws were already there, being divinely ordained and the kings had merely to execute them. Those kings who set at naught the divine made laws naturally incurred the dis-

approbation of the people and of the religious heads and hence could not long continue on their thrones. Examples of such kings are, indeed, not wanting, as for instance, Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir; but generally the kings from very religious fear observed the Smṛiti-made laws scrupulously and thus in spite of the despotic nature of the rule, the kingdoms of India were usually well-governed and happy.

The kings took $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the land produce and $\frac{1}{50}$ th of the profits of trade according to the Smṛiti laws from the people as taxes and in return protected them from the evils of foreign invasion and the oppression of internal marauders. How well this duty was performed by the Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj has already been noticed from the observations of an Arab traveller who states that the country of the Gurjaras was the most immune from robberies and dacoities. Other countries, too, must have been usually free from these evils.

For purposes of civil administration, the country was usually divided, as in previous centuries, into districts and Tahsils, that is, into Bhuktis and Vishayas as appears from the grants of the several kingdoms during this period. Thus, for instance, the Pratihāra empire grant of Dighwa Duboli by Mahendrapāla dated 951 V. E. describes the village granted as "the village Pāniyaka situated in the Vālayika Vishaya or Tahsil falling under the Śrāvasti maṇḍala in the Śrāvasti Bhukti or district" (I. A. XV. p. 113). There is a mention of maṇḍala in this between the Bhukti and the Vishaya and it means in modern language a sub-division. The word maṇḍala was already in use in the south concurrent with Bhukti but it appears that it began to be used in the north also about this period. The word Maṇḍalapati still survives as Maṇḍaloi in Malwa and other parts of the country.

Some variations may be noticed which appear in the grants of the different kingdoms. The Rāshtrakūṭas of Mahārāshtra mention often in their grants the Vishaya only e. g. the Alas plates of Govinda II of Śaka 692 or 770 A.D. mention only the Alaktaka Vishaya without mentioning the Bhukti. The particulars of the officers, too, and the dues to be derived from the village are also not detailed. In the grants relating to Kar

nātaka and Konkan, the word Vishaya is often substituted by the number of villages in it as also the Bhukti or Marḍa'a. Thus in the record of Dhruva at Naregal, Banavasi is described as Banavasi 12000 (E.I.VI.p.161) and in the plates of Dantivarman of Gujarat the village granted is described as situated in the 42 of Lāta country ; so in the Nilgund plates Belvola is described as Belvola 300 and a small portion of it as Mu'gunda 12 (E. I. VI pp. 287 and 107). These appear to be the special features of grants in Karnātaka, Lāta, Konkan and countries further south and these numbers still survive in such names as Sāshti (Thana) and others. In the Rādhanpur plates of Govinda III (E. I. VI. p. 245) only the Bhukti is mentioned (Rasiyāna Bhukti). This grant relates to a village in Gujarat. So also in the Paiṭhan grant of the early Rāshṭrakūṭas of 794 A. D. Pratishthāna Bhukti alone is mentioned (E. I. III. p. 108).

The nature of the administration and the names of the several officers appear from many grants in details which are very interesting. The Kanauj grants are, from the days of Harsha, as already noted, terse and concise and address themselves to the officers *concerned* (यथास्थाननियुक्तान्) but the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla exhibiting the usual propensity of the Bengalee to verbosity noticed by even Bāṇa (गौडेष्वाक्षरडम्बरः) fortunately gives us details which are very useful for the information they convey. The officers who are concerned with the grant of a village are enumerated therein as follows :—(the officers' designations are not translated by the writer in I. A XV, but we shall try to translate them though with diffidence) 1 Rājarājānaka (feudatory chiefs) 2 Rājputra (Kshatriya warriors related to the kings) 3 Rājāmātya (ministers of the king) 4 Mahāsandhivigrahika (the state officer for peace and war i.e. foreign minister) 5 Mahākshapatalika (chief revenue officer) 6 Mahāsāmanā (the chief officer over the Sardars) 7 Mahāsenādhipati (the Commander-in-chief) 8 Mahāpratihāra (the chief usher or Lord Chamberlain) 9 Mahākārtāntika (not recognisable) 10 Mahādausaḍhyasāchanika (the chief officer for military engines) 11 Mahādaḍanāyaka (The chief Justice). 12 Mahākumārāmātya (the chief officer over kings' sons)..

These are all chief officers of the state. Then come the representatives of the king in districts viz., 13 Rājasthānīyoparika (chief district officer) 14 Daśāparādhika (magistrate entrusted with the punishment of the ten offences), 15 Chauroddharanika (the officer entrusted with the pursuit of robbers), 16 Dāṇḍika (jailor), 17 Daṇḍapāshika (Executor of punishments), 18 Śaulkika (collector of customs), 19 Gaulmika (Heads of Police thanas), 20 Kshetrapa (protector of fields or agriculture), 21 Prāntapāla (protector of prānta i. e., boundaries of the state), 22 Koṭṭapāla (custodian of forts), 23 Khandarakshaka (not recognisable), 24 and their Āyuktaka and Niyuktaka (agents and clerks). Then follow details of military officers viz. 25 officers of the forces of elephants, horses, foot-soldiers and boats, 26 The superintendents of foals (horses), cows, bullocks and sheep. 27 Dūtapreshanika (spies), 28 Gamāgamika (not recognisable) 29 Abhitvaramāṇa (ditto), 30, The chief of the Tahsil, 31 The chief of the village and 32 policemen and soldiers (chātā bhata) belonging to Lāta, Karnāta Kulika, Hūṇa, Khaśa, Mālava and Gauda countries. These details are numerous enough and yet the verbose writer of the inscription adds "And other officers not mentioned." It is conceivable how all these officers are concerned with the grant of a village and we may liken the list to the list of officers to whom under the British Government gazetted orders are addressed. Thus the usual condition attached to such grants viz., that the village is not to be entered by policemen or soldiers requires that the order should be communicated to all military officers as well as to the Police and to judicial officers also. These details show that the civil and military administration of the countries of India at that time was well advanced and included almost all the departments of a civilised government. Though these officers' names are recited with respect to the kingdom of Bengal, such officers must have existed in all other states with insignificant variations. We have already in our first volume enumerated the officers existing under the Valabhī administration and the details now presented are not very different.

Though the forms of grants in different kingdoms are different there is no reason to suppose that the form of administration

was also different. A few differences may, however, be noticed. The Rāshtrakūṭa grants are addressed to all officers concerned such as Rāshtrapati, Vishayapati, Grāmakūṭa, and Āyuktaka Niyuktaka officers with Mahattaras. Now Rāshtrapati was a peculiar officer in the Deccan. We have often said that the word Rāshtra for a division was peculiar to Mahārāshtra and each division had a chief officer or Rāshtrapati (named Subadar in Mahomedan times) and Vishayapati was the Tahsil or Taluka officer under him (E. I. VI. p. 245). The Mahattara is the headman of the village, a word still surviving as Mhātre in the Konkan. The plates of Dantivarman of Gujarat add the word Vāsāpaka to those already mentioned which has not been translated by any one and which it is difficult to understand. The Sangli grant of 933 A.D. (I. A. XII) repeats the usual formula राष्ट्रपति विषयपति ग्रामकूट महत्तर आयुक्तक नियुक्तकाधिकारान् and describes the village as situate in Rāmpuri 700 as this village belongs to Karnātaka. So also the Kardā grant of 972 A.D. mentions the same officers and describes the village as situate in Uppalika 300, Vavvutalla 12 (I. A. XII. p. 263).

It is interesting to note the different ways in which the villagers are described in these grants. The Bengal grants, of course, give the most detailed description. The inhabitants are led by Brahmins the Mahattama, Uttama (leading merchants) and come down to Medas and Chāndālas who are probably scavengers and hangmen (I. A. XV; p. 385). The Rāshtrakūṭa grants mention only Mahattara and others. The word Mahattara has survived in the Konkan but strangely enough not above the Ghats in the Deccan. The Mālwa grants under the Paramāra Vākpati and Bhoja contain the expression प्रतिवासिनः पट्टकिल जनपदादींश्च बोधयति "The king informs the inhabitants, Pattakila (Patel), Janapada (Villagers) and others." The word Pattakila which occurs here for the first time in Malwa grants of about 1000 A.D. has spread all over India and is now the designation of the headman of a village from the Panjab down to Mahārāshtra in the modern form Patel which is plainly derived from it. But whence comes Pattakila and what is its meaning? It seems to us that it is a contracted form of Akshapatalika

which we saw was in use in Harsha's time (see Vol. I p. 131) and Patalika was changed into Pattakila by transposition of letters and this again into Patel.

The items of revenue, land tax and other dues, paid by the villagers are described in almost the same words as in previous centuries, the Inām villages being usually described as granted सोदंग, सोपरिकर, सदशापराध, समूतवाटप्रत्याय, सोपद्यमानविष्टिक, सधान्य हिरण्योदय (see Paithan plates of Govinda III dated 794 A.D.). The Bhagalpur grant of Bengal describes the gift as 'स्वसीमातृण-यूति गोचरपर्यन्तः सतलः सोद्देशः साभ्रमधूकः सगर्ताधरः सोपरिकरः सदशापचारः सचौरोद्धरणः अचाटभट प्रवेशः समस्तभाग भोग कर हिरण्य विप्रत्यायय समेतः'. These two descriptions come to nearly the same thing. The Udranga was the chief tax on land viz. $\frac{1}{4}$ th of its produce, and Uparikara was a minor tax. Bhoga is often substituted for Udranga and Hiranya means probably taxes paid in cash and levied on profits of trade etc. at $\frac{1}{50}$ th. The other epithets describe the privileges of owners of Inām villages viz., that the village was not to be entered by policemen or soldiers, it had the right to try its own cases of ten offences, it had the privilege of grazing its cattle up to its limits, it had a right to its mango trees (साभ्र should be read as साम्र) and Madhūka or Mahua trees (which were probably very valuable in Bengal). This means that the state forest department could not enter such villages by reserving valuable trees or grazing lands. The village was granted together with the low lands also (Tala and Gartādhara) which in Bengal would be numerous and valuable and which in ordinary villages would be government property. So also mango and Mahua trees when not specially planted and owned by individuals would belong in ordinary villages in Bengal to the state and not the villagers. It must further be mentioned that the state had a right to Vishti or forced labour up to a certain limit in every village and each labourer was obliged to work for the state a certain number of days in the year and this right to Vishti in Inām villages was transferred by the state to the Ināmdār by the expression Sotpadyamānavishtika in almost all grants. The description in Mālwa grants is similar viz. स्वसीमातृण

काष्ठ गोचरपर्यन्तः सवृक्षमालाकुलः सहिरण्य भागभोगः सोपरिकरः
सर्वादायसमेतः. We find Kāshtha added here to the Gochara or
gurcharan of modern days and all trees whether valuable or
not in the precincts of the village were granted to the Inam-
dar. All grants are careful to add "with the exception of what
has already been granted to gods and Brahmins" an exception
usually made in modern sanads also. It is lastly difficult to find
out what Bhutavāṭapratyādeya meant which is often mentioned
as granted in these sanads of this period as also of the past.

The revenue officers in the villages were hereditary but the
heads of Tahsils and of the Bhuktis or districts (the Mālwa
grants under the Paramāras introduce a new name for Bhukti
viz. Pathaka which is further sub-divided into southern, eastern
etc.) were certainly appointed by the king and removable at
pleasure. We find mention of such appointments in the inscrip-
tions of the period. Thus from the Siyadoni inscription (E. I. I)
we get the information that that province was under Mahārāja
Durlabha in 912 A.D. and under Mahārāja Nishkalanka in 960
A.D. Nay, we find from the Gwalior Vallabha Swāmi inscrip-
tion (ditto p. 157) that a Nagar* Brahmin from Ānandapura in
Gujarat (called Latamandala in this inscription) named Alla
was appointed keeper of the Gwalior fort by Ādivarāha i. e.,
emperor Bhoja of Kanauj in recognition of his merits श्रीमदादि
वराहेण त्रैलोक्य-विजिगीषुणा । तद्गुणान्यः परिज्ञाय कृतो गोपाद्रिपालने ॥०
His father was also an officer under Rāmabhadra, Bhoja's
father. We find thus that Gujarat and Gwalior were both
under Kanauj and that an inhabitant of the former could be a
great officer in the latter. There is a mention in inscriptions of
officers appointed in Gujarat from Kanauj. Similarly, under the
Rāshtrakūṭas there were officers appointed in Karnāṭaka from
Mahārāshṭra as at Belvoli. The district officers were generally
invested with full powers and were in fact miniature kings in

* The word Nāgara may be treated here as indicative of caste though
such sub-caste names had not yet arisen. We find, however, the word
Nāgarabhatt-kumāra treated as one name here and not divided into two
parts Nāgara and Bhattakumāra. In the 13th century A.D., the word
Nāgara had become the name of a subcaste as we find the word Nāgara-
Jnātibhājā in the Chitorgadh inscription

their districts. They were invested with the five royal sounding instruments (Samadhigata-panchamahāśabda) such as the conch, the drum and so on. They could even make valid religious gifts like the Subadars in Mogul and Maratha times. These officers though not hereditary often times became so and eventually became Sāmantas or Sardārs. How they were paid does not appear from the inscriptions. Perhaps the Manusmṛiti law of paying them by the assignment of the revenue of one whole town or even a Tahsil may have still obtained. That they were very rich may be conceived as Alla could build a temple in the name of his wife at Gwalior and have certain endowments made to it. Lastly, it seems that while the chief officer of the district had great powers, the military was not under him but under a separate officer as we find in the Gwalior second inscription (E. I. I. p. 159) the same Alla keeper of the fortress mentioned but the name of the military officer is given separately. The whole line in this connection is worth quoting here from this private inscription ; परमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवे तदधिकृत कोटपालअल्ले बलाधिकृत तत्तके स्थानाधिकृत श्रेष्ठी वव्वीयाके ; “ when the emperor was Śribhojadeva and the fortress-keeper appointed by him was Alla, the officer of the army being Tattaka and the local (municipal) officer being merchant Vavviyāka. ”

The last statement furnishes us with the information that towns were under municipal officers who were local influential men. Probably there were municipal bodies also which controlled the affairs of the towns and these were called Mahājans or boards of great men of the place and they appointed their head such as the above named merchant Vavviyāka at Gwalior. The important markets of the towns were under the control of these Mahājans, as inscriptions actually make mention of new markets or Hattas (modern Hāts) and the formation of new Mahājans. These town municipalities and these markets often times imposed taxes for religious gifts to temples and inscriptions recording such voluntary taxation are very numerous in this period. The most important of such records is the Siyādoni inscription found near Lalitpur in Gwalior territory. This inscription forms a study by itself (E. I. I. p. 174). It records various gifts made in several years, in favour of a Vishṇu temple built by a

merchant, both by himself and others. The object is to create what is usually called an Akshayanīmika or a perpetual purse for the use of the temple. Several vīthikās are dedicated to the temple in this way. What vīthikā means is not quite clear, but it seems that it means a seat or a stall in the market which a man owns or has purchased and the rent of such stall is assigned to the temple. Houses are also assigned but that is not strange, But what is strange is that in two places the Kalals or manufacturers of liquor have imposed upon themselves a tax or a Tali of $\frac{1}{2}$ dramma or rupee on each pot of liquor that may be ready and go out of the shop. The words here are समस्त कल्लपालानां मध्ये यस्य यस्य सत्कमद्यभाण्डं निष्पद्यते विक्रयं याति स चाचंद्रार्कं यावद् विग्रहपाल सत्क द्रम्मार्धिका ताली दातव्या . What an irony on the futility of human wishes and arrangements! Here is an arrangement made designed to last as long as the sun and the moon last, for the payment of $\frac{1}{2}$ dramma on each pot of liquor as it goes out for sale from the Kalal's shop—an arrangement which perhaps lasted for some years only after it was recorded on stone and then fell into disuse, the stone lying unknown for centuries till discovered by some curious European researcher. The temple is no more nor the tax! What is strange, however, to discover is that Kalals (a word which is derived from the Sanskrit word Kallapāla used here) manufactured liquor in the tenth century A.D. in India as they did till recently and a tax was imposed on the manufacture voluntarily for the benefit of a Vishṇu temple. A second mention of a similar tax has been misinterpreted, we think, into a statement that a certain fixed quantity of liquor went into the Vishṇu temple as tax; but this seems absurd. Of course, money realised from tax on sale of liquor was not objectionable then as now. Even potters were to pay some taxes. The Pehewa inscription again mentions a tax imposed by horse-dealers on the sale of horses for the benefit of three temples built in Kanauj and a fourth built at Pehewa or Prithūdaka on the river Sarasvatī in the Panjab to be divided in certain fixed proportions among them.

The chief need of temples was oil and flowers. When kerosine was not known nor electricity either, the importance of the

oil-extractor was supreme. In India in every village and town there were Telis or oil-men who were leading personages in the place and they often accepted investments and promised, out of the interest, to give every day a certain number of palikās (measures) of oil to temples per ghāṇaka or oil press. The inscriptions frequently speak of such daily supplies of oil. Besides the above named Siyadoni inscription, we may refer to the Bilhauri Chedi inscription (E.I. 1 p. 263) in this connection. The line herein on the subject cannot be well understood ; पत्तन-मण्डपिकायां लवणस्य खाण्डिकायां शोडशिका धाणके च शोडशिका तैलस्य मासि मासि दिनमनु च युगायुगे च पौरस्तु. The Mandapikā mentioned here is mentioned in other inscriptions also and means the government toll-office of the town. There and on the bazar of salt a Shodaśikā tax was imposed as also on each oil press. The oilmen paid the tax willingly, of course, but there was apparently an organisation which bound the whole community of oilmen. In fact, every trade appears to have had its guild and no man could offend the guild with impunity.

The Māli or flowerman was also an important personage in villages and towns and gave flowers daily to the temples. The temples were also provided with Inām plots of land as flower gardens by pious donors (See Siyadoni and Gwalior inscriptions above noted).

It seems that the Dharmādāyas to temples and Brahmins were assessed on other portions of the community also such as tradesmen and merchants and even extended to the most important portion viz., the agriculturist. There is no reference to this in the inscriptions as yet found but the following śloka in the Parāśara Smṛiti which appertains to the present Kali age mentions it ;

राज्ञे दत्त्वा तु षड्भागं देवानां चैव विंशकं ।

विप्राणां त्रिंशकं चैव सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥

“ Having given to the king $\frac{1}{6}$ th and to temples $\frac{1}{20}$ th and to Brahmins $\frac{1}{30}$ th, the agriculturist is freed from all sins (of agriculture).” The mention of this $\frac{1}{30}$ th part of produce given to Brahmins in this Smṛiti is corroborated by what we saw was prevalent in Sind. Three parts out of every hundred were there

paid to Brahmins in Dahar's days and the practice was continued even during Mahomedan times by Mahomed Kasim. No corroboration of this voluntary payment was found until we came across the above text in the Parāśara Smṛiti and the attention of the reader is specially drawn to it in this place showing that it was a general well-recognised practice in India.

The minute and circumspect nature of the revenue administration is evidenced by the Daulatpura grant of Bhoja, Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj (E. I. V.). The grant recites that the grand-father of Bhoja, Vatsarāja, had given an Agrahāra (Inām to Brahmins) to the grand-father of the donee named Vāsudevabhāta who had enjoyment of the same, that 1/6th part of it was given by Vasudevabhāta by a deed of gift to Bhattavishṇu and the same was sanctioned by Mahārāja Nāgabhatta; and that the deed of gift and the letter of sanction by government being lost, this new order had been issued after ascertainment of the deed and the sanction and also of subsequent enjoyment. This recital shows that deeds of gifts were passed among the people and that sanctions were obtained from government which could be subsequently ascertained from government records and finally that documents together with actual enjoyment as necessities in every legal transaction were carefully looked into. It would thus appear that revenue records were regularly kept and the ordinary principles of law and revenue administration were minutely observed in the Imperial government of Kanauj.

It is interesting to know whether these records were on paper or on any other material. As the word patra is usually used in connection with documents some paper must probably have been used; but this is not necessary as in the north patra might have been an actual leaf viz., of a Bhūrja tree and in the south it must have been a palm leaf and sanads were issued first on such papers or leaves and copies on copper plates were then made for securing permanence. The circumspect nature of revenue administration is further apparent from the following verse in a Śilāhāra grant dated Śaka 930 (1008 A.D.)

मुद्राशुद्धं क्रियाशुद्धं भुक्तिशुद्धं सचिन्हकम् ।

राज्ञः स्वहस्तशुद्धं च शुद्धिमायाति शासनम् ॥

“ A document embodying an order of Government is correct if it bears the Government seal, is properly drawn up, is followed by possession, bears the proper mark and has the signature of the king.” The last condition makes it necessary that such documents should be originally drawn up on paper or leaf. We find copper plates in this period (though not in the Gupta period) conforming to this rule and bearing always the signature of the king who made the grant and also his seal affixed on the ring and the village or land granted is always put into the possession of the donee on the spot by some royal officer mentioned in the grant. What *chinha* or sign means is not, however, clear.

Land was always measured as shown in our first volume (p. 133) and there was a land measure of government. The ancient measure was *Nivartana* (*bigha* being Mahomedan and acre English) but sometimes small plots were measured by cubits. We have the mention of such measurement in the Gwalior second inscription (E. I. I, p. 159) where the Imperial cubit (*Pārameśvarīya Hasta*) is mentioned as 217 long by 187 broad. Two pieces of land are further on mentioned where no measurements are given but where the seed required for the fields is mentioned as 11 *Dronas*. This way of describing the extent of the field was in vogue in some parts of the Konkan down to the beginning of the British rule. Again fields have names and are always mentioned in grants with their boundaries the word for which is *Āghāta*. Villages also are described by their boundaries. We see from the *Smṛitis* that the boundaries of villages were always defined and fixed and boundary disputes were of special importance.

The chief revenue was collected in kind and the grain so collected was stored in every town and city under Government control. The pay of civil servants was in chief part always paid in kind and only partially in money. The taxes on trade brought in money but we may at once see that under such arrangements money circulation in every state must have been very limited. Even trade transactions were chiefly carried on by barter, grain

being the ordinary medium. We have already seen this in Kashmir (Vol. I. p. 238) and practically the same was the condition prevalent throughout Indian history even up to British times in every part of India.

Much coin not being needed we may take it that there were very few mints in India and coin was struck not very often. We do not know any particulars on this subject from inscriptions of the period but we may mention here such scraps of information as can be gathered from them. The Siyadoni inscription (E. I. I) speaks of many coins which are worth noticing here. The chief coin which it mentions is the *dramma* evidently a foreign word and two kinds of *drammas* are mentioned ; the *Śrimadādivarāha* *dramma* and the *Vigrahapālīya* *dramma*. *Adivarāha* is, of course, the great *Pratihāra* emperor *Bhoja* of *Kanauj*. He must have struck coin which was in use in the days of his son and grand-son. It does not appear that coin was struck in the time of every king though we have seen it was so in Kashmir and for formality a few coins must have been struck on the accession of each king in every state, but not sufficient for circulation. The *Ādivarāha* *dramma* appears to have been in circulation nearly a hundred years after it was struck. It is difficult to determine who *Vigrahapāla* was whose *dramma* is constantly mentioned. It seems that foreign coin was no-where banned. Coins struck in foreign countries whether in India or outside appear to have been current everywhere. The *Vigrahapālīya* *dramma* was plentiful in the neighbourhood of *Siyādoni*. Even in the times of the *Peshwas* different *rupees* were in circulation ; while the *Marathas* or the *Peshwas* had no coin specially their own. The *Chandodi* and the *Haliśikka* were, indeed, numerous but there were other *śikkas* also current at the same time.

And here we may go into a little digression. The art of coining money appears to have been a foreign art in India. It was, of course, introduced in very ancient times and probably from the Greeks whether of the days of *Alexander* or before him. The *Arthaśāstra* of the time of *Chandragupta* by *Kauṭilya* gives special detailed rules about the mint. The old Sanskrit name for the chief coin was the *Niskha* which was neglected in the days

of the Greek and Śaka dominions and the word and coin *dīnāra* came into use. This word is certainly of foreign origin. Later on during the Hindu period we have the word *dramma* in use which is also foreign. We find in one place the use of the word *rūpaka* in this period द्रम्ममेकं करी दद्यात् तुरगो रूपकद्वयम् (Bhav. In. p. 68. V. E. 1010). This indicates that *Rūpaka* was almost one-fourth of a *dramma*. The word *rupee* came into general use in Mahomedan times. We may infer that the art of coining was a foreign importation. It is, in fact, allied to chemistry and Natural Sciences were not much studied in India. Moreover, the legend on the coin and the face of the reigning monarch are difficult to impress and the *Haliśikka* of the Peshwas contented itself with copying Mahomedan legends and the clumsy addition of a distinguishing letter betokening the state where the coin was struck.

The minor coins that are mentioned are the half *dramma* and the *Vimśopaka*, presumably the 20th part of a *dramma* and the *Kapardika*, *Kākinī* and *Varātaka*. What relation the last three bore to the *dramma* cannot be found. The present arrangement by which a *rupee* is divided into sixteen *annas* was probably not then in existence* and the *dramma* appears to have been divided into 20 parts, unless we interpret *shodaśikā* above mentioned as 1/16th part or *anna*. The *Viśvaśā* was in vogue in Mahomedan times also. *Kapardika* seems to have been the lowest coin.

(B) MILITARY.

We will now go on to describe the military administration of the countries of India during this period. In the first place, the forces in each country were generally levies supplied by the nobility and the gentry. It does not appear that there were standing armies in most countries; for, the Arab writers mention the *Balhara* alone as entertaining a standing army and what is more creditable as paying it regularly, an achievement which his latest representatives the *Marathas* except in *Śivaji's* times could not accomplish. But it seems to us that the two other

* Perhaps *Shodaśikā* mentioned before may be 1/16th of a *dramma* like the modern *anna*.

empires of the period also kept standing armies viz., the Pratihāras of Kanauj and the Pālas of Bengal and these too must have regularly paid their forces.

These forces consisted now of the three arms foot, horse and elephant. The fourth arm the Ratha or car had fallen into disuse. The Pālas of Bengal, however, from the Bhāgalpur inscription (I. A. XV p. 305) had a fourth arm, so to speak, viz. the navy. The country was full of big rivers and distances could easily be traversed by boats. Moreover, fighting on the rivers was often necessary as much commerce was carried on by water and brigandage on rivers was frequent.

But each of these three empires was specially strong in one arm. The Kanauj forces were known for their excellent cavalry, the Bengal forces for their elephants and the Deccan forces for their infantry. It is strange that an Arab writer says that the Balhara has to keep much infantry because his capital lies among mountains. We think, however, that the Rāshtrakūṭas had not only many elephants but had much and excellent cavalry also. In fact, infantry did not then possess that importance which it possesses now. And elephants could be had in plenty in the jungles of Malabar and Karwar and even of Aparāntā or the Thana district. For, the Mahābhārata even, in one place, praises an elephant as born in Aparānta. Bengal, of course, had plenty of elephants from the jungles of the Eastern Vin-dhyas and of the Mahendra mountains. But it had no horses and it is curious to note that the Bhāgalpur inscription states that the cavalry consisted of horses presented by northern kings. Both the Deccan and Marwad produced excellent horses fit for cavalry and the Panjab and Afghanistan also supplied horses. Hence could large cavalries be maintained by the Pratihāras and the Rāshtrakūṭas. Yet foreign horses were, no doubt, superior in popular estimation as well as in fact and there was a very large trade in the import of Persian and Arabian horses carried on by Arabs who for this reason had always easy access to the courts of the several kingdoms in India.

Where the army consisted of local levies there was no danger of disloyalty affecting it ; for such forces fight for their own country. But standing armies are prone to enlist foreign mercenaries and these often prove most dangerous as has already been stated. It seems that the armies of the Pratihāra and the Rāshtrakūṭa kings consisted mainly of men from their own countries. In fact, the Rajputs and the Marāthas have always been martial peoples and therefore there was plenty of material at home for enlistment in their armies. In Bengal the case seems to have been different. The detailed Bhāgalpur grant shows that in the army of Bengal there were soldiers from foreign countries such as Khaśa, Mālava, Hūna, Kulika, Karnāta and Lāta besides Gauda itself. There is no mention here of Rajputs and Marāthas and these apparently had enough employment in their own countries. The other people mentioned here seem to be martial people who sought employment abroad though one is surprised to find the names of Lāta and Mālava in the list. For the people of Mālava and Lāta or south Gujarat have never been known as martial people. Perhaps the inscription writer takes delight in lengthening details and mentions names without reference to reality. Or it may be that the nature of peoples changes even in historic times. The people of Mālwa and of south Gujarat may have lost their martial character for various reasons by Mahomedan times. Nay, it is pertinent to point out that even though this inscription itself shows that the people of Bengal are generally not martial from ancient times, yet recent events show that the Bengalees too will one day establish a reputation for valour and will be counted as a martial people.

There were the usual officers in each arm and a commander-in-chief. The Bhāgalpur grant calls him the great commander-in-chief (Mahāsenāpati) and mentions him separately. He was thus the chief military officer over all the arms and in immediate communication with the king, while there were Senāpatīs under him for each arm. What the Daunsādhyā-sāadhanika was it is difficult to imagine, but as we have translated the word he was probably an officer entrusted with the work of using cata-

pults and other military engines used in assaulting unassailable places. All the soldiers were paid out of the treasury monthly cash wages and from government graneries monthly allotments of grain. As to officers they must have also been paid similarly or like the chief civil officers given assignments of land. This is only a surmise as there is no contemporary record to determine the nature of payment.

There were, of course, the necessary complementary departments such as transport, commissariat, espionage etc. We found an officer mentioned in Kāshmir history called Mahā-sāadhanika (see Vol. I p. 209) though we do not find him mentioned in the Bhāgalpur inscription. We have the mention therein of an officer entrusted with the breeding of horses and cattle and an officer of spies. What is Gamāgamika who is distinctly connected with the military administration we have not been able to discover; as also Abhipratāpa who is next mentioned in the Bhāgalpur grant.

The army on the field was almost always led by the reigning king in person. In fact, in ancient times that was considered the chief duty of a king and the tradition survived down to modern times when the Peshwas, almost all of them except the last, led armies in person on the battle-field. And the kings were usually in the van as they were expected to set an example to their soldiers. In modern warfare the value of a commander-in-chief has increased a hundred-fold and it is his duty to protect himself and to remain in the rear.

It is difficult to understand the manner of fighting in vogue in those days when the gun had no existence. The bowmen were the most important and usually began the fighting. The king usually rode an elephant and fought with his bow. The most terrible fighting was that with the elephant force and the inscriptions of the times almost always extol the kings' valour in attacking black masses of elephants and breaking open their temples with the blows of their swords "thus spilling on the ground pearls stored therein" a poetic 'fancy'!! The art of fight-

ing with elephants had, indeed, developed in India to a remarkable extent and the fight tested the valour and physical strength of the fighters. The elephant force was, in fact, the artillery of ancient times. But we wonder how the elephant arm could not have been nullified by the ancient Indians ere this, by the use of firework. Of this we shall have to speak later on in our third volume.

The death of the king or the commander on the battle-field almost always led to the defeat and the running away of his army. This would perhaps suggest that there was no regular military gradation of officers by which command would descend. But the true explanation of this strange demeanour of Indian armies lies, in our opinion, not in defect of administration but in the total lack of the feeling of self-interest in the soldiers in the success of the battle. We have already seen how patriotism or even the feeling of nationality had no existence in those days. The kingdom was the king's and since the king for whom they were fighting was dead, where was the use of continuing the struggle? Such thoughts must always have damped the ardour of the soldiers of a defeated or dead king and hence the peculiar phenomenon in Indian history of armies, often strong and unbeaten, not offering tough and dogged resistance till the end.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES, A.D.—THE HAPPIEST PERIOD IN INDIAN HISTORY.

In our Marathi edition of this history we have styled it the history of the rise, the *prosperity* and the fall of Hindu kingdoms. The second sub-period of our history is thus there considered the period of the prosperity of Hindu kingdoms. We are certainly of the opinion that during the 9th and the 10th centuries of the Christian Era, India undoubtedly enjoyed greater happiness than in any century of her known history whether previous or subsequent, of course, omitting out of consideration the hoary past. In this chapter we propose to describe the various aspects of the country's situation which contributed towards this its happiest condition.

The first and the foremost aspect is that India was during these centuries under one religion. The conflict of religions and the consequent animosities and estrangements leading sometimes to the dangerous desire in the followers of one religion to overthrow those of another, socially and even politically, was conspicuous by its absence. Mahomedanism had taken hold of Sind, no doubt, but in the rest of the country in stern opposition to it the people of India had in a way rallied and gathered strength in Hinduism or rather rejuvenated Aryanism. The deplorable condition of later and modern days in which in every town and even village there are Mahomedans and Hindus ready to quarrel with one another on the slightest religious occasion and even to fly at one another's throat had not come into existence. There were no mosques in India then raising high their minarets along side with temples and proclaiming from high the everlasting disunion of the people into which dread destiny has for ever thrown India. On the other hand Buddhism had been entirely supplanted. The great philosophers, Kumāṛila and Śaṅkara, had established the Vedic religion on a firm though new basis

both ritually and spiritually. And the wonder is that no Buddhistic temples remained in the land though there were thousands when Hiuen Tsang visited India, if we except the cave temples and the colossal images of Buddha hewn out of hill sides. How these Buddhistic temples disappeared is a mystery, for the Hindus have never been iconoclasts. The Mahomedans in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni and later destroyed temples by thousands, but they were apparently all Hindu temples. Although we have no record of the fact, it seems that Buddhist temples generally fell into ruins by sheer desertion being mostly built of wood. And perhaps stone temples were converted into Hindu temples by the substitution of Hindu idols. Jainism was, no doubt, yet alive but was confined only to detached places. It had not yet succeeded in capturing Gujarat and Southern Mahārāshtra nor the Panjab or Rājputana. Imagine, therefore, the whole country following one religion viz., the Hindu religion, worshipping in temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu, Bhagavatī and Āditya or Gaṇeśa without any bias or ill-feeling; for the philosophy of Śāṅkara which was preached in the beginning of this sub-period had taken away all animosity from the worship of these different deities, if such had existed at any time before.

And finally we must add that within that Hinduism itself the great gulf which now divides Śaivism from Vaishṇavism and Advaita from Dvaita had not yet come into existence. The great teachers of Vaishṇavism, Rāmānuja and Madhva, had yet to be born and the days when there were to be most pitiable wranglings between Śiva worshippers and Viṣṇu worshippers, between the preachers of monism and dualism and the most wretched bickerings between their followers had yet to come. The disunion caused by these differences of worship and philosophy is not less deep than that caused by the animosities between the followers of Hinduism and Mahomedanism. Fortunately both these disunions had yet to arise and the one cause of disunion which existed in previous times viz., the struggle between Hinduism and Buddhism had disappeared.

Perhaps it may be objected that Hinduism though then the sole religion of the people was not of such a high character as

to ensure complete happiness of the people. Hinduism of those days was, indeed, in many respects defective but what we chiefly lay stress on is the fact that there was unity of religious belief in the people, a great factor leading to their happiness. We are not going to enter into the merits of any religion here; for we believe that all religions are equally good and perhaps equally bad or absurd. It is the differences of religious beliefs causing deep-seated animosities that contribute more to the evil condition of a society than the tenets or the philosophy of any particular religion. It is for this reason we say that the condition of India during these two centuries was unique and as a matter of history we draw the curious reader's attention to this unique condition of the country during the ninth and the tenth centuries A.D.

And further, it must be remarked that some of the most objectionable features of modern Hinduism had no existence in those days. In particular, the evils which spring from the division of Indian society into numerous hard-bound castes did not then exist. In the first place there were no sub-castes then as now. Brahmins thus all over India were then one caste and the thousand and one sub-castes (speaking literally) which to-day go to form that caste had no existence. So were the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas all over India undivided into sub-castes. There was no interdiction on marriage or food between the Rajputs of Northern India and the Maratha Kshatriyas of the south as we have already shown. Even the 36 Kulis of Rajputs had not yet been enumerated. What a great source of strength and happiness to the people when there were no Kanojia Brahmins to hate the Srimāli Brahmins and both to hate the Deccanis or the Karnatics to hate the Deccanis and both to hate the Tamils! What a great source of strength and happiness to the country when the Rajputs did not look down upon the Khattris or the Marathas or both upon the Bengal and Madras Kshatriyas!!!

In the second place, there was no enmity or envy between the Brahmin and the Kshatriya or between the Kshatriya and the Vaiśya. For, Anuloma marriage among those three higher castes was still practised. They had, no doubt, ceased to take Śūdra wives as in past centuries. According to our view this

was beneficial and not harmful. For, the Śūdra represented the Dravidian race and the three higher castes represented the Aryan race. A mixture of races is always harmful and the ancient Rishis were right in declaiming against Varna-saṅkara. But there was no such harmful racial mixture in the Anuloma marriages among the three higher castes which were more classes than castes. A Brahmin could marry a Kshatriya wife and a Vaiśya wife, their progeny being treated as Kshatriya and Vaiśya (this was also a good feature as the assignment of the progeny to intermediate castes in previous centuries naturally created jealousies and tended to increase the number of sub-castes). Imagine then the condition of the higher Hindu society of that period when in the same family there were Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. All partook of the same food which did not put a ban on flesh (with the exception of certain kinds such as beef which were prohibited to all), drinking out of the same pot of water and freely touching each other without any idea of pollution, learning the same Vedas and performing the same Vedic rites!!! The Brahmin could not then have been hated inwardly and respected outwardly as he is to-day by Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. The Brahmin's untouchable lota could not have been an object of inward contempt, his untouchable sacred dhoti, an object of hatred, his learning the Vedas to the exclusion of others as at present, a matter for both envy and hatred. Thus members of the Aryan society were more firmly bound one to another by sentiments of affection and unity than it is now. Even to the other half or non-Aryan part of the people viz., the Śūdras, the three higher castes were bound by greater ties of affection than at present. Though there was no inter-marriage, yet there was no ban still on inter-dining; omitting, of course, out of consideration the great class of out-castes or Panchamas. This statement might perhaps startle many a reader, but this is a fact which cannot be gainsaid. Although we have no reference to this in the inscriptions of the period, we have the Smṛitis themselves to rely upon on this subject. The later Smṛitis even, not to speak of the older, distinctly allow such inter-dining. Of course, interdining was freely allowed among the three higher castes and a Brahmin could

take food with Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas without any fear of losing caste ; but he could do so even with certain classes of the Śūdras as the provisions of the Smṛitis distinctly declare. We have studied the Smṛitis with this object carefully and we find many things allowed by the Smṛitis then which in these days are prohibited by caste rules and which if practised to-day would involve loss of caste. In the Appendix we have culled together all such provisions of the different Smṛitis and the reader will be interested therein to find many things which he could not have dreamt of. Here it will suffice to notice the Smṛiti provisions which allow interdining with Śūdras. The Vyāsa Smṛiti which seems to be the latest says that a Brahmin taking food with a barber, a friend of the family, a coparcener in cultivation, a servant, a cowherd, even though these be Śūdras, incurs no sin.* Now these Śūdras were considered fit to be dined with, because they were more cleanly and had more claims on the friendship of the Brahmins. Indeed, it may be added that the above really reflects the condition of society in the second sub-period of our history. For, the Parāśara Smṛiti which is specially intended for the Kali age declares that it is allowable for Brahmins and Kshatriyas to take to cultivation and still observe their own Vedic ritual. This shows how the present condition of society observable now in Northerr India has arisen, wherein among the agriculturists there is a large percentage of Brahmins and Kshatriyas and in the Deccan where Marātha Kshatriyas have mostly taken to agriculture. Now under such condition of society, the Brahmin and Kshatriya agriculturists would be thrown into contact with good Śūdras who may be either Ardha-sīris (parceners) or servants and these are declared to be fit to be taken food with ; thus binding even the Śūdras with bonds of sympathy with the Aryans. The Vaiśyas were already agriculturists but the agricultural Vaiśyas had, as stated before, lost social estimation and had begun to be classed with Śūdras. This was also another reason why Śūdras occupying a higher status were treated as fit for

* नापितान्वयमित्रार्द्धसीरिणो दासगोपकाः ।

शूद्राणामप्यभीषां तु भुक्त्वान्नं नैव दुष्यति ॥

inter-dining. In fact the Atri Smṛiti and others allow even Śrādhā and other rites to be performed by Śūdras and naturally on such occasions Brahmins were expected to dine with them. The Atri Smṛiti declares, "The Śūdra is of two classes, one who can perform Śrāddha and the other who can not. The first class of Śūdra viz. Śrāddhi is fit to be dined with, though the other is not."* Here is a condition of society portrayed entirely differing from that of the present day, wherein no Śūdra and even no Vaiśya and no Kshatriya is considered fit by the Brahmin even to take water from, not to speak of taking food with!!! Naturally disunion with consequent hatred and ill feeling is more rampant now than it could have been in the 9th and 10th centuries when interdining was freely allowed between all these classes.

How in later centuries interdining ceased, we will discuss in the third volume, but here we may remark that the result has been curious. Brahmins, instead of gaining anything, have rather sunk in position. Brahmins alone are now looked upon as fit for supplying water to Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas owing to their alleged greater purity and altogether the best for cooking. Naturally well-to-do Kshatriyas and rich Vaiśyas employ Brahmins as cooks and water bearers and it is thus the word Brahmin means now as stated before a priest, a cook, a water-man and a beggar. It is, indeed, a most ludicrous situation and sight...a Brahmin cook preparing food for his Vaiśya master and serving him too, yet keeping his higher caste purity unsullied by prohibiting any person even his master's family from entering the *chowka* or the sacred ring round the cooking hearth!!

We now go on to describe the third aspect of society which must have contributed to the happy condition of the country viz., the absence of begging bands. One of the great defects of Buddhism was unquestionably its sanction of begging, nay, in fact, its organising beggary. When it allowed anybody to become a Bhikshu i. e. a begging monk and

* शूद्रोऽपि द्विविधो ज्ञेयो श्राद्धी चैवेतरस्तथा ।

श्राद्धी भोज्यस्तयोरुक्तो अभोज्यास्त्वितरः स्मृतः ॥

provided sumptuous dwellings for the residence of Bhikshus, the number of Bhikshu beggars naturally increased and idleness flocked to the Buddhist monasteries. This eventually proved, no doubt, its own disease and death, much in the same way as with the Christian monasteries of the west. In Buddhistic times these Bhikshus numbering several hundreds in each band would issue from monasteries and beg in towns and villages. The people, indeed, gave alms to them willingly but beggary and especially organised beggary is a nuisance and a cause of demoralisation. The remnant of this Buddhist Sanyāsa is still to be seen in the Panjab and U.P. where Sādhus roam and beg and even exact. Moreover, all castes were allowed to join the ranks of these shaven-headed beggars and naturally Śūdras formed the majority ; the few Brahmins and Kshatriyas who joined the society did so from ambitious motives such as the desire to be the head of a monastery and so on. When Buddhism was supplanted entirely, these bands of beggars naturally disappeared owing to popular contempt. But the evil practice was too long in vogue to die finally. It revived again in the form of Śaiva and Vaishnava ascetics called Gosavis and Bairagis who apparently led an unmarried life and lived on begging. But for a time begging was banned and Sādhu beggars did not exist. It is the privilege of the Brahmin to beg or to accept alms, but this is in consideration of his devoting himself to the performance of his religious duties. Ignorant Brahmins have no right to beg, and during this sub-period such Brahmins were not allowed to beg. We find it laid down in a Śrīti that the king should punish *the village* which gives alms to Brahmins who are neither learned nor religiously engaged. The reason given is that such almsgiving is supporting thieves. Brahmins in those days, therefore, were almost compelled to follow primarily their own priestly profession and they might follow the profession of Kshatriyas viz., that of arms and lastly the profession of Vaiśyas viz., agriculture. It seems thus very probable that the social condition of Mediæval Hindu India discouraged beggary even by Brahmins and necessarily by other castes.

While this evil arising from Buddhism was absent, the two great good results which Buddhism had achieved remained

in their full force and added to the happiness of the people. In the first place, Buddhism laid the strongest emphasis on a moral life (so also did Jainism) and used the doctrine of metempsychosis with the allied doctrine of Karma for this purpose. No doubt, these two doctrines were taken from the ancient Aryan religion ; but there can be no question that Buddhism succeeded in making them strongly impressed on the minds of the mass of the people and made them morally strong as described in the chapter on Religious condition. The high truthfulness and honesty of the people of India have, as noted already, struck foreigners who visited India during these two centuries and even later . It requires no detailed argument to show that a high moral tone prevailing among the people is a great factor in contributing to the happy condition of the society. In the second place, Buddhism had expelled animal sacrifice from the land finally. As already stated, respect for the Vedas had been re-established by the Mimāṃsā philosophy ; but animal sacrifices were not revived. One can imagine how this factor also contributed to the happiness of the people. Ordinary Agni-hotra is not a matter involving much trouble. But animal sacrifices which usually are of a higher order require a deal of expenditure of physical and pecuniary energy, as we actually know from present day experiences of such sacrifices which, though very rarely indeed, are still sometimes performed. Such energy was naturally applied to other purposes and generally useful purposes. Moreover, the highest animal sacrifices could be performed by kings and rich merchants or grandees only and these spent lakh of rupees on those useless ceremonies. Lastly the Aśvamedha and the Rājsūya performed by kings of kings only always led to devastating wars and their stoppage was, indeed, a blessing and a source of happiness to the people.

Having heretofore explained how the religious condition of the country during the 9th and 10th centuries contributed to the happiness of the people, by the absence of all religious feuds, there being only one religion in the country, by the absence of caste jealousies, caste being still loose and interdining being still allowed between all the castes, by the absence of beggary, of moral depravity and of animal sacrifices, we will

turn next to the economical condition of the country. This could not but have been most prosperous, because there was no foreign domination in the country either external or internal. We will take it as an established fact of history that where there is foreign domination especially of an external alien race, there is a constant drain out of the country in the form of tribute and the emoluments of higher officials civil and military and the exploitation of the country by foreign traders and capitalists. Everything that is best, nay, even good, goes out of the country and benefits the dominant foreigner. Even internal foreign domination leads to similar though less spoilation. Mauryas ruling south from the north or Āndhrabhṛityas ruling north from south were an evil. The political condition of the country in the ninth and tenth centuries was ideally good. There was no foreign domination (except in Sindh) either external or internal. The three great empires of Kanauj, Malkhed and Monghyr were ruled by entirely local ruling dynasties. There was no domination of either the Marāṭha over the Bengali or of the Bengali over the Assamese. The Kanauj rule in Kathiawar and north Gujarat might have partaken of the evils of foreign domination and it actually led to the establishment of the local Chavda kingdom in Gujarat. But elsewhere the Kanauj empire must not have been felt as foreign. Similarly, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas properly ruled in the Deccan and S. M. country. They were over-lords, no doubt, of kingdoms further south; but as often stated before such over-lordship was never felt where local kings were allowed to rule almost independently in their own lands. In fact, an Arab traveller has in effect recorded that in India people were ruled every where by their own kings. Under such a political condition there could not have been the economic drain so well described by Dadabhai Nowroji and the condition of the country economically must have been every where prosperous. We get glimpses of this in the writings of Arab travellers though few and far between. One writer, for instance, has stated (as mentioned already) that the country from Kambāyā to Saimur was thickly populated and well cultivated.

The system of civil administration has a great influence on the happiness of the people and on this score too we hold that

there was very little to be desired. When revenue was paid in kind and at the rate of 6 the cultivator was saved almost all bother. The revenue automatically adjusted itself to the actual produce. When there was no produce owing to famine there was no revenue to be paid. Cash payment is convenient to the government; while payment in kind was convenient to the cultivators. Secondly, as already explained there were very few or no other taxes, the expenses of government being limited and Abkari and forest were practically unknown. There was vishti or forced labour, no doubt, but it fell very lightly especially on the cultivators. And lastly, internal foes viz., banditti and robbers were most rigorously dealt with and suppressed. As noted by an Arab traveller, the kingdom of Kanauj was particularly free from robbers and we think the other empires of the south and the east were also equally rigorous in the suppression of robbery and brigandage.

The sufferings which are inflicted by invasions of foreign foes on a nation are almost always the bitterest that it can undergo. Fortunately, destiny had so arranged events that India was absolutely free from foreign invasions during the centuries we are dealing with. The Arabs had been checked and they themselves had deteriorated. The Turks had yet to arise or rather to leave their Central Asian steppes to overrun and devastate the rest of Asia. The people of India had constantly suffered from such foreign inroads in her history. The Greeks, the Śakas, the Kushāns, the Mundas, the Tibetans, the Hūnas, the Arabs, had over-run India before. The Turks, the Moguls, the Persians and the Afghans had yet to come. This intervening period of the ninth and the tenth centuries was a breathing period and thus peculiarly happy. It may be objected that there was constant waging of war between the Juzr and the Balhāra, between the Deccani and the Bengali. These wars were not with foreigners, but between native kingdoms and were consequently not waged with that ferocity with which the foreigners fought with the Indians. There were many considerations which impelled civilized and humane treatment and as we actually see, the kingdoms were never sought to be subverted. Even if Kanauj was sometimes seized by Rattas or Malhed by Parmāras, the

seizure was only temporary, the kings were always restored and the kingdoms always remained intact. In fact, such wars might be compared with wars which were waged in the fifteenth century and later between England, France, Germany and Spain. They were wars waged between peoples of the same race, the same religion, and the same civilization and were never carried on with racial animosity or motives of seizure of territory. No doubt, the rules of warfare which were in vogue in India in the days of the Mahābhārata or even down to the coming of the Greeks were not now observed ; when cultivators securely sowed or reaped while hostile armies passed. And the Indians had learnt the method of devastating an enemy's country in order to weaken him ; for we find from an inscription that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda when he took Kanauj devastated it and made it not only in name but in reality Kuśasthālī or ground overgrown with Kuśa grass. The evil, however, was always restricted in time and not as extensively spread as in Mahomedan wars and we may take it that the wars between the several Hindu kingdoms did not much interfere with the general prosperity or happiness of the people.

On the contrary, in our view these wars contributed in their own way to increase the happiness of the people. Wars are a necessary evil and distinctly work towards the good of humanity, when not waged with ferocity, by keeping up the martial spirit of the people, by fostering martial virtues such as courage, valour and patriotism and by increasing the stock of human knowledge by means of inventions. They prevent the people from becoming effete and effeminate ; and they aid the progress of humanity on its onward march in civilization. We have already stated that India need not and could not be one state ; its division in consequence of physical peculiarities and the different development of the people in language and in customs into four or five large states was natural. Thus the ninth and

tenth centuries in many ways formed the happiest period for the people of India. How in the next century it fell a prey to the sword of Mahmud of Ghazni and how its strength was found unequal to cope with the evil of foreign invasion we shall have to elucidate in our next volume.

[THE END.]

APPENDIX

I.—THE SOLAR AND LUNAR KSHATRIYA RACES OF INDIA IN THE VEDAS.

[We have said at p. 12 Chap. 3 Book III that the idea of the Solar and Lunar races of Kshatriyas goes so far back as the Vedas themselves. It would not be out of place, therefore, to show in this appendix how the idea of the Solar and Lunar races can clearly be traced back to the Vedas and we make no apology for giving here in extenso a paper read by us on this subject before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1914 and published in its journal for that year. Indeed this subject is intimately connected with the question of the claim of the Rajputs to be treated as the descendants of Vedic Aryans and it would be interesting to the reader to know that the theory of Solar and Lunar descent of Kshatriyas is as old as the Vedas and that the genealogies of the two races given in the Purāṇas are not imaginary but have a historical background of unquestioned authenticity behind them. With these introductory remarks we give the aforesaid paper below without any change.]

It would be proper to state at the outset that I was led to study this subject in my own way on reading Mr. Pargiter's most valuable paper on the Earliest Traditional History of India published in this year's April number of the Journal of the R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. Pargiter has devoted himself so zealously to the otherwise uninteresting study of the Purāṇas that he has been able to extract from them interesting information regarding the ancient history of India. His contention that the Purāṇic genealogies can afford material for constructing that history nobody can now deny and he has shown how that material can be so utilised. A few of his conclusions, however, will not be acceptable to many, especially his idea that the Solar dynasty of Indian Kshatriyas was Dravidian or that the Lunar Kshatriyas had their original kingdom at Allahabad or Prayāga. Indeed, according to my view, Mr. Pargiter ha..

attached too much weight to the Purāṇas and has consequently arrived at conclusions which will not be readily acceptable to all. I set myself to study the materials, therefore, in my own way. Having already studied the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa I was able to do so very easily. I looked into the principal Purāṇas and co-ordinated the facts according to my own light. But I more particularly looked into the Vedic Literature for the study of which Macdonell's Vedic Index proved to be a most invaluable book. In fact, the historical material from the Vedas is already collected there and you have only to study it carefully. On this material I have come to certain conclusions of my own which I take the liberty of placing before this learned Society with the hope that they will be found interesting and will be carefully considered.

In two important matters my way of looking at things differs from that of Mr. Pargiter and it is necessary to describe this difference of standpoint in detail. In the first place, I make no difference between Brahmin tradition and Kshatriya tradition as Mr. Pargiter does. In fact, it is because Mr. Pargiter looks upon the Purāṇas as Kshatriya tradition and consequently as more reliable that he attaches so much more value to the Purāṇas than they deserve. Brahmin tradition is usually looked at askance by European scholars who have an inexplicable bias against the writings of the Brahmins. But I do not take my stand upon this aspect of the matter. What I urge here is that no difference need be made between Brahmin tradition and Kshatriya tradition in this study. The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas were, in ancient times, except on very rare occasions, friends and even accomplices of one another. They came from the same race and even family as appears clear from the genealogies themselves. They stood to each other in the same relation as the Teutonic noblemen in the middle ages, the elder of whom became the prince and the younger the prelate. They were equally interested in exaggerating the glories of one another and were thus not antagonistic. The Kshatriyas extolled the holiness of the Brahmins and the Brahmins extolled the prowess and liberality of the Kshatriyas. In short, there is very little

discrimination to be made in the reliability of Brahmin or Kshatriya traditions. And I would urge that both of them should be viewed with the same searching scrutiny, neither more nor less than any other human traditions. The Brahmins or the Kshatriyas were certainly not more culpable in exaggerating matters than other peoples of the ancient world. Nay, if anything, I would accord Brahmin tradition greater weight than any other tradition. It is a phenomenon nowhere to be met with in the world that the Brahmins have preserved to this date what their ancient Rishis composed in the shape of hymn or dissertation thousands of years ago, without the addition or alteration of a single word. The Vedic literature knows no different readings and no different recensions. It has come down to us without any tampering and hence whatever exaggeration or untruth may have been used in the original composition, we feel sure that no subsequent colouring or emendation or omission has taken place in the course of thousands of years (5,000 at least according to my view). The world must, therefore, be thankful to the Brahmins for preserving almost hermetically sealed what the Indo-Aryan Rishis said or thought. This difficult task they have accomplished by making it the chief duty of their caste. They have, by several rules, ensured the maintenance of those who make the reciting of the Vedas their sole occupation in life and thus secured the preservation untampered of the Vedic literature. It must be noted here that a similar provision was also made for preserving Kshatriya tradition. In my view if the Vedas recorded Brahmin tradition, the Itihāsa-Purāṇa recorded Kshatriya tradition. Itihāsa was the account of particular kings or events and Purāṇa was genealogies. Genealogies were preserved in India as scrupulously as they were in Egypt, Chaldæa, or Palestine. Their recitation was made the caste-duty of the Sūtas, or sons born of Brahmin women by Kshatriya fathers. Itihāsa-Purāṇa was a branch of study even for Brahmins themselves. Mr. Pargiter seems to be incorrect when he says in a foot-note that the Brahmins did not care to learn Kshatriya tradition. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad we have the Nārada-Sanatkumāra dialogue wherein Sanatkumāra asks Nārada "What have you studied?" "I have studied the

Rigveda" answered Nārada "the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharva, the Itihāsa-Purāṇa, grammar, arithmetic, astronomy, the science of war" and so on. This clearly shows that even Brahmins studied Itihāsa-Purāṇa. But it was the special duty of Sūtas and the reputed reciters of the Purāṇas, viz., Lomaharṣana and his son were Sūtas. Even now modern Kshatriya genealogies are preserved by Bhātas who enjoy equal respect with Brahmins in all Rajput States. The natural desire for preserving genealogies is so great in the Hindu community of the north that even Chamars have their Bhātas who preserve their genealogies and recite them at the time of marriage festivals. In short, the Indo-Aryans had made sufficient provision in their caste-system for the preservation of Kshatriya tradition; a provision which still subsists. My idea is that this system fell into abeyance for some centuries during the rise and progress of Buddhism when the caste-system was convulsed or when Non-Kshatriya kings during Buddhist or Greek or Śaka times had no interest in preserving Kshatriya genealogies. During several centuries, therefore, say from about 300 B. C. to 300 A. D. these genealogies became neglected and mutilated and when the Brahmins again asserted themselves under the Guptas and reconstructed the Purāṇas, the materials before them were meagre and incoherent. Hence while the Brahmins have preserved their Vedic traditions intact, the Kshatriya traditions presented in the Purāṇas are incomplete, conflicting and generally untrustworthy.

This brings me to the second point of difference in my standpoint of view. I look upon the Purāṇas as the last in the list of our authorities in this study. The information they give is, no doubt, very valuable; but that information is garbled, is unconnected and incomplete, and is distorted so as to suit new ideas. Hence it must be admitted very cautiously. In fact, I may arrange the authorities in this study in the following order, an order which is at once their proper order in point of priority of time as well as priority of value. For, it will be easily conceded that whatever is more ancient is also more reliable. To speak in Indian form पूर्व-पूर्व-प्रामाण्य should be the rule. The authori-

ties for the construction of ancient or pre-Buddhistic history may, therefore, be arranged as follows :—

(1) *The R̥igveda*.—It is almost contemporaneous evidence and as preserved untampered with, is very valuable and naturally stands first in this list.

(2) *Yajurveda and Sāmaveda*.—These are somewhat later in date. I do not bring in the Atharvaveda whose date is so very uncertain.

(3) *The Brāhmaṇas*.—As coming next after the Mantras, their evidence is of great value. They are the utterances of those who have some remembrance of the Vedic times and can speak with authority about them better than any later books.

(4) *The Vedāṅgas*.—By their time the Vedic traditions had become hoary and a matter of speculation as with us. For their own times, they are valuable. They are also valuable as coming in date after the Brāhmaṇas. Vedāṅgas include Yāska, Pāṇini, Lagadha and the Kalpa or Śrauta Sūtras.

(5) The later Sūtras, viz., Gṛihya and Dharma.

(6) Megasthenes, Arrian and other Greek writers about the time of Alexander or Seleucus come in here in point of time. The information which they have recorded from personal observation and hearsay is very valuable and must be co-ordinated.

(7) *The Mahābhārata*.—The date of the last or present edition of the Mahābhārata according to my view is about 250-200 B.C. and hence its evidence is of less value than that of the Greek writers.

(8) *The Harivaṃśha*.—Ditto.

(9) *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki*.—The date of the present form of the poem is about 100 B.C.

(10) *The Purāṇas*.—Their dates range from 300 to 900 A.C. and they naturally come last in the list of our authorities.

This is the order of our authorities and we must try to combine all the historical information they afford. Where statements are conflicting, greater weight must be attached to the older of the statements. That is the only way in which the

vagaries of the Purāṇas can be checked and one is thus alone able to find some rule for rejecting, as often we shall have to do, the exaggerated, mutilated or emended accounts of the Purāṇas.

But this does not exhaust the list of our authorities. There are two important new sciences the conclusions of which must be respected and co-ordinated in this study. They are ethnology and philology. The inferences derived from considerations of features and of language with regard to the history of races are very valuable and in recent times these sciences have much advanced. They have been applied to the people of this country by noted scientists of the west and I think the conclusions which they have arrived at are of great value to us in the inquiry into the racial problems of India. They are, therefore, fit to be included in the list of our authorities and the value to be attached to their conclusions transcends the value of all other evidence.

I must lastly notice another piece of evidence which will be found to be of great value to us in this inquiry by way of analogy if not directly. I think the ancient history of India resembles, to a very large extent, the modern history of the discovery and colonization of America. India was a vast unknown continent covered with forests and inhabited by people very much inferior in civilization, when the Indo-Aryans first discovered the land. The migration of Aryans from some unknown country in the north to several countries is spoken of in the Vendidad, I think, and it is stated therein that the Aryans came to Sapta-Sindhu but Aingra Mainyu visited that land with serpents and heat. In this we have sure evidence that one branch of the Aryans came to India and settled there. Their history must naturally very greatly resemble the history of the colonization of America with its oft-recurring struggles with the native races but sometimes with the co-operation and willing consent of the milder peoples thereof; and with its internecine strife between the different settlers themselves. The history of America during the first stages, therefore, in my view, has much importance by way of analogy and we may often consult it in our inquiry with advantage.

Having so far stated the materials on which I base my conclusions and the respective value to be attached to them I proceed to sketch some important points in the history of the Solar and Lunar races of Kshatriyas of India in the following pages.

The first fact of importance which we have to notice is that there were two invasions of India by the Aryans. To put it in a different way two hordes of Aryans came into India, of course, from the north-west, by different routes and at different times. This fact is disclosed both by ethnology and philology and is supported by tradition. It was perhaps Dr. Hoernle first to point this out and Dr. Grierson has accepted the theory from a consideration of the modern Sanskrit-born vernaculars of India (see *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, page 358). The following extract from the last Census Report of India is relevant in this connection.

“ These languages, according to Dr. Hoernle, were brought to India by two successive hordes of invaders. After the first horde had settled in the plains of northern India, a fresh horde came in and penetrated the original mass like a wedge, blotting out the language in the centre and extending from Ambala in the north to beyond Jubbulpore in the south and from Kathiawar in the south-west to Nepal in the north-east. Western Hindi is the modern representative of the languages of these peoples of the second invasion ; while that of the earlier invaders covers Rajastani, Punjabi, western and eastern Pahadi and eastern Hindi ” (page 325).

This conclusion suggested by a comparison of the several Sanskrit-born vernaculars of northern India is very strongly corroborated by the conclusions arrived at from ethnological considerations. Sir Henry Risley took ethnological measurements at the time of the Census of 1901 and found that the people of the Punjab and Rajastan were undoubted Aryans with long heads and prominent noses. In the United Provinces he found medium heads and tolerably prominent noses and he looked upon their people as a mixture of Aryans and Dravidians. Now the Aryans who mixed with the Dravidians of the United

Provinces must have been Aryans of a different type. They must have been broad-headed Aryans so that their mixture with the long-headed Dravidians has resulted in the medium heads of the present population of the United Provinces speaking generally. We thus find from ethnological considerations also that there were two hordes of Aryans who came into India, the first long-headed and the second broad-headed. The first occupied the Punjab and Rajastan and extended as far east as Mithila and the second came in subsequently like a wedge and mixed with the native Dravidians of the United Provinces now form the chief population of this vast tract. Now this conclusion deduced from both philology and ethnology is supposed by tradition. These two Aryan hordes in my view were the two races which are known as the Solar and Lunar races of Kshatriyas from Mahābhārata onwards. We have a distinct reference to them in the Mahābhārata in a speech of Śhrikṛiṣṇa. This is what he says to Yudhishṭhira in the Sabhāparva when the latter proposes the performance of Rājasūya sacrifice. "Of the two races of Kshatriyas born from the sun and the moon there are at present in India 101 families and of these families the Bhojas of the Lunar race are the most numerous and occupy the middle land." This shows that the Kshatriya families of India in Epic times ranged themselves under two chief races, the Solar and the Lunar, and that the Lunar race, occupying the middle land, had at that time thrown the Solar race into shade. Thus we are fortified in believing that the first race of Aryan invaders was what was subsequently called the Solar race, that it occupied the Punjab and extended onwards along the foot of the Himalayas as far east as Mithila and that the second race of Kshatriyas which came into India subsequently and which was later on called the Lunar race came through Kashmir and like a wedge shoved itself through the territory of the Sarasvati or Ambala downwards as far south as Kathiawar and Jubbulpore or even further south, covering many Bhoja kingdoms especially the Śauraseni, Chedi, Magadha and Vidarbha kingdoms and Yādava kingdom of Dwarka. We shall try to see how far this conclusion finds support in the R̥igveda about the time, of which, of course, these invasions must have taken place.

The chief people of whom the Rigveda frequently speaks are, as is perhaps well-known, the Bharatas. Now it is a misconception of many scholars, native as well as European, that these Bharatas were the descendants of Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, who is a well-known king of the Lunar race. According to my theory, the Lunar race which came later and mixed with the aboriginal population of the United Provinces forms the people who at present speak Western Hindi. The difficulty thus presented to me was, however, solved accidentally in my study and in a proper manner. I found that this Bharata was an entirely different king from the Daushyanti Bharata of later days. I accidentally came across the following ślokas in the Bhāgavata and was struck to see that the idea commonly entertained on the subject was erroneous. Bhāgavata, 11th Skandha, Chapter 2, says :—

प्रियव्रतो नाम सुतो मनोः स्वायंभुवस्य यः ।
 तस्याग्नीध्रस्ततो नाभिर्ऋषभस्य सुतः स्मृतः ॥ १५
 तमाहुर्वासुदेवांशं मोक्षधर्मविवक्षया ।
 अवतीर्णं सुतशतं तस्यासीद् ब्रह्मपारगम् ॥ १६ ॥
 तेषां वै भरतो ज्येष्ठो नारायणपरायणः ।
 विख्यातं वर्षमेतद्यन्नाम्ना भारतमुत्तमम् ॥ १७ ॥

Transl. “ Priyavrata was a son of the first Manu called Svāyam-bhuva. His son was Agnīdhra and his son was Nābhi and his son was Rishabha who is believed to have been born of the essence of Vāsudeva. He had a hundred sons all well-versed in the Vedas. The eldest of them was Bharata after whom this land is called Bhārata-varsha.” In Skandha 5, chapter 7, the same thing has already been stated ; अजनाभं नामैतद्वर्षं भारतमिति यत आरभ्य व्यपदिशन्ति. This clearly shows that India is called भारतवर्ष from Bharata who was a great-grandson of the first Manu. This tradition recorded in the Bhāgavata is also found in the Vāyu Purāṇa where the line of Svāyambhuva Manu is described in detail. Priyavrata divided the world of seven Dvīpas among his seven sons. Agnīdhra got Jambudvīpa and divided it among his sons. Nābhi got a portion

of it and his son, Rishabha gave Bharata, his son, land to the south of the Himalayas. Says Vāyu chap. 33.

हिमाद्रेर्दक्षिणं वर्षे भरताय न्ववेदयेत् ।

तस्मात्तं भारतं वर्षे तस्य नाम्ना विदुर्बुधाः ॥ ५२ ॥

Thus the tradition of this country being called Bhāratavarsha refers to Bharata, a descendant of the first Manu and not to Bharata, the son of Dushyanta.

Another derivation of this name भारतवर्ष is given in the same Vāyu Purāṇa wherein Bharata is identified with Manu himself.

वर्षे यद्भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारती प्रजा ।

भरणाच्च प्रजानां वै मनुर्भरत उच्यते ॥

निरुक्तवचनाच्चैवं वर्षे तद्भारतं स्मृतम् ॥ ७६ ॥

The Matsya Purāṇa gives the same story and repeats this very śloka. This shows that Bharata was also identified with Manu in later tradition. But he never is, we must remember, दौष्यन्ति भरत. The king whose name the land now bears is never thought to be Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā, but is always another king much earlier who was born of the first Manu or was Manu himself. In the Nirukta to which reference is given in the Purāṇa ślokas I found that Yāska interprets Bharata as Āditya or the Sun himself (अ० २ पा० १० भरत आदित्यस्तस्य भारती). This then is the tradition of the Nirukta and the Purāṇas. We shall find that the R̥gvedic tradition is also the same and that it frequently speaks of this Bharata and not the later Daushyanti Bharata as I will presently show.

The difficulty then which naturally presents itself is solved. India is called भारतवर्ष not from a king of the later Lunar Kshatriya race but from a king of the earliest Kshatriyas who entered India. Here we have an analogy from American history. America was discovered and colonized by two hordes of people and in different directions just as it happened in India. The Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Italians and the French were the pioneers of discoverers of America. They were all of the Latin race. The sub-

sequent discoverers were the Dutch and the English who naturally went northwards and came to Northern America. They were of the Teutonic race. The whole hemisphere is, however, called America from one Amerigo, an Italian discoverer, who first set his foot on the Southern Continent and the name has generally been adopted. He was almost a contemporary of Columbus who had only discovered some islands. The honour of discovering the main continent belongs to Amerigo and his name was properly given to the land and has cordially been accepted by all people. The case was exactly similar in India. Bharata was a famous king of the first Kshatriyas who came to India and his name has been given to the country. The descendants of this Bharata who were subsequently known in Epic times as the Solar race Kshatriyas gradually overspread the land from the Indus to the Gandakī or Sadānîrā, the boundary of the kingdom of Mithila. This is exactly what appears from the *Rigveda*, our eldest and best authority, as I now proceed to show.

The following information is given under the word Bharata in *Vedic Index* Vol. II page 95. "Bharata is the name of a people of great importance in the *Rigveda*, where they appear prominently in the third and seventh Mandalas in connection with Sudāsa and Tritsus, while in the sixth Mandala they are associated with Divodāsa." Now I looked into the *Rigveda* hymns mentioned here in the original and found that very interesting information could be gathered therefrom. The first thing apparent is that the Vasishṭhas were the Purohitas of the Bharatas. Now according to later tradition the Vasishṭhas were never the Purohitas of the Lunar race but served the Solar race throughout. Here is a confirmation of the view that these Bharatas were the people who subsequently were called the Solar Kshatriyas and the Vasishṭhas who appear also to be called Tritsus were their hereditary priests. The seventh Mandala of the *Rigveda* consists solely of hymns composed by the Vasishṭhas and it is but natural that the Bharatas should predominate therein. *Rigveda* vii, 33, is very interesting in this connection. It says that in the fight with the ten kings called दशराज्ञ, the Bharatas became

afraid and defenceless like sticks asunder but Vasishṭha by his strength and prayer became their leader and made them victorious. (दण्डा इवेद्गो अजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अभिकासः । अभवच्च पुर एता वसिष्ठ आदित्त्रित्सूनां विशो अप्रथन्त ॥ ६ ॥) In this hymn the birth of Vasishṭha from the dual god Maitrā-Varuṇa and the Apsaras Urvaśi is also mentioned. Vasishṭha is thus already a mythical person and born of gods. He saved the Bharatas in their difficulty. Secondly, Bharata's fire is frequently spoken of in different places in the R̥gveda. The Aryans were worshippers of fire in contrast with the Dāsas or aborigines and hence Bharata's fire must have become a favourite name as typifying the Aryan religion. In R̥gveda vii, 8 this Bharata's fire is mentioned as also the original king Bharata (प्र प्रायमग्निर्भरतस्य शृण्वे । अभि यः पूरुं पृतनासु तस्थौ ॥ ४ ॥). " This is Bharata's own fire, he who defeated Pūru in battle." In this sentence we have a distinct reference to king Bharata and his exploit is said to be that he defeated Pūru. Under the word Pūru Macdonnell refers to this hymn and seems to interpret Pūru as the well-known king of the Lunar race, an ancestor of Dushyanta, who is one of the five sons of Yayāti and whose descendants are also frequently mentioned in the R̥gveda as Pūrus. But the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa explains in one place that Pūru in this hymn is the name of an Asura. On this Macdonnell remarks that the Pūrus had been forgotten so far in the days of the Śatapatha that Pūru had become an Asura-Rākshasa. I have already said that the authority of the Brāhmaṇas as coming immediately after the Mantras and as the utterances of R̥shis who had some touch with the Vedic times ought to be given greater weight than all later authorities. In my opinion the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is here correct and this Pūru whom Bharata defeated must have been some aboriginal king. He cannot be the Pūru who was a son of Yayāti and an ancestor of Dushyanta. As shown above this Pūru could not have been a contemporary of Bharata who was a king of the earliest Kshatriyas who came to India. The Lunar Pūru came into India later and the Pūru in this hymn whom Bharata conquered cannot have been that Pūru but some Aśura or Rākshasa. One thing is at least apparent from this that if you take by Pūru the

Pūru of the Lunar race, this Bharata assuredly is not his descendant दौष्यान्ति भरत. Thus Bharata whose Agni is spoken of so frequently in the R̥igveda is entirely a different and a much earlier king of a different race who fought with Pūru.

This is a digression, but an important and necessary digression. To return to our subject, Vasishṭha's hymns (vii, 33 and 8) show that Bharata is the name of a king in the R̥igveda, that his Agni is often spoken of and that his descendants were Bharatas whose Purohita was Vasishṭha. The next most frequently mentioned subsequent king of the Bharatas is Sudāsa whose battle with the ten kings on the banks of the Parushnī is spoken of in detail in another hymn of Vasishṭha, viz., R̥igveda vii, 83 as also in vii, 18. I will speak of this battle further on. But Sudāsa in hymn vii, 83, is the same king who fought the battle with the ten kings or दशराज्ञ expressly mentioned therein and the Bharatas are also mentioned in vii, 83 as dejected in दशराज्ञ or the battle with the ten kings. Other important kings presumably Bharatas whom Vasishṭha speaks of (R̥igveda vii, 19), are Purukutsa and Trasadasyu as I shall show later on. I shall now proceed to a consideration of the hymns in Maṇḍala iii wherein also the Bharatas are mentioned expressly and by a R̥ishi whose name is very important.

This third Maṇḍala consists of hymns entirely composed by Viśvāmitra as Maṇḍala vii consists of hymns by Vasishṭha or his descendants. The first relevant hymn in the third Maṇḍala is 23. This hymn is, however, said to be composed by Devaśravas and Devavāta, two Bharata kings. "The Bharatas lighted or rubbed Agni, viz., Devaśravas and Devavāta on the banks of the Drishadvatī and Apayā and Sarasvatī." This clearly shows that the Bharatas extended their occupation of the land as far as the Sarasvatī in the time of these two kings. The next hymn is iii. 33. It is a very eloquent hymn addressed by Viśvāmitra to the two rivers Vipāśā and Śatadru (Bias and Sutlej) combined. Probably the Bharatas had arrived at the confluence of these two rivers in some expedition and finding the swift rivers unfordable

Viśvāmitra prayed to the rivers to become fordable and they became so and the Bharatas were allowed to cross over, the water not touching even the axles of their carts (अधो अक्षः सिन्धवः स्रोत्याभिः). “As soon as the Bharatas have passed over, let your streams flow on in rapid motion.” (यदङ्ग त्वा भरताः सन्तरेयुः गव्यन्ग्राम इषित इन्द्रजुतः ।). The third interesting hymn is iii. 53. In this hymn Viśvāmitra is represented to have assisted Sudāsa by his prayers to Indra, (विश्वामित्रो यदवहत्सुदासमप्रियायत कुशिकेभिरिन्द्र). He even says that his prayer it was which saved the Bharata people. (विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेदं भारतं जनम्). Three or four things, therefore, appear clear from this hymn. First, the Bharata people had already become very numerous, they being called भारत जन . (We have almost an echo here of the present भारतवर्ष). Secondly, their king was Sudāsa and that Viśvāmitra of the Kuśikas saved him and his people by his prayers to Indra. Here we have a confirmation of the chief points in the later Puranic tradition about Viśvāmitra. He was born of the Kuśikas (whether they were Kshatriyas is not here apparent). Viśvāmitra acted as priest to the same Sudāsa whose family priest has already been shown to be Vasishṭha. Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra must, therefore, have sometimes become enemies. Later tradition of Rāma brings in both Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra as his friends. Viśvāmitra always comes in in the stories of the Solar race kings such as Sudāsa and Rāma and Hariśchandra who, according to Vedic tradition, purchased Śunahśepa to redeem his son Rohita from a vow to Varuṇa. Viśvāmitra saved this Śunahśepa by praying to Varuṇa and adopted him as Devarata or given by the gods. Śunahśepa’s hymns are to be found in R̥gveda Maṇḍala I, and they plainly refer to this story of the Brāhmaṇas. Viśvāmitra is a person who figures in the history of the Bharatas in the Vedas and also in that of the Solar Kshatriyas of the Epic days and thus we are fortified in our conclusion that they are the same people. Sudāsa is a Bharata king in the Vedas and he is a Solar king in the Purāṇas. His story is given in the Rāmāyaṇa Uttarakāṇḍa Chap. 65, where Vālmīki tells Śha-trughna that Sudāsa was one of his ancestors and that his

grand-son quarrelled with his Guru Vasishṭha and became कल्माषपाद who again appears to have been assisted by Viśvāmitra. Thus the rivalry between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra continues throughout the Vedic and the Epic tradition. Vasishṭha assists Sudāsa in the battle with the ten kings on the banks of the Parushni and Viśvāmitra assists him in his eastern progress and enables him by his prayer to ford over the Vipāśa and the Sutej. I may add, Viśvāmitra always figures in the Bharata or Solar race history, but he does not do so, to my knowledge, in the history of the Lunar race, a fact on which I will comment later on.

The next Maṇḍala which mentions the Bharata people is the sixth wherein their king Divodāsa is mentioned. This Maṇḍala again consists of hymns principally or almost solely composed by Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya or Bharadvāja, son of Bṛhaspati. The principal hymn which we have to refer to here is vi, 16. It is a long hymn and mentions Bharata, the Bhārata people, the Agni of Bharata and king Divodāsa more than once. It also mentions Bharadvāja himself. (त्वमिमा वार्या पुरु दिवोदासाय सुन्वते । भरद्वाजाय दाशुषे । 5. आमिरगामि भारतो वृत्रहा पुरुचेतनः । दिवोदासस्य सत्पतिः । 19. प्र देवं देववीतये भरता वसुवित्तमम् । आ स्वे यो नौ नि-
षीदतु । 41.) Surprise is expressed by some scholars (see Vedic Index) that Divodāsa who is always spoken of in the R̥gveda as the father of Sudāsa should be associated with Bharadvāja while his son is always spoken of with Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra. But I do not think there is matter here for surprise. The Vasishṭhas were undoubtedly the Purohitas of the Bharatas. They plainly appear so from the R̥gveda itself. But that does not prevent other R̥shis coming in religious relations with the Bharatas. Viśvāmitra does so admittedly with Sudāsa and so might Bharadvāja come in contact with his father Divodāsa. It is curious to see that the contact of Bharadvāja with the Solar race people appears also in the Rāmāyaṇa wherein the same R̥shi or his descendant comes in in the story with his affection for Rāma and Bharata and his friendship with their father.

Such then are the coincidences which make it almost certain that the Bharatas of the R̥igveda are the oldest Aryans who came to India and spread over the land from the Indus eastward as far as the Sarayu which is mentioned in three R̥igvedic hymns. Their R̥ishis were Vasishṭha and Viśvāmita and Bharadvāja, actors in the story of the Rāmāyaṇa also and other legends of the kings of the Solar race. The kings of the Bharatas mentioned in the R̥igveda are Bharata, Divodāsa, Sudāsa, Devaśravā and Devavāta and probably Purukutsa and Trasadasyu ; and Ikṣhvāku ; and finally, we find, in one hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala Rāma himself. Now Bharata, according to the Nirukta, is the Sun and he is also Manu and again a king of the first Kshatriyas who came to India, of the first Manu's race according to the Purāṇas. Sudāsa is a Solar race king, as per Chapter 65 Uttarakāṇḍa already noticed, wherein the son of Sudāsa's story is related. He was about to curse Vasishṭha, but was prevented by his wife who implored him to remember that Vasishṭha was their family priest. The śloka in the Rāmāyaṇa is as follows :—

युष्माकं पूर्वजो राजा सौदासस्तस्य भूपतेः ।

पुत्रा वीर्यसहो नाम वीर्यवानतिधार्मिकः ॥

In this वीर्यसह who became कल्माषपाद, with feet blackened by the water taken for the curse, is said to be a son of Saudāsa, who again is said to be an ancestor of Śhatrughna. And a Sudāsa is actually found in the Puranic genealogy of the Solar race with his son Kalnāshapada though his father is not Divodāsa of the Vedas. I am of opinion that the Puranic genealogy must be considered to be here incorrect and must give precedence to the R̥igvedic tradition which makes Sudāsa a son of Divodāsa and a grandson of Pijavana. Divodāsa and Sudāsa are found in Lunar race genealogies also, but the R̥igvedic Sudāsa is undoubtedly a Solar king ; for his Purohita is Vasishṭha both according to the R̥igveda and the Rāmāyaṇa. And hence Sudāsa's father Divodāsa must also be treated as a Solar king. Next Purukutsa and Trasadasyu are Solar race kings in the Purāṇa genealogies and they are found nowhere else. And we have a confirmation of the same in the statement of the Śatapatha

Brāhmaṇa (see Vedic Index) that they were Aikshvāka kings or kings of the race of Ikshvāku. Thus the names of the original Bharata and later kings as identified by the Brāhmaṇa and Purāṇa traditions coupled with their association with the Purohita Vasishṭha make it almost convincingly clear that the Bharatas of the Ṛigveda are the Solar race Kshatriyas of the Epics. These Bharatas appear to have spread from the Panjab as far east as Ayodhyā even in the times of the Ṛigveda. I had formerly been of opinion that the Ṛigvedic Aryans had not gone much beyond the Ganges. But the fact now found that the Sarayu* the river of Ayodhyā is mentioned thrice in the Ṛigveda, makes it clear that they had already spread that far. The mention of Rāma, the illustrious hero of Ayodhyā, in the tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛigveda, becomes thus consistent and proper. The Aryans might even have gone still eastward as far as Mithila which though not mentioned in the Ṛigveda is associated with Gotama; for Gotama is represented to be the Purohita of the Mithila Kshatriyas, as Vasishṭha is of the Kośala Kshatriyas and Gotama, the husband of Ahalyā, is a Vedic Rishi and the composer of Vedic hymns. Such is then the history of the progress of the first Aryan invaders of India, viz., the Bharatas later called the Solar Kshatriyas and hence we see why their languages at both ends, viz., the Eastern Hindi and the Panjabi, are allied to each other.

Having so far spoken of the Bharatas or the Solar Kshatriyas with their first famous king Bharata who gave his name to the whole country, viz., Bhārataavarsha and their subsequent kings

* The Sarayu is mentioned in three Vedic hymns (Vedic Index). In the note on Sarayu Macdonnell thinks that it is the Ayodhya river; but he refers to the opinion of some Vedic scholars that it is the Kramu or Kurru of Afghanistan. In v. 64, it seems to be an Afghanistan river. But in x, 64, it is associated with सरस्वती and सिन्धु and must be a large river like these. In iv. 30, it is apparently a large river and seems also to be the river of Ayodhya. It may be stated here that Haraivaity and Harayu are also rivers of the Zend people. These probably are old Aryan names which the Indo-Aryans in their new settlement in India assigned to Indian rivers, much as they did in America and elsewhere.

Divodāsa and Sudāsa, Purukutsa and Trasadasyu and their Rishis, Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, Gotama and Bharadvāja, we will go on to consider the history of the advent and progress of the second horde of Aryan invaders, *viz.*, the Lunar Kshatriyas. They are also a R̥igvedic people but they evidently appear to be a later one, although of the same race, language and religion. Their history resembles very much the history of the advent and progress of the Dutch and the English settlers in America. These, unlike their predecessors the Spaniards and the French, lived generally in friendly relations with the aborigines. Nay, they had regular treaties with what were called the Five Nations. They eventually came into conflict with the earlier settlers and their fights with them were often long and bloody. They were assisted in these fights by their aboriginal allies. Finally they conquered the Spaniards and the French and appropriated the whole of the northern portion of America, which has now become Teutonic America. Central and South America remained in the hands of the Latin races or the first invaders and is often now appropriately styled Latin America. Their religion, though Christian, was and still is different from the religion of the subsequent invaders, *viz.*, the English and the Dutch. This short sketch of the history of the colonization of America by the Teutonic and Latin Aryans of the west will show how strongly it corresponds with the history of the colonization of the continent of India by the Indo-Aryans of the east.

The first Aryans who came to India were the Bharatas of the R̥igveda and we have identified them on strong grounds with the Solar race Kshatriyas of the Epics. The identification of the second horde of Aryan settlers with the Lunar Kshatriyas of the Epics and the Purāṇas is still more certain and complete. The first fact which deserves to be mentioned is, what was almost a revelation to me, that the Yadus, the Turvaśas, the Anus, the Druhyus and the Pūrus are mentioned in the R̥igveda very frequently and often together. The first two are mentioned together still oftener. They were, therefore, clearly allied races and the first two were particularly allied. They are mentioned sometimes in the singular and sometimes in the plural which shows that

Yadu and Turvaśa and Anu, Druhyu and Pūru were individual kings who gave their names to the races sprung from them. Here there is a clear coincidence with and confirmation of the Epic and Puranic version according to which they were the five sons of Yayāti, an ancient king of the Lunar race. Yadu and Turvaśa were Yayati's sons by his first wife Devāyāni, the daughter of Śukra and the other three were his sons by his second wife Śarmishṭha, the daughter of the Asura or Persian king Vṛishaparvan. Hence, while sometimes all are mentioned together, we see why sometimes Yadu and Turvaśa only are spoken of together in the Ṛigveda. The Purāṇas and the Epics give the name Turvaśa of the Ṛigveda as Turvasu; but, I think, they do so to bring it in consonance with the other four names which end in u. The identification is otherwise complete and this little difference cannot count. The second fact of importance is that the Ṛigvedic hymns sometimes speak of these people with abhorrence, as people who should be killed or suppressed, and sometimes they speak of them with respect and affection. The Vedic Ṛishis sometimes invoke the blessings of their gods on them and implore them to give them power and prosperity, but they often ask their gods to destroy or defeat them. This clearly indicates that these people came later and were for some time intruders and therefore hated as enemies by the first settlers. They, however, eventually settled in certain lands and were then invoked blessings upon, being Aryans and professors of the same religion as the first settlers with certain differences only. This also explains the Puranic tradition that the Lunar Kshatriyas many times fought with the Solar Kshatriyas and eventually became supreme lords of the middle land. I will now proceed to set forth detailed proofs of these statements from the Ṛigvedic hymns and trace the history of the advent and progress of this second race of Kshatriyas.

The ancient ancestor of these Kshatriyas was, according to the Purāṇas, Purūravas. Now Purūravas is also a Ṛigvedic name. He is even there a mythical person. He probably lived in the Himalayas and married the heavenly nymph Urvaśī. He learned from the Gandharvas how to produce fire and worshipped it. This clearly indicates that he was also a fire worship-

ping Aryan like the first race of invaders. He lived in the Himalayas about the Gandhamādhana mountain and among the Uttara Kurus so to speak, according to the Purāṇas, as also according to the Brāhmaṇas. This shows that the ancestors of these Lunar Kshatriyas lived beyond the Himalayas and thus these people must have come from thence. Purūrvas' son was Ayu and his son was Nahusha, names of which mention is also made in R̥gvedic hymns. His son was Yayāti who married two wives, Devayānī and Śarmishthā according to the Purāṇas and had two sons by the first wife and three by the second, a circumstance which finds support from the R̥gveda as already stated. This Yayāti is also mentioned as a fire-worshipper in the R̥gveda. He appears to have still been beyond the Himalayas and it was his sons who came to India and settled, like a wedge in the previous Aryan settlement, about the region of the Sarasvatī or as we might say Ambala.

It must here be stated that the story of the Purāṇas, that Yayāti ruled in Prayāga and divided the land of India among his five sons in a certain manner must be rejected as a later theory started by the last editors of the Purāṇas. Mr. Pargiter seems to accept it ; but it appears to me that this story conflicts with the inferences derivable from the R̥gvedic references ; and I think that the now generally accepted belief that the Aryans both of the first and the second race of invaders came from the north-west and gradually spread themselves over the land is more probable. As I have already said, where the Purāṇas and R̥gveda conflict, greater credence ought to be given to the R̥gvedic version. Now in the R̥gveda we have a distinct mention that Pūru was settled on both the banks of the Sarasvatī (R̥gveda vii, 96). Pūru, therefore, could not have got the middle land about Allahabad according to the Purāṇas. And how could he come to occupy the banks of the Sarasvatī ? For the other portions of India were also, according to the Purāṇas, given to his four brothers. The Puranic version must have become current about 300 A.D. naturally enough. By that time the Indians had lost all memory of the Aryans having come from beyond the Himalayas and their land from the beginning was what they had occupied so long. The centre of their land was at Prayāga in

Puranic days. They saw that Rāma, their greatest hero, was at Ayodhyā, also in the centre and they thought Ayodhyā was the first and oldest kingdom of the Solar Kshatriyas founded by Manu himself. Though Kṛishṇa belonged to Mathurā, the greatest line of the Lunar race was that of the Pauravas and the last Paurava king of fame, Udayana (immortalised together with his minister Yaugandharāyaṇa by Guṇādhyā in his *Bṛihat-kathā*), belonged to Prayaga or Kaushambi more correctly. Hence they represented Prayāga as the centre and origin of the Lunar race. The Puranic division of Bhāratavarsha among the sons of Yayāti does not again represent history but the state of things that existed in the time of the Purāṇas or the time nearest to them. As Mr. Pargiter has himself shown (see page 273, J. R. A. S., 1914), Pūru got the middle kingdom according to the Puranic version of Yayāti's division of India and the Pauravas were then supreme about Allahabad. Yadu got the south-west and they were in the south-west at that time occupying Kathiawar and Mahārāshtra and Ujjain. Turvasu got south-east and, according to the Purāṇas, the Pāndya, Chola and other kingdoms of the south belonged to Turvasu's line. Druhyu got the west and Anu the north. The Ānavas were according to the Purāṇas the ancestors of some of the Pūñjab kings, while Druhyu, according to them, was the ancestor of the Gāndhāra and other western people. Mr. Pargiter himself hereafter observes : " These positions agree with the subsequent notice of the Yādavas and the Ānavas " (page 274). In my opinion it is the subsequent position of these and Pūrus and Turvaśas which misled the last editors of the Purāṇa's into this story of Yayāti ruling in Prayāga and dividing the Indian empire among his sons in the particular manner. The last positions of the Solar and Lunar races, *viz.*, Ayodhya and Prayāga, were taken to be their first positions by these last editors of the Purāṇas, because they had no idea whatever of the real course of history, *viz.*, that the Aryans spread from the north-west to the south-east and south. But Purūrava, even according to the Purāṇas, was north of the Himalayas about Gandhamādana, the region assigned subsequently to the Uttara Kurus and his son and grandson were probably still there. Yayāti's sons came to

India and Puru probably first occupied the Sarasvatī tract and it is from hence that the Lunar race spread south-east and south which were not occupied by the Aryans and also tried to oust the first settled Aryans in the east and the west, *i. e.*, in the Panjab and in Oudh. I think Dr. Grierson's theory based on language that the population of the U. P. expanded from its original seat near the Upper Doab and the sacred river Sarasvatī seems to be supported by the oldest evidence of the *Rigveda* and is more probable than the last Puranic version that it spread from Allahabad westward towards Kurukshetra.

This is a digression no doubt but again a necessary and important one. I should reject the Puranic version on this point and accept the story of the occupation of the region of the Sarasvatī first by the Purus as evidenced by *Rigveda* vii, 96 (उभे यत्ते महिना शुभ्रे अन्धसी अधिक्षियन्ति पूरवः) a hymn to Sarasvatī. Here they became strong and firmly settled. Here the Lunar race evolved its civilization. Here came to be the most sacred land in India, *viz.*, the region of the Sarasvatī. Here the later Aryans flourished in Kurukshetra. Here was the language most pure. Here the Lunar people appear to have come from beyond the Himalayas by Gilgit and Chitral and perhaps from about the Mārisa lake and not by the usual pass in the north-west, *viz.*, the Khyber. For it appears even from the *Brāhmaṇas* that the speech of the Uttara Kurus and the Kuru Panchala was similar and was considered specially pure. (See Vedic Index under Kuru.) Dr. Grierson remarks that even now in the language about Gilgit and Chitral "words are still in everyday use which are almost identical with the forms they assumed in the Vedic hymns and which survive only in a corrupted state in the plains of India." (*Imp. Gaz.* Vol. I, page 356). The evidence of the *Rigveda*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the actual present state of the Himalayan languages lead one to believe that the Lunar people of the second Aryan invasion descended first into the region about the Sarasvatī or modern Sirhind through Himalayan passes and thence spread elsewhere. Taking this fact as our basis we will now proceed to discuss the history of these Lunar races as disclosed by the *Rigvedic* hymns.

The first and most important hymn to which I have to refer is *Rigveda i*, 108. This is addressed to the two gods, Indra and Agni, and says in verse 8, “ Oh Indra and Agni, even if you be among the Yadus and the Turvaśas, the Druhyus, the Anus, and the Pūrus, you come here and drink the Soma juice prepared for you.”

यदिन्द्राग्नी यदु॒षु तुर्वशेषु यद्द्रुह्यु॒ष्वनुषु पूरुषु स्थः ।

अतः परि वृषणा वा हि यातमथा सोमस्य पिवतं सुतस्य ॥ ८ ॥

Now this verse uses the words in the plural and shows that the Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus and Pūrus had become peoples. Secondly, they are also allied peoples and among themselves formed two sets, the first two and the other three. Thirdly, they were Aryans, and worshipped the same gods as the other Vedic Aryans, *viz.*, Indra and Agni. Thus all the chief points in connection with the Lunar Kshatriyas are apparent in this one verse of the *Rigveda*. It must also be noted that the *Rishi* or composer of this hymn is Kutsa Āngirasa, the relevancy of which fact I will explain later on.

The next point of importance is that these allied races of the Aryans came into conflict with the Bharatas or the earlier settled Kshatriyas in different regions. The first king of the Bharatas with whom they fought appear to be the same Divodāsa who was of so great a fame among the Vedic *Rishis* as a generous donor. His favourite appellation in the *Rigveda* is Atithigva or one to whom Atithis or guests go. The first hymn to be noticed on this point is *Rigveda ix*, 61 verse 2. “ Indra broke the castles and towns of Śambara for the sake of Divodāsa and then smote Yadu and Turvaśa ” (I usually take the meaning given by Arnold) पुरः सद्य इत्थाधिये दिवोदासाय शम्बरम् । अध त्यं तुर्वशं यदुम् ॥ Here is a reference to the aid of Indra given to Divodāsa to conquer his aboriginal enemy Śambara and then his Aryan enemies Turvaśa and Yadu. There is another reference to a fight between Aryan Bharata kings with Yadu and Turvaśa about the river Sarayu in which the Bharata kings are said to have been killed, a hymn already noticed, *viz.*, *Rigveda iv*, 30 (उत व्या तुर्वशाधदु अस्नातारा शचीपतिः । इन्द्रो विद्वाँ

अपायत् ॥ १७ ॥ उत त्या सद्य आर्या सरयोरिन्द्र पारतः । अर्णाचित्ररथा-
विधीः ॥ १८ ॥). But the most important fight between the
Bharatas and the later Aryans was the fight called दाशराज्ञ
or fight with the ten kings. It is noticed in three hymns
composed by Vashishṭha and given in his Maṇḍala, viz.,
the seventh. It was fought between Sudāsa, the Bharata
king, assisted by his Purohita Vashishṭha and five
aboriginal kings and the five Aryan peoples, Yadu,
Turvaśa, Anu, Druhyu and Pūru. It was fought on
the banks of the Parushni or the modern Ravi of the Panjab.
The first hymn to be noticed is vii, 18. The Vedic hymns are,
of course, always composed in praise of certain deities and cannot
ordinarily be expected to contain historical information. But
even the Vedic Rishis in their hymns to their gods could not
avoid mentioning prominent past or contemporaneous events and
hence it is that we are enabled to glean some historical informa-
tion about these hoary times in the past. The hymn vii, 18, is
an eloquent hymn by Vashishṭha and contains a vivid descrip-
tion of the battle of Sudāsa with his ten opponent kings. The
hymn is not fully intelligible but it appears certain to most
Vedic scholars that Sudāsa in this battle conquered the ten kings
leagued against him on the banks of the Parushni, which, while
he forded easily and safely by the aid of Vashishṭha's praise of
Indra, drowned his enemies and many of these were killed.
Sudāsa was first in a difficult plight and the ten kings hoped to
plunder him but after all, the river suddenly submerged them
as they were trying to divert its stream and it was Sudāsa even-
tually who got great plunder. Six thousand Anus and Druhyus
who were taking cattle, says the hymn, slept on the battlefield.
This is what can be gathered about this fight from this important
hymn. The Aryan kings were, of course, Turvaśa, Yadu,
Anu, Druhyu and Pūru. Yadu is not specially mentioned but
he must be taken to be included in Turvaśa. The aboriginal
tribes mentioned are Pakhtas, Bhalanas, Bhanantalins, Vishanins
and Śivas. A great deal of conjectural information can be
derived from these names; for instance, the Pakhtas are some
modern Afghan tribes among whom the name Pashtu is still
pronounced according to Dr. Grierson as Pakhta. Or that the

Vishanins might be some aboriginal people who tied to their heads pairs of horns like some modern rude races of America, But that there were Aryan and non-Aryan kings leagued against Sudāsa in this fight is not a matter of conjecture but is what is expressly mentioned in another hymn which I next proceed to notice. It is hymn vii, 83, by Vashishṭha also, wherein he says that the gods Indra and Varuṇa assisted king Sudāsa when he was opposed by his Aryan and Dāsa enemies (दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च सुदासमिद्रा वरुणावसावतम्.) “You smote and slew his Dāsa and Aryan enemies and helped Sudāsa with favour” —Arnold’s Translation. There is a further clear reference in the hymn to ten kings attacking Sudāsa. (यत्र राजभिर्दशभिर्निबाधितं प्र सुदासमावतं तृत्सुभिः सह) “You protected Sudāsa with the Tritsus when he was oppressed by the ten kings.” It thus appears clear that there were in this battle ten kings, five Aryans and five non-Aryans, whose names we have already given. It seems to be a great effort by all new Aryan invaders with their aboriginal friends to suppress the first settled Aryans, viz., the Bharatas. But in this they failed and Sudāsa with Vashishṭha’s help prevailed. The five aboriginal peoples correspond curiously enough to the five Nations of American history leagued with the English in their fights against the French; and we have thus one of those many curious analogies in history which suggest and support the saying “History repeats itself.” And, as in American history, although Sudāsa, the older Aryan king, prevailed in this battle, his race was eventually overshadowed by the later invaders as I now proceed to show.

In hymn vii, 19, Vashishṭha appears to speak of the Pūrus in a favourable manner though he still refers therein to the defeat of Yadu and Turvaśa by Divodāsa. This hymn seems to give ground to some Vedic scholars to think that Purukutsa was a Pūru king and hence I think it proper to give a detailed translation of two of its verses. (त्वं धृष्णो धृषता वीतहव्यं प्रावो विश्वामिरुतिभिः सुदासम् । प्र पौरुकुत्सि त्रसदस्युमावः क्षेत्रसाता वृत्रहत्येषु पूरम् ॥) “You, Oh valiant Indra, protected, by all your protection, Vītahavya and Sudāsa and Trasadasyu, Purukutsa’s son and

Pūru in his fight with the Vrittra (or aboriginies).” In this verse many kings are mentioned and I would take each separately and thus Pūru as different from the preceding Trasadasyu. In fact, as I have already said, the authority of the Brāhmanas is supreme in this matter and Purukutsa and Trasadasyu being, according to the Śatapatha, Aikshvāka or descendants of Ikshvāku, cannot be Pūrus or descendants of Pūru. There are other kings also mentioned in this hymn, viz., Kutsa (verse 2) and Dabhiti who killed the aboriginal (दस्यु) enemies, Chumuri and Dhuni (verse 4). And in verse 8, we have a mention of the Atithigva (*i.e.*, of course, Divodāsa) for whose sake Indra killed Yadu and Turvaśa (नि तुर्वशं नि यादुं शिशीह्यतिथिगवाय शंस्यं करिष्यन्). Thus then it appears that at the time of this hymn composed by some Vashishtha, the Pūrus had become settled and popular while the Yadus and Turvaśas were still considered the enemies of the Aryans. Other hymns show that even the Yadu and Turvaśas became eventually settled in the country and reconciled with the first Aryans and are mentioned favourably by composers of hymns. In many hymns the blessings of Vedic deities are invoked on even Yadus and Turvaśas. These hymns are principally to be found in Maṇḍala viii, which consists of hymns chiefly composed by the descendants of Kaṇva. They are (as shown in the Vedic Index) 4, 7, 9, 10, and 45 of this eighth Maṇḍala. Hymn 4 is by देवातिथि काण्व and mentions the Kaṇvas often and also Turvaśa and Yadu, and Kaṇva is said to have taken 6,000 cows from a Turvaśa king. Hymn 7 is by पुनर्वत्स कात्व and praises the favour of Maruts shown to Yadu, Turvaśa and Kaṇva. (येनाव तुर्वशं यदुं येन कण्वं. धनस्पृतम् । राये सुतस्य धीमहि). In hymn 9 Śaśakarna-Kaṇva (शशकर्ण काण्व) invokes the favour of the Aśvins on Yadu and Turvaśa and Kaṇva (हमे सोमासो अधि तुर्वशे यदाविमे काण्वेषु वामथ ॥ १४ ॥) Hymn 10 is by प्रगाथ काण्व to the Aśvins whose favour is invoked on Anu, Druhyu, Yadu and Turvaśa in different directions (see verse 5). Lastly, in hymn 45, त्रिशोक काण्व the Rishi praises Indra and Agni and says that undeniable strength was given by them to Yadu and Turvaśa. (सत्यं तत्तुर्वशे यदौ विदानो अन्हवायम् । २७ ।). All these different notices of Yadu and Turvaśa and even of Anu and Druhyu are favourable and found in hymns by Rishis of

the Kaṇva family. The natural inference from this is that they had established themselves by this time and that their Rishis were the Kāṇvas or persons born in the Kaṇva family. A remarkable confirmation of this fact is found in the Purāṇa and also Brāhmaṇa tradition in that the Purohita of Daushyanti Bharata was Kaṇva and Dushyanta got Śakuntalā from Kaṇva's Āshrama. Thus Vedic and Puranic traditions lead us to believe that the Purohitas of the Lunar race or rather of the Yadus and Turvaśas were Kaṇva and his descendants. The same idea is, I think expressly supported by a hymn in the first Maṇḍala which I proceed to notice. Hymn i, 36, is by Ghaura Rishi and is in praise of Agni. In this hymn Kaṇva is frequently mentioned and along with him Turvaśa and Yadu. See verses 17 and 18. (अग्निर्वेदे सुवीर्यमग्निः कण्वाय सौभगम् । अग्निः प्रावन्मित्रो मेथ्यातिथिमग्निः साता उपस्तुतम् ॥ १७ ॥ अग्निना तुर्वशं यदुं परावत उग्रादेवं हवामहे ॥) I think we shall not be far wrong if, from all the hymns of the Kaṇvas relating to Yadu-Turvaśa in the eighth Maṇḍala and this in the first by Ghaura, we infer that Kaṇva stood in the same relation to Yadu-Turvaśas or the Lunar race Kshatriyas as Vashishṭha stood to the Bharatas or Solar race Kshatriyas. It may here be mentioned that the Puranic genealogy derives Kaṇva from the family of Pūru himself *i.e.*, from मतिनार, tenth descendant of Pūru and some fourth ancestor of Bharata. (See Harivaṃśa I Ch. 32.)

The next hymns to be noticed mentioning Yadu-Turvaśas favourably are Rīgv. i. 54, by Savya Āngirasa to Indra, verse 6 त्वमविथ नर्यं तुर्वशं यदुं त्वं तुर्वीति वय्यं शतक्रतो, 1) and i, 108, already noticed by Kutsa Āngirasa in which all the five Yadu, Turvaśa, Anu, Druhyu, and Pūru are mentioned together. I said before in noticing this hymn that I would explain the relevancy of its Rishi later on. This is the place to record the remark that the Āngirasas appear to be other Rishis who are connected with the Lunar Kshatriyas. The Rishi of i, 36, is Ghora and he appears to be an Āngirasa, and of i, 54 is Savya Āngirasa, so that in all the three hymns of the first Maṇḍala, *viz.*, 36, 54 and 108 in which the Yadu Turvaśas are favourably mentioned, the Rishis are Angirasas (Ghora, Savya and Kutsa). Now in the Chhān-

dogya Upanishad it is mentioned that one Ghora Āngirasa taught a certain Vedantic doctrine to Krishna Devakīputra who is presumably the Yādava Śrī-Krishna of the Mahābhārata. The Āngirasas, therefore, also appear to be the favourite Rishis of the Lunar race in addition to the Kāṇvas as Viśvāmitra was of the Solar race in addition to Vashishṭha.

The remaining hymns in favour of the Yadu Turvaśas are i, 174, by Agastya to Indra, iv. 30, by Vāmadeva (about Sarayu already mentioned), v, 31, by Avasyu Ātreya, vi, 45, by Śamyu Bārhaspatya x, 49, by Indra Vaikuntha in which Nahusha is also mentioned ; see verse 8 (अहं सप्तहा नहुषो नहुष्टरः प्राश्रावयं शवसा तुवर्शं यदुम्). The first of these hymns must be specially noticed as the reference therein to Samudra is somewhat strange if interpreted literally as is done by Arnold. The verse is त्वं धुनिरिन्द्र धुनिमतीर्कृणोरपः सीरा न स्रवन्तीः । प्र यत्समुद्रमति शर पर्वि पारया तुर्वशं यदुं स्वस्ति ॥. If this line means that Indra should take Yadu and Turvaśa safely over the sea, Yadu and Turvaśa must be taken to have crossed it like Bhujyu, the favourite seafaring king of the R̥igveda whom the Aśvins are said to have safely brought over the sea in their own boat. Had the Yadus and Turvaśas progressed as far as the sea in the days of the R̥igvedic Rishis? Some Aryans had undoubtedly done so, as for instance, the above-mentioned Bhujyu and it may perhaps be that the Yadus had also travelled so far in those days. The word Samudra in the hymn has, however, been taken to mean the sky where the heavenly waters burst. In v, 35, above-mentioned, Indra is also said to have stilled the flooded waters of the Sudughā for Yadu and Turvaśa who were beyond these waters. Thus the progress of the Yadus and Turvaśas across rivers and even upto the sea may be taken to be indicated in these hymns.

Having spoken so far of the five allied races, Yadu, Turvaśa, Anu, Druhu, and Pūru I will now proceed to note the progress of each individually as evidenced by the Vedas. The Yadus are not mentioned in the Yajus and Sama, nor are they apparently mentioned in any of the several Brāhmanas. (Of course, I

speak as usual on the authority of the Vedic Index). They, therefore, may be taken after their defeat in the Panjab to have moved south, south-east and south-west in which regions they are actually found in Epic times. In these directions there was plenty of room for expansion as the first Aryans had only occupied the Panjab and the region eastward along the Himalayas. The Yadus do not appear to have founded kingdoms of their own and hence perhaps the tradition that they were under a curse by Yayāti. They lived under the Bhojas in Śaurasena about Mathurā. This Mathurā, according to Epic tradition, originally belonged to the Rākshasa or aboriginal king Madhu from whom it was first conquered by Śatrughana, Rāma's brother, and after the decline of his descendants it was taken possession of by the Bhojas and Yādavas. Mr. Pargiter thinks that Madhu was not a Rākshasa but was actually the Yādava chief Madhu from whom his descendants were called Mādhavas. I do not, however, think it proper to abandon here the version of the Harivamśa and the Rāmāyaṇa. For it is more consistent with the course of history as sketched above that this region of the Yamuna should first be in the possession of the Rākshasas, then that of the first Aryan or Solar race and then of the Lunar race which, as we have seen, endeavoured in different directions to oust the first settled Kshatriyas. Instead of this Mr. Pargiter would first have the Lunar Aryans, then the Rākshasas and then the solar race. This is by the by. The Yādavas settled in Mathurā and perhaps thence went south-west as far as Dvaraka on the sea. The only indirect reference to the Yādavas in the Brāhmaṇas is that to Kṛishṇa Devakīputra in the Chhāndogya Upanishad who, as stated before, learned Vedantic doctrines from Ghora Āngirasa. Were it not for Śṛikṛishṇa, the Yādavas would have been entirely forgotten in the later Vedas and Brahmanas and even the Epics. It was he who raised them to immortal renown by his Bhagavadgīta and by his prominent part in the Mahābhārata fight which probably falls in time between the final compilation of the Rīgveda and the composition of the Brāhmaṇas. The latter naturally thus mention persons taking part in the Bhārata fight and hence the reference in the Chhāndogya to Kṛishṇa Devaki-

putra may properly be taken to apply to Śrīkrishṇa of the Yadavas, the great counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas in the Bhārata fight.

We will next consider the progress of the Turvaśas. These entirely disappear so to speak in the later Vedic times. But there is one important reference to them in the Brāhmaṇas which discloses their fate. They became merged in the Pāṇchāla people according to a statement in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Of these Pāṇchālas I shall speak later on. Before proceeding further I might mention here that the Purāṇas, especially Hari-vamśa (I. chap. 32), represent Pāṇḍya, Chola, Kerala and Kola as descendants in this Turvaśa's line. This is clearly a later theory of the Purāṇas. We must remember that one great incentive to the later editors of the Purāṇas to make additions to genealogies must have been the desire to connect the famous lines of kings in their time with some heroes or persons mentioned in the Vedas and the Epics and thus secure to them venerated antiquity of connection much as the Romans loved to connect themselves with Homeric heroes. Now the Pāṇḍya, Chola and Kerala people were outside the pale of Aryanism for a long time. They were Dravidas and non-Aryans like the Angas and the Vangas, and even according to the Vedas residence in their country led to fall from Brahmanism. Yet in later Purāṇic times the Hindus went into and settled in these lands and then attempted to connect kings in them with Vedic and Epic lines of Kshatriyas. This descent of the south-east kings may properly be treated as imaginary and being opposed to the statement of the Śatapatha that the Turvaśas merged into the Pāṇchālas, the later Purāṇic version may be rejected as a tradition not worthy to be accepted.

Coming next to the other set of the three races, *viz.*, Anus, Druhyus and Pūrus, we find that the Pūrus became by far the most important people both in later Vedic times and in Epic days. This explains the story of the blessing of Yayāti to his son Pūru for obeying his wishes. "Pūru," thus runs the boon "would be the king of the ancestral land and would be very

prosperous. In fact, the Pūrus would be so numerous that they would overspread the whole country. Nay, the earth may be divested of the Sun and the Moon but never of the Pūru people.” (अपौरवा तु हि मर्द्दा न कदाचिद्भवविध्यति ।). Now the Pūrus first settled, as already stated, in the region of the Sarasvatī, having ousted the originally settled Kshatriyas from there. They extended thence their conquests east, west and south by and by till they became the lords of the whole of India in the days of the Pāṇḍavas. The contests of the Pūrus with aboriginal kings are mentioned in many R̥igvedic hymns. They are, as given in the Vedic Index, i, 59, 131 and 174, iv, 21 and 28, vi, 20 and vii, 5 and 19. Looking into these references we find i, 59 is a hymn to Agni by Gautama Nodha in which he says “Agni whom the Pūrus follow as the slayer of Vṛitra or aborigines.” (यं पूरवा वृत्रहणं सचन्ते ।) ; i, (131 is a hymn to Indra by Paruchchhepa in which he says (विदुष्टे अस्य वीर्यस्य पूरवः पुरो). “Pūrus of old have known of this power”; iv, 21, is by Vāmadeva to Indra (हंता वृत्रं वरिवः पूरवे कः) “who gave freedom to Pūru by slaying Vṛitra ?” (iv, 28, as also i, 174, are, I think, wrongly included here as they contain no mention of Pūru). vi, 20, is addressed to Indra by Bhāradvāja (प्र पूरवः स्तुवन्त एना यज्ञैः). “The Pūrus laud thee, oh Indra, that thou destroyedst seven castles of the Dāsas for Purukutsa.” vii, 5, is by Vasishṭha to Agni (वैश्वानरे पूरवे शोशुचानः पुरो यदग्ने दरयन्न दीदेः) “Oh Agni, for Pūru thou lightest up and rendest their castles”; and lastly vii, 19, already noticed, where Vasishṭha says to Indra (प्र पौरुकुत्सि त्रसदस्युमावः क्षेत्रसातौ वृत्रहत्येषु पूरुम्) “Thou protectest Trasadasyu and Pūru in their fights with Vṛitras.” On these hymns two or three observations have to be made. Vṛitra usually stands in Vedic verses for Dāsa enemies and they have castles or forts or fortified villages which have to be carried. Secondly, vii, 19 and more particularly vi, 20, give ground for supposing that Purukutsa and Trasadasyu were of the Pūru line. But as I have already stated, on this point the authority of the Brāhmaṇas should be respected and as the Śatapatha says that they were Aikshvākas and as they are also found in T̥urāṇic genealogies among the descendants of Ikshvāku alone and nowhere else, here Brāhmaṇa and Purāṇa traditions com-

bine to prove that they were Aikshvāka or Solar race kings. In vii. 19, the line plainly means Trasadasyu *and* Pūru, while in vi, 20 we may say that the Pūrus in their prayer to Indra give example of Indra's aid to Purukutsa not as a king of their own people but of another people, Purukutsa being well-known as a favourite king of Indra. Thirdly, Pūrus became eventually so numerous that according to later authorities (of course, not later than Yāska), the word Pūrus stands generally for men. In some of the above verses the word has been so interpreted by commentators, but as Prof. Macdonell has observed, Pūrus may be translated as Pūrus without difficulty in all these cases.

The historical inference from these and previous verses is that after several fights with non-Aryans Pūru established himself firmly in the region of the Sarasvatī. His later or previous contests with the Aryan enemies of the Solar race, especially with Sudāsa on the Parushni in his or his race's progress westward in the Punjab also appear. His line flourished both at home and abroad. The first known king in his line was Ajamīdha, the Ājamīdhas being spoken of in the R̥igveda also. The next is Bharata, son of Dushyanta, who is not mentioned in the R̥igveda but is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and who performed sacrifices on the Sarasvatī, Yamunā and the Ganges which shows that he extended his dominion eastward. The Bharatas mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas are his descendants and not the Bharatas of the R̥igveda as the Śatapatha clearly introduces them by first mentioning Daushyanti Bharata. The epithet Daushyanti appears to be purposely used in the Brāhmaṇa to discriminate the two Bharatas. The next famous king was Kuru who became so famous that the ancient land of the Pūrus came to be called Kurukshetra. Now this Kuru is also not to be found in the R̥igveda. This non-mention, of course, does not prove that the compilation of the R̥igveda preceded him, but we may take it that his fame had not become exaggerated in the time of the R̥igveda. The Bharatas and still more the Kurus, however, became famous in the Brāhmaṇa literature. The Kurus are always mentioned therein with the Pāṇchālas and they were one people, it seems, in their time. This probably

indicates that the Mahābhārata fight had been fought before this and, all the Pāṇchāla princes being dead, the Pāṇḍavas and especially their great-grandson Janamejaya Pārikshita became their king. This Janamejaya Pārikshita is also a favourite king with the Brāhmaṇas. Thus then the chief people of the Pūru race were the Kuru-Pāṇchālas in later Vedic times.

I must speak of the Pāṇchālas here in more detail. According to the Purāṇic genealogies the Pāṇchālas were the descendants of a younger branch of the Pūrus. Their first great king was Sṛinjaya, even according to the genealogies and this Sṛinjaya gave his name to his descendants. The Sṛinjayas are mentioned in the R̥igveda also. The first mention is in R̥igv. vi, 27, where Sṛinjaya is said to be a son of Devavāta. (स सृंजयाय तुर्वशं परादादचीवतो दैववाताय शिक्षन्) “He who gave Turvaśa to Sṛinjaya, the son of Devavāta and the Richīvats.” This is looked upon as identifying Richīvat with Turvaśa. The next mention is still more important. It is R̥igveda iv. 15, which shows that his Agni is also mentioned and thus invests him with greatness. अयं यः सृंजये पुरो दैववाते समिध्यते । “This is the fire which is enkindled in the eastern altar of Sṛinjaya, the son of Devavāta.” The last four verses of this hymn mention Somaka the young son of Sahadeva who gave donations to the Rishi or composer of this hymn, viz., Vāmadeva and he invokes blessings on him. (एवं वां देवावश्विना कुमारः साहदेव्यः । दीर्घायुरस्तु सोमकः). This Sahadeva and Somaka were most probably born in the line of Sṛinjaya and hence they are mentioned in this hymn. Sṛinjaya, Sahadeva and Somaka are actually found in the Pāṇchāla genealogy and Somaka is the fourth ancestor of Drupada. He performed a Rājasuya and became renowned as is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Pāṇchālas were thus Sṛinjayas in R̥igvedic times and their name Pāṇchāla became famous in the times of the Brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata uses both the names Sṛinjayas and Pāṇchālas and even Somakas from their famous king Somaka. Somaka must have been later than Kuru. The Pāṇchālas were settled to the south-east of the Kurus between the Ganges and the Yamunā. The name Pāṇchāla is derived by Harivamśa and the Purāṇas from

the five sons of a king (who were thought to be enough for the world, पंच अलम्), but this is a quibble. Probably they were so called because composed of five peoples. The merging of different peoples into one people is not an unfrequent event in history and I believe this merging means that one people elect the sovereigns of another people as their kings and thus mingle with them. This happened either because they were conquered or the family of their kings became extinct. The Kuru-Pāṇchālas became one people in this second way after the Mahābhārata fight. The Pāṇchālas themselves must have been composed of five peoples in some such way. We have a distinct mention of the mingling of three peoples, viz., Sṛinjayas, Tuirvaśas and Krivis, the first in the R̥gvedic hymn vi, 27, and the second in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. These three and two more peoples probably went to form the Pāṇchālas, so famous in the times of Brāhmaṇas and the Epics for their learning as well as their valour.

The people who thus most predominate in the later Vedic times are people of the second Aryan invasion especially of the line of Pūru and in this line again the peoples more prominent than the rest were the Kurus and the Pāṇchālas or Sṛinjayas. But the Solar race people were not entirely extinct in later Vedic times. In the Punjab they were probably over-shadowed by the Lunar people. The general population there must doubtless have remained Solar but the kings were generally of the Pūru line. It is hence why a Poros is found in the Punjab in the days of Alexander. It is sometimes surmised that the finding of a Poros on the Hydaspes in the Punjab shows that the Pūrus came from the north-west and extended eastward. But, according to the course of history we have sketched above, the Pūrus first came into India about the region of the Sarasvatī and thence extended west. We find a confirmation of this latter idea in the Mahābhārata where Janamejaya is said to have conquered Takṣaśilā in the Punjab after he was installed in the kingdom of the Kurus at Hastināpura. After the Mahābhārata fight the Kurus became the overlords of India, and perhaps Takṣaśilā still remained defiant and hence it was that Janamejaya

found it necessary to go and conquer that land. The founding of Takshaśilā by the Solar Aryans is indicated in the Rāmāyaṇa story of Bharata having conquered the land from the Gandharvas. This is probably a restatement of the real fact that the older Bharata and his people, the Solar Kshatriyas, settled in that country originally. Whatever that may be, in the Punjab the kings generally appear to have been Lunar race Kshatriyas in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and the Epics. But the Solar race people had their kingdoms in the east and they were the Kosala-Videhas of Brāhmaṇa fame. The Brāhmaṇas love to speak of the Kosala-Videhas as much as they love to speak of the Kuru-Pāṇchālas. The Kosala-Videhas were plainly a different people from the latter. Macdonnell accepts the opinion of Dr. Grierson and others based on language, *viz.*, the affinity of eastern Hindi with Punjabi rather than with western Hindi, and says under the word Kuru that these Kosala-Videhas must have been shoved onward by the Kurus when the latter took possession of the land about the Sarasvatī. I may even say that they may have come eastward even before the coming in of the Kurus, *i. e.*, when the whole land from the Punjab eastward up to Mithila was occupied by the Solar race people. Professor Macdonell, however, expresses some doubt about this in a foot-note on the word Kuru and refers to the narrative given in the Śatapatha of the progress of Agni from the Sarasvatī to the Sadānīrā, the eastern boundary of the Videha kingdom and thinks that it may be argued from the story that the Kosala-Videhas were of the same race as the Kurus. But I do not think that any such inference is necessary. The Aryan fire went from the Sarasvatī no doubt, but no mention is made of the Kurus in this story and hence the Agni may have gone forth eastward even before the days of the Kurus, of even Pūrus. Moreover the story in the Śatapatha (IV. 1, 10) is that Videgha Māthavya took fire in his mouth and went eastward up to the Sadānīrā where he had to take it out and lay it on the ground in consequence of a question by Gotama Rahūgaṇa, his priest. Hence, says the Brāhmaṇa, no Brahmin crosses the Sadānīrā. Now this name of Gotama tallies with the later Epic story that the priests of the Videhas were Gotamas, as I have already mentioned. It seems

to me then very probable that these Kosala-Videhas were of the Solar race and had their differences in religious matters from the Kuru-Pāṇchālas, the representatives of the Lunar race people. The Kosala-Videhas were more famous in the days of the Brāhmaṇas for their philosophic tendencies than their ritual purity and their great king Janaka had disputations with Yājñavalkya on philosophy which have been preserved in the immortal Upanishads. This laxity in ritual also connects the Kosala-Videhas with the people of the Punjab who are said to be also lax in this matter, as much as the affinity of language ; and the remarks of Prof. Macdonnell on this head under Kosala and Kāshi in the Vedic Index should be interpreted in this way to support their affinity with the eastern Aryans than with the Kuru-Pāṇchālas.

We have lastly to see what became of the Anus and the Druhyus. The latter are mentioned separately in two Vedic hymns viii, 10 and vi, 46. The first has already been noticed. The second mentions Druhyu and Pūru, two only, together. What subsequently became of the Druhyus does not appear either in the R̥gveda or the later Vedic literature. Perhaps, they were the fourth people who merged in the Pāṇchālas. Purāṇic tradition makes the Gāndhāras their descendants. The Gāndhāras are mentioned in the Chhāndogya. The Anus probably became a great people even in the days of the R̥gveda ; for, in one hymn their Agni is mentioned specially, see viii, 74 (आगन्म वृत्रहन्तमं ज्येष्ठमग्निमानवम्). But there is no mention of them in the later Vedic literature. The Purāṇas state that they gave rise to several dynasties in the Punjab, especially to the Śibi dynasty whose famous king was Śibi, son of Uśīnara, mentioned among the sixteen great performers of Aśvamedha sacrifice in the Mahābhārata. I am not quite sure if the Purāṇas are correct here ; but I think this is not the place to discuss that point. This completes our list of the Vedic references to the Lunar people whose five branches, the यदु, तुर्वश, अनु, द्रुह्यु, and पूरु are famous even in the R̥gveda.

To take a rēsume, the conclusions of ethnology and philology as applied to India by Sir H. Risley and Dr. Grierson quoting

Dr. Hœrnle show that there were two Aryan races which invaded India at different times and settled in this country. The first long-headed Aryans, settled in the Punjab and in Rajputana and are found there even now, with offshoots about Ayodhya and Mithila whose present language, Eastern Hindi, is allied to the Punjabi and Rajastani. The second race of Aryans which was broad-headed and mixed with the Dravidian original population of the country is now found in the large tract from Ambala in the north, to Kathiawar in the south-west and Jubbulpore in the south-east and Nepal in the north-east. The present language of these people is Western Hindi. Now tradition also represents that there are two races of Aryans in India, *viz.*, the Solar race of Kshatriyas and the Lunar. This naturally suggests that the first race of Kshatriyas who came to India must be identified with the Solar race and the second with the Lunar race. And we find that this inference is strongly fortified by references in the Vedic literature, especially in the *Ṛigveda*, our oldest and most trustworthy authority. The *Ṛigveda* frequently mentions a people called the Bharatas. Now it is almost a riddle to Vedic scholars who these people were and what became of them. As stated by Prof. Macdonnell under the word Kuru the general opinion is that these Bharatas merged in the Kurus. Now my suggestion, based on conclusions derived from ethnology, philology and tradition, is that these Bharatas being the older Aryans should be identified with the Solar race Kshatriyas of the Epics and the Purāṇas. Strong grounds for this identification are not wanting. The first is that their Purohitas were the Vasishṭhas, also called Tritsus in the *Ṛigveda*. Now the Vasishṭhas are in Epic and Purāṇic tradition inseparably connected with the Solar race. Secondly, the famous king Sudāsa of these Bharatas is found in the Rāmāyaṇa as an ancestor of Rāma and Śatrughna. Sudāsa is found in the Purāṇic genealogies also in the Solar line, but his father is not Divodāsa as in the *Ṛigveda*. I think Purāṇic genealogy ought to give way in this matter. Sudāsa, (Pijavana), Divodāsa and Vadhryaśva form the ascending line according to the *Ṛigveda*. It may be noted here that names ending in aśva are found mostly in the Solar race and Vadhryaśva (*Ṛg.* vi, 61 and x, 19) seems to be a Solar

race king. Thirdly, Viśvāmitra in the Ṛigveda is also a Ṛishi of the Bharatas and according to Epic and Purāṇa tradition also, Viśvāmitra is chiefly connected with the history of the Solar race.* Fourthly, the names of Purukutsa and Trasadasyu† are to be found in the line of Ikshvāku only, in the Purāṇas and they are Aikshvāka also according to the Brāhmaṇas. For all these reasons I identify the Bharatas as the Solar race people of the Epics. They are usually taken for the later Bharatas, viz, the descendants of Daushyanti Bharata, but wherever this Bharata is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas the epithet Daushyanti is found added and he is not mentioned in the Ṛigveda at all. This mixing up of the two has led to the popular notion that India is called Bhāratavarsha from the second Bharata. But tradition, even Purāṇic tradition, plainly contradicts this idea and states that India is called Bhāratavarsha from Bharata, a grandson of the first Svāyambhuva Manu. According to another Purāṇa, Bharata who gave the name to this country is Manu himself or even the Sun. Hence, we have a further confirmation of the Bharatas being Kshatriyas of the Solar race.

* The Purāṇas derive Viśvāmitra from the Lunar line, but there is a contradiction here between the Purāṇas and the Rāmāyaṇa and there is a contradiction among the Purāṇas themselves. Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla-kāṇḍa, Chapter 51, gives the ancestry of Viśvāmitra as Prajāpati and then Kuśka at once in whose family of course Viśvāmitra was born even according to the Ṛigveda. He is hence neither Solar nor Lunar according to the Rāmāyaṇa but he is plainly a person of the older race of Kshatriyas. The Purāṇas derive Viśvāmitra in the Lunar line in two ways. Harivaṃśa derives him from Amavasū, another son of Purūravas than Ayu whose son was Nahusha; while in another place it derives him from Ajamīdha and Janhu. I think the Purāṇic genealogy ought to give way here to the Rāmāyaṇa which makes Viśvāmitra born in the oldest line of Kshatriyas. Curiously enough this uncertainty of descent still remains attached to their modern Kshatriya representatives, viz., the Rathods who are derived differently in the Solar and the Lunar lines.

† Kuruśravaṇa, a king in the Trasadasyu family is supposed to be a Kuru, but I do not see why he should be so. In the Ṛigvedic hymns he is expressly said to be a Trāsadasyava and not a Kuru. The beginning word Kuru cannot make him a Kuru in race in the same way as Divodāsa cannot be a Dāsa or non-Aryan as actually suggested by a German Vedic scholar.

These Bharatas became so numerous that Bharata in one place in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa stands for warrior generally.* In the Nirukta in one place Bharatas are said to mean priests also along with Kurus. The reason why Bharatas may be substituted for Kurus in sacrificial formulas as mentioned in Vedic Index under Kuru, is not because they were identical with Kurus but because they were a different people with equal renown, and wherever they were meant their name was to be substituted in the sacrificial formulas. In fine, there are very strong reasons to identify the Bharatas with the Solar race people of the later, *viz.*, Epic days. Their representatives in the days of the Brāhmaṇas were the Kosala-Videhas the undoubted Solar race Kshatriyas of the Epics and the Purāṇas.

The identification of the Lunar race Kshatriyas in the Vedas is not a matter of any difficulty. They are, of course, the Yadus, the Turvaśas, the Anus, the Druhyus and the Pūrus, so frequently mentioned in the R̥gveda. Of these the Pūrus became numerous and supreme and in their line came the Kuru-Pāṇchālas of Epic and Purāṇic fame. The Yadus also became famous and were the progenitors of the Yādavas amongst whom was born Krishna referred to in the Chhāndogya. The Anus are supposed to give rise to several Punjab kings, *e.g.*, the Śibis and the Madras who had their counterpart beyond the Himalayas, the Uttara Madras as the Kurus had theirs, the Uttara Kurus. All this is so plain that later Epic and Purāṇa tradition may be said to find complete support in the R̥gvedic and Brāhmaṇa references. And in my opinion the five races, Yadus and others, had for their ancestor Yayāti though this is doubted by Prof. Macdonell under the word Yayāti in the Vedic Index. Purūravas, Ayu, Nahusha and Yayāti are all mentioned in the R̥g-

* Macdonell says under Kuru that Bharatas in this passage (ii, 25) means the Daushyanti Bharatas and they attacked the Satvantas. Sāyana, however, translates Bharatas by warriors and Satvantas by charioteers. This interpretation seems correct though the derivation of Bharata given by Sāyana is fanciful. I think the word Bharatas became subsequently a synonym for warriors and even for priests as stated further.

veda and form, so to speak, the starting line of the Lunar race. There is, of course, no express mention in the Ṛigveda of this connection between Yayāti and the five peoples, Yadu and others, but some such connection may be inferred from hymn 1. 31, where Yayāti is mentioned. This hymn is composed by Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgīrasa and the Āṅgīrasas are connected, as we have already seen, with these five peoples. Moreover, the fourth verse in this hymn may almost be taken to contain the confirmation of the later traditional genealogies of the Purāṇas, as it shows that (besides the Rishi Āṅgīrasa) Agni was revealed originally to two persons, Manu and Purūravas (त्वमग्ने मनवं द्यामवाशयः पुरुरवसे सुकृते सुकृत्तरः १) followed by verse 17 (मनुष्वदग्ने अंगिरस्वदङ्गिरो-ययातिवत्सदने पूर्ववच्छुचे) in which ययाति is plainly substituted for पुरुरवस् as his representative. Thus, the Purāṇa tradition, supported by these references in the Ṛigveda, cannot be fairly ignored. I think, therefore, that the Lunar race kings from Purūravas down to Ajamidha are mentioned in the Ṛigveda, and from Bharata to Kuru and Janamejaya even, in the Brāhmaṇas. In short, the Lunar race Kshatriyas are undoubtedly a Vedic people identifiable with Pūruravas and his descendants, Yadu, Turvaśa and others.

Before concluding this paper I must advert to a very important question which arises at this stage and it is this: if the Solar and Lunar origins of the two races are not expressly mentioned in the Vedic literature, how did the idea arise in Epic days? The idea of the descent of all races from one ancestor is not a fancy of the Indo-Aryans only but of many peoples; and the birth of heroes or great men from gods is also a myth which many peoples have believed in. Not only did the Greeks in ancient times make their heroes the sons of gods, but even in later history we find the Mexican Aztecs looking upon the Spaniards as the children of the Sun. The notion, therefore, that certain races were born from the Sun and the Moon was not an unnatural one with the Epic and Purāṇa writers. But some reason must have influenced the selection of these gods as the ancestors of the two races of Kshatriyas and we may try to see what this reason may have been. Manu is even in the Ṛigveda

the son of Vivasvat, or the Sun. It is not an idea of the later Indo-Aryans but even of the Vedic Rishis and the word Bharata which was the origin of the name of the ancient R̥igvedic people the Bharatas, is explained by the Nirukta to mean the Sun. The idea, therefore, that the first race of Kshatriyas was descended from the Sun was inherited by the Epic writers from the R̥igveda itself. The birth of the other race of Kshatriyas from the Moon was a natural idea as opposed to the Sun and hence they must have been looked upon as descendants of the Moon. Or perhaps, these people coming from the north may have been called descendants of the Moon for Soma is the lord of the north. We may add that the first race of Kshatriyas, being in Epic days in the east, may have been looked upon as descendants of the Sun. Lastly, it is also possible to explain this idea on a difference between these races in their observance of the year which is plainly discernible in the story of the Mahābhārata fight. The Pāndavas had to pass twelve years of exile and one of incognito according to the covenant at their gambling game. Now the Kurus argued, when the Pāndavas appeared in Virāta's fight, that they were discovered before their time, but the Pāndavas replied that they had kept their word truly and fully. Bhīshma decided the point in favour of the Pāndavas and held that they had kept their word by the Lunar year of 354 days. This decision would undoubtedly be strange if the Pāndavas observed the Lunar year only for the purpose of this covenant. I think this phase of the question has not sufficiently attracted the attention of scholars. I hold that this decision clearly proves that the Pāndavas generally followed the Lunar year like the Mahomedans of the present day. In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā you have clear references to different years observed by the Aryans, viz., the Civil year of 360 days, the Solar year of 365 days and the Lunar year of 354 days. Of course, later Aryans observed the Solar year only and these differences have now disappeared entirely. But in ancient times the Pāndavas the latest branch of the Lunar race people, must have observed the Lunar year in much the same way as they observed polyandry so common among the Himalayan people; while the Kurus or rather the Dhārtarāshtras as older people must have

observed the solar year generally in vogue among the older Kshatriyas. The people of the Punjab and of Ayodhyā and the other eastern people seem to have observed the Solar year and they were all on the side of the Dhārtarāshtras, while on the side of the Pāndavas were all southern Aryans chiefly of the Lunar race, *viz.*, the Pāñchālas, who were apparently polyandrous still and the Yādavas and the Chedis and the Magadhas. In my opinion the different peoples ranged on either side observed different years and they were, so to speak, people of the old tradition and the new tradition. The former observed the Solar year and the latter the Lunar year. Hence might also arise the idea that the Pāndavas, Pāñchālas, etc., were the descendants of the Moon. It is true that some peoples of this race were observers of the Solar year as the Dhārtarāshtras themselves and the Madras, etc., but they were all inhabitants of the Punjab and must have adopted the year of the first settled Aryans there. I put forward this theory with some diffidence, but I think it to be of sufficient importance to find a record here. I have already given expression to this view in another place and detailed the whole theory as it appears from the story of the Mahābhārata. I touch it here in bare outline and I put it forward only as an alternative to account for the Epic names assigned to these two most famous races of Kshatriyas, *viz.*, the Solar and the Lunar races who have so gloriously distinguished themselves not only in the Vedic, the Epic and the Puranic days, but also in the modern history of India commencing with Mahomedan times.

APPENDIX II

SOME INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ORIGINAL.

(1) Ātपुरā inscription of Śāktikumāra relating to the
Guhilots of Mewād.

(*Indian Antiquary* XXXIX of 1910 p. 191)

संवत्सरशतेषु दशसु चतुस्त्रिंशत्यधिकेषु वैशाख शुक्ल प्रतिपदि संवत्
१०३४ वैशाखशुक्लप्रतिपदातथौ श्रीनानिगस्वामिदेवायतनं कारापितं ॥
आनंदपुरविनिर्गतविप्रकुलानन्दनो महीदेवः । जयति श्रीगुहदत्त प्रभवः
श्रीगुहिलवंशस्य । यस्यान्वये जगति भोजमहेन्द्रनागशीलापराजितमहेन्द्र-
जायतैक वीरः ॥ जातैर्यथार्कसमशोभितकालभोज खोम्माण—नृपैः सह
भर्तृपट्टैः ॥ २ ॥ सिंहोऽभवत् तदनु तद्भृतीपि जज्ञे खोम्माण इत्यथ सुतोस्य
महायकोऽभूत् । खोम्माणमात्मजमवाप स चाथ तस्मात् लोकत्रयैकतिलको
जाने भर्तृपट्टः ॥ ३ ॥ राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भूता महालक्ष्मीरितिप्रिया । अभूद्
यस्याभवत् तस्यां तनयः श्रीमदल्लटः ॥ ४ ॥ स भूपतिः प्रिया यस्य हूण-
क्षोणीशवंशजा दरीयदेवी यशो यस्या भाति हर्षपुरावहयम् ॥ अविकलकला-
धारो धीरः स्फुरद्विलसत्करो विजयवसतिः क्षत्रक्षेत्रं क्षताहतिसंहतिः समजनि-
जना—प्रतापतरुद्धृतो विभवभवनं विद्यावेदी नृपो नरवाहनः ॥ ६ ॥
चाहमानान्वयोद्भूता श्रीजेजयनृपात्मजा राजा जयति शालिवाहनः इति
ख्यातप्रतापस्ततः ॥ ८ ॥ ततः शक्तिकुमारोऽभूत् सुतः शक्तित्रयोर्जितः
भर्तृपट्टाभिधाश्रीश्चप्राप राष्ट्रमधापयत् ॥ ९ ॥ श्रीमदाटपुर—युतालयं
यस्य वास इति संपदां पदं यत्र सन्ति नृपपुंगवाः समं कल्पपादपपदात-
गामिनः ॥ १० ॥ &c.

(2) Harsha Stone Inscription relating to the Chāhamānas
of Sāmbar.

(*Ep. Indica* Vol. II. p. 121).

आद्यः श्रीगूवकाख्याप्रथितनरपतिश्चाहमानान्वयोभूत्
श्रीमन्नागा (द्य ?) लोकप्रवरनृपसभाल (ब्ध) वीरप्रतिष्ठः ।
यस्य श्रीहर्षदेवे वरभवनमयी भीतली कीर्तिमूर्ति—
छोंके व्यापि स्थिरैषा प्रतपति परमैः—७—७—[गै ?] :—
॥ १३ ॥

पुत्रः श्रीचंद्रराजो भवदमलयशास्तस्य तन्निप्रतापः
सूनुस्तस्याथ भूपः प्रथम इव पुनर्गूवकाख्यः प्रतापी ।
तस्माच्छ्रीचंदनोभूक्षितिपति भयदस्तोभरेशंसदर्प्य
हत्वा रुद्रेण भूयं समर [भुवि] [व] लाद्ये [न लब्धा]
जयश्रीः ॥ १४ ॥

ततः परमतेजस्वी सदा समरजित्वरः ।
श्रीमान्वाक्पतिराजाख्यो महाराजो भवत्सुतः ॥ १५ ॥
येनादैन्यं स्वसैन्यं कथमपि दधता वाजिवल्गा मुमुक्षु
प्रागेव त्रासितेभः सरसिक [रि] रटङ्गिडिमौर्द्धि ~
वन्दक्षमाभर्तुराज्ञां समदमभि [व] हन्नागतो नंतपार्श्व—
क्षमापालस्तंत्रालो दिशि दिशि गमितो द्वा निषण्णः प्रसण्ण
(न) ॥ १६ ॥

शूरस्येदं ।
लोकैर्यो हि महीतले ननु हरिश्चंद्रोपमो गीयते
त्यागैश्च [र्य] जयेषु की [र्ति] [र] मला धर्मश्च
यस्योच्च [ज्व] लः ।
येनादायि हराय मंदिरकृते भक्त्या प्रभूतं वसु
श्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजसूनुरसमः श्रीसिंदराजोभवत् ॥ १७ ॥

हैममारोपितं येन शिवस्य भवनोपरि ।
पूर्णं चंद्रोपमं स्वीयं मूर्ति य [श] ~ [पि ?] ङ्क
[म्] ॥ १८ ॥

— — । तोमरनायकं सलवणं सैन्याधिपत्योद्धतं
युद्धे येन नरेश्वराः प्रतिदिशं निर्त्रा (ण्णा) सिता जिष्णुना ।
कारावेशमनि भूरयश्च विधृतास्तावद्धि यावद्गृहे
तन्मुक्त्यर्थमुपागतो रघुकुले भूचक्रवर्ति स्वयम् ॥ १९ ॥

[निव] ग्रहराजो भुत्तत्सुतो वासवोपमः ।
वंगलक्ष्मीर्जयश्रीश्च येनैते विधुरोद्धृते ॥ २० ॥

श्रीसिंहराजरहिता किल चिंतयंती भीतेव संप्रति विमुर्ननु को
ममेति । येनात्मवा (बा) हुयुगले चिरसन्निवासं संघी
रितेति ददता निज [रा] जलक्ष्मीः ॥ २१ ॥

येन दृष्टदमनेन सर्वतः साधिताखिलमही स्व (बा) हुमिः ।
लीलयैव वशवर्तिनी कृता किंकरीव निजपादयोस्तले ॥ २२ ॥

यस्य चारुचरितं सतां सदा शृण्वतां जगति कीर्तितं जनैः ।
दृष्टिजातघनरोमकं — जायते तनुरलं महुर्महु ॥ २३ ॥

मुक्ताहारैः सुतारैः प्रतरलतुरगैश्चारुवस्त्रैश्च शस्त्रैः
कर्णपूरैः पूगपूरैर्मलयतरुवरैर्हमभारैरपारैः ।
उद्यद्दानैः समानैश्चलकुलगिरिभिर्दन्तिवारैः सदारैः—
निर्व्याजै प्रातिर ~ भिरितिभृतैः प्राभृतैर्यः सिषेवे ॥ २४ ॥

छत्रधारी वरग्रामो द्वीतीयः शंकराणकः
तेनेमौ हर्षना [याय] [भ] क्त्या दत्तो सशासनी ॥ २५ ॥

श्रीमहुर्लभराजेन योनुजेन विभूषितः
लक्ष्मणेनैव काकुत्स्थो विष्णुनेव हलायुधः ॥ २६ ॥

[महा] राजावर्ला आसौ शंभुभक्तिगुणोदया
श्रीहर्षः कुलदेवोस्यास्तमादिव्यः कुलक्रमः ॥ २७ ॥

अनंत गोचरे श्रीमात् पण्डित औत्तरेः श्व (स्व) रः ।
पंचार्यलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपो भवद्गुरुः ॥ २८ ॥

APPENDIX

(3) Gwalior Bhoja praśasti, relating to the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj p. 290

Archaeological Survey of India 1903—04. p. 280.

L 1 ओम् नमो विष्णवे ॥

शेषादितल्प धवला घरभागभासि-
वक्षःस्थलोल्लसित कौस्तुभकान्तिशोणं ।
दयामं वपु शशिविरोचनविम्बचुम्बि-
व्योमप्रकाशमवतान्नरकद्विषो वः ॥ १ ॥
आत्मारामफलादुपाज्यं विजयं देवेन दैत्यद्विषा

L 2 ज्योतिर्वीजमकृत्रिमे

गुणवति क्षेत्रे यदुतं पुरा
श्रेयः कन्दवपुस्ततस्समभवद्भास्वानतश्चापरे
मन्विक्षाकुक्कुस्थमूलपृथवः क्षमापालकल्पद्रुमाः ॥ २ ॥
तेषां वंशे सुजन्मा क्रमनिहितपदे धाम्नि वज्रेषु घोरं
रामः पौलस्त्यहिन्श्रं क्षतविहृतिसमित्कर्म चक्रे पलाशैः ।

श्लाघ्य—

L 3

स्तस्यानुजोमौ मघवमदमुपो मेघनादस्य संख्ये
सौमित्रिस्तीव्रदण्डः प्रतिहरणविधेर्यः प्रतीहार आसीत् ॥३॥
तद्वज्रशे प्रतिहारकेतनभृति त्रैलोक्यरक्षास्पदे
देवो नागभटः पुरातनमुनेर्मुर्तिर्बर्बभूवाद्भुतं ।
येनासौ सुकृतप्रमाथिबलनम्लेच्छा-

L 4

धिपाक्षौहिणीः

धुन्दानस्फुरदुग्रहेतिरुचिरैर्दोर्भिश्चतुर्भिर्बभौ ॥ ४ ॥
भ्रातुस्तस्यात्मजोभूत्कलितकुलयशाः खयातकाकुस्थनामा
लोके गीतः प्रतीक पृथुवचनतथा कक्कुः क्षमाभृदीशः ।
श्रीमानस्यानुजन्मा कुलिशधरघरामुद्रहन्देवगजो
यज्ञे च्छिन्नोरुपक्षक्षपितग-

L 5

तिकुलं भूमृतां सन्नियन्ता ॥ ५ ॥

तत्सूनुः प्राप्य राज्यं निजमुदयगिरिस्पर्धि भास्वत्प्रताप

क्षमापालः प्रादुरासीन्नतसकलजगद्वत्सलो वत्सराजः ।

यस्यैतास्सम्पदश्च द्विरदमदसुरास्वाद सान्द्र प्रमोदाः

षट्पाक्षीराक्षिपन्त्यः प्रणयिजनपरिध्वंग कान्ताधिरेजुः ॥ ६ ॥

ख्या (तादृ) भाण्डि

L 6

कुलान्मदोत्कटकरि प्राकार दुर्लङ्घतो

यः साम्राज्यमधिज्यकार्मुकसखा संख्ये हटादग्रहीत् ।

एकः क्षत्रियपुङ्गवेषु च यशोगुर्वान्धुरं प्रोद्वह

निश्वाकोः कुलमुन्नतं सुचरितैश्चक्रे स्वनामाङ्कितं ॥ ७ ॥

आद्यः पुमान्पुनरपि स्फुटकीर्तिरस्मा-

ज्जातस्स एव किल नागभटस्तदाख्यः ।

यत्रा—

L 7

न्ध्र सैन्धव विदर्भ कलिङ्ग भूपैः

कौमारधामानि पतङ्गसमैरपाति ॥ ८ ॥

त्रय्यास्पदस्य सुकृतस्य समृद्धिमिच्छु

र्यः क्षत्रधामविधिबद्धबलिप्रबन्धः ।

जित्वा पराश्रयकृतस्फुटनीचभावं

चक्रायुधं विनयनम्रवपुर्व्यराजत् ॥ ९ ॥

दुर्वारवैरि वर वारण वाजिवार-

याणौघसंघट

L 8

न घोरघनान्धकारं ।

निर्जित्य वङ्गपतिमाविरभूद्विस्वा

नुद्यन्निव त्रिजगदेकविकास कोषः ॥ १० ॥

आनर्त्त मालव किरात तुरुष्कवर्त्म-

मतस्यादि राजगिरिदुर्गहटापहारैः ।

यस्यात्मवैभवमतीन्द्रियमाकुमार-

माविर्बभूव भुवि विश्वजनीनवृत्तेः ॥ ११ ॥

तजन्मा राम

नामा प्रवरहरिबलन्यस्तभूमृत्प्रबन्धै—

शङ्खपाशादीनां प्रसभमधिपतीनुद्धत क्रूरसत्त्वान् ।
प्रापानाशासमायप्रमथनराचिरः सङ्गतः कीर्तिदारै-
स्त्राता धर्मस्व तैस्तैस्समुचितवरितैः पूर्ववान्निर्व्वभासे ॥ १२ ॥
अनन्य साधनाधीन प्रतापाक्रान्तदि—

L 10

दुःखः ।
मु

उपायेत्सम्पदा स्वामी यः प्रसीदमुपास्यत ॥ १३ ॥
अर्थिभिर्व्विनियुक्तानां सम्पदां जन्म केवलं ।
पश्याभूत्फुलिनः प्रीत्यै नात्मेच्छाविनियोगतः ॥ १४ ॥
जगद्वितृष्णुः स विशुद्धसत्त्वः ।
प्रजापतित्वं विनियोक्तुकामः ।
सुतं रहस्यव्रतमुप्रसन्ना—
त्सूर्यादवा-

L 11

पन्महिराभिधानं ॥ १५ ॥

उत्तरोधैकसंरुद्ध विन्ध्यवृद्धेरगस्त्यतः
आक्रम्य भूमृतां भोक्ता यः प्रभुर्भोज इत्यभात् ॥ १६ ॥
यशस्वी शान्तात्मा जगदहितविच्छेद निपुणः
परिष्वक्तो लक्ष्म्या न च मदकलंकेन कलितः ।
बभूव प्रेमाद्रौ गुणिषु विषयः सूनृत-

L 12

गिरा—

मसौ रामो वाग्रे स्वकृतिगणनायामिहविधेः ॥ १७ ॥
यस्याभूत्कुलभूमिभृत्प्रमथनव्यस्तान्यसैन्याम्बुधे-
र्व्यूढावस्फुटितारिलाजनि वहान्हुत्वा प्रतापानले
गुप्ता वृद्धगुणैरनन्यगतिभिः शान्तैस्सुधोद्भासिभि-
र्धर्म्मापत्ययशः प्रभूतिरपरा लक्ष्मीः पुनर्भू-

L 13

र्त्त या ॥ १८ ॥

प्रीतैः पालनया तपोधनकुलैः स्नेहाद्गुरूणां गणै-
र्भक्त्या भृत्यजनेन नीतिनिपुणैर्वृन्दैररीणां पुनः ।
विश्वेनापि यदीयमायुरमितं कर्तुं स्वजोवैषिणा
तन्निष्ठा विदधे विधातरि यथा सम्पत्पराद्धाश्रये ॥ १९ ॥
अवितथमिदं यावद्विश्वं श्रुते-

L 14

रनुशासना-

भवति फलभाषाणी नेशा मितीन्द्रशतेष्वपि ।
 अधारितकलेः कीर्तिर्भर्तुस्त्वं सुकृतेरभू-
 द्विधुरितधियां सम्भृद्धिर्यदरा तद्भद्रुतं ॥ २० ॥
 यस्य वैरिवृहद्वृत्तान्दहतः कोपवन्निना
 प्रतापादण्णसां राशी न्पातुर्वैष्णवमावभी ॥ ॥
 कुमार इव विद्यानां

L 15

वृन्देनाद्भुतकर्मणा ।

यः शशासासुरान्घोरास्त्रैणेनास्त्रैक वृत्तिना ॥ २२ ॥
 यस्याक्षपटले राशः प्रभुत्वाद्विश्वसम्पदः ।
 लिलेख मुखमालोक्य प्रातिलेख्यकरो विधिः ॥ २३ ॥
 उद्दामतेजः प्रसरप्रसूता
 शिखेव कीर्तिर्द्युमार्णि विजित्य ।
 जाया जगद्भर्तु-

L 16

रियाय यस्य

चित्रं त्विदं यज्जलधोन्स्ततार ॥ २४ ॥
 राशः तेन स्वदेवीनां यशःपुण्याभिवृद्धये ।
 अन्तःपुरपुरं नाम्ना व्यधायि नरकद्विषः ॥ २५ ॥
 यावन्नभः सुरसरित्पसरोत्तरीयं
 यावत्सुदुश्चरतपः प्रभवः प्रभावः ।
 सत्यञ्च यावदुपरिस्थमवत्यशेषं
 तावत्पु—

L 17

नातु जगतीभियमस्य कीर्तिः ॥ २६ ॥

पातुर्विश्वस्य सम्यक्तरममुनिमतश्रेयसस्तम्बिधाना-
 दन्तवृत्तिर्विवेकः स्थित इव पुरतो भोजदेवस्य राशः
 विद्वद्वृन्दार्जितानां फलमिव तपसां भट्टभञ्जेक सून-
 र्वालादित्यः प्रशस्तेः कविरिह जगता साक (१) माकरपवृत्तेः
 ॥ २७ ॥

APPENDIX III.

Extracts from important Smritis (Manu and Yājñavalky excepted) showing the freer social condition of India in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries A.D.)

अत्रिः—

- १ राजन्यैः श्वपचैर्वापि बलाद्विचालितो द्विजः ।
पुनः कुर्वीत संस्कारं पश्चात्कृच्छ्रतयं चरेत् ।
- २ (यतिः) चरन्माधुकरिं वृत्तिमथ म्लेच्छकुलादपि ।
एकान्नं नैव भोक्तव्यं बृहस्पतिसमो यदि ॥
- ३ गोकुले ऋतुशालायां तैलयन्त्रेक्षुयन्त्रयोः ।
अमीमांस्यानि शौचानि स्त्रीणां च व्याधितस्य च ॥
- ४ देवयात्राविवाहेषु यज्ञप्रकरणेषु च ।
उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते ॥
- ५ आरनालं तथा क्षीरं कन्दुकं दधिसक्तु च ।
स्नेहपक्वं च तक्रं च शूद्रस्यापि न दुष्यति ॥
- ६ आर्द्रमांसं घृतं तैलं स्नेहाश्च फलसंभवाः
अन्त्यभाण्डस्थिता ह्येते निष्क्रान्ताः शुचिमाप्नुयुः ॥

विष्णुः—

- १ परिणीय तु षण्मासाद् वत्सरं वा न संविशेत् ।
औदुम्बरायणो नाम ब्रह्मचारी गृहे गृहे ॥
- २ शूद्रोपि द्विविधो ज्ञेयः श्राद्धी चैवेतरस्तथा ।
श्राद्धी भोज्यस्तयोरुक्तो अभोज्यस्त्वितरो मतः ॥
- ३ त्रिदण्डलिङ्गमाश्रित्य जीवन्ति बहवो द्विजाः ।
न तेषामपवर्गोऽस्ति लिङ्गमालोपजीविनाम् ॥

उशनाः—

- १ विधिना ब्राह्मणः प्राप्य नृपायां तु समन्त्रकम् ।
जातः सुवर्ण इत्युक्तः सानुलोमद्विजः स्मृतः ॥

२ नृपायां विधिना विप्राजातो नृप इति स्मृतः ॥

आपस्तम्बः—

१ ब्राह्मण्या सह योश्नीयादुच्छिष्टं वा कदाचन ।

न तत्र दोषं मन्यन्ते नित्यमेव मनीषिणः ॥

२ उच्छिष्टमितरस्त्रीणामश्नीयात्स्पृशतेपि वा ।

प्राजापत्येन शुद्धिः स्याद्भगवान्नाङ्गरोऽब्रवीत् ॥

३ ब्राह्मणस्य सदा भुंक्ते क्षत्रियस्य तु पर्वणि ।

वैश्यस्य यज्ञदीक्षायां शूद्रस्य न कदाचन ॥

४ आममांसं मधु घृतं घानाः क्षीरं तथैव च ।

गुडस्तक्रं रसा ग्राह्या निवृत्तेनापि शूद्रतः

५ शाकं मांसं मृणालानि तुम्बुरुः सक्तवस्तिलाः ।

रसाः फलानि पिण्याकं प्रतिग्राह्या हि सर्वतः ॥

संवर्तः—

१ तस्माद्विवाहयेत्कन्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत् ।

विवाहोष्टमवर्षायाः कन्यायास्तु प्रशस्यते ॥

कात्यायनः—

२ अजातव्यञ्जनालोम्नी न तया सह संविशेत् ।

अयुगूः काकवन्ध्याया जाता तां न विवाहयेत् ॥

बृहस्पतिः—

[बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता &c. दशहस्तेनदण्डेन त्रिंशद्दण्डान्निवर्तनम् ।

दश तान्येव विस्तारो गोचर्मैतन्महाफलम् (निवर्तन=३००

हस्त and गोचर्म=३००० हस्त)]

३ वीरासनं वीरशय्या वीरस्थानमुपाश्रितः ।

अक्षय्यास्तस्य लोकाः स्युः सर्वकामगमास्तथा ॥

पराशरः—

२ अव्रता ह्यनधीयाना यत्र भैक्ष्यचरा द्विजाः ।

तं ग्रामं दण्डयेद्राजा चोरभक्तप्रदो हि सः ॥

२ षट्कर्मसहितो विप्रः कृषिकर्म च कारयेत् ।

शुधितं तृषितं श्रान्तं बलीवर्दं न योजयेत् ॥

३ गज्ञे दत्त्वा तु षट्भागं देवानां चैवविंशकम्

विप्राणां त्रिंशकं भागं सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥

४ क्षत्रियोपि कृषिं कृत्वा देवान् विप्रांश्च तोषयेत् ।

वैश्यः शूद्रस्तथा कुर्यात् कृषिवाणिज्यशिल्पकम् ॥

व्यासः—

- १ ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशस्त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः ।
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्तधर्मयोग्यास्तु नेतरे ॥
- २ शूद्रो वर्णश्चतुर्थस्तु वर्णत्वाद्धर्ममर्हति ।
वेदमन्त्रस्वधास्थाहावघट्कारादिभिर्विना ॥
- ३ वर्धकिर्नापितो गोपः आशायः कुम्भकारकः ।
वणिक्किरातकायस्थमालाकारकुटम्बिनः ॥ भोज्यान्नाः
- ४ ऊढायां हि सवर्णायामन्यां वा काममुद्वहेत् ।
तस्यामुत्पादितः पुत्रो न सवर्णात्प्रहीयते ॥
- ५ उद्वहेत्क्षत्रियां विप्रो वैश्यां च क्षत्रियो विशाम् ।
न तु शूद्रां द्विजः कश्चिन्नाधमः पूर्ववर्णजाम् ॥
- ३ नापितान्वयमित्रार्द्धसीरिणो दासगोपकाः ।
शूद्राणामप्यमीषां तु भुक्त्वान्नं नैव दुष्यति ॥
- ४ नाश्रीयाद्ब्राह्मणो मांसमनियुक्तः कथंचन ।
क्रतौ श्राद्धे नियुक्तो वा अनश्नन्पतति द्विजः ॥
- ५ मृगयोषार्जितं मांसमभ्यर्च्य पितृदेवताः ।
क्षत्रियो द्वादशोऽनं तत्क्रीत्वा वैश्योऽपि धर्मतः ॥

शंखः—

- १ आपद्यपि न कर्तव्या शूद्रा भार्या कथंचन ।
तस्यां तस्य प्रसूतस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते ॥

दक्षः—

- १ एको भिक्षुर्यथोक्तस्तु द्वौ चैव मिथुनं स्मृतम् ।
त्रयो ग्रामः समाख्याता ऊर्ध्वं तु नगरायते ॥
- २ नगरं नैव कर्तव्यं ग्रामो वा मिथुनं तथा ।
एतत्त्रयं तु कुर्वाणः स्वधर्माच्यवते यतिः ॥
- ३ नीरुजश्च युवा चैव भिक्षुर्नविसथार्हणः ।
स दूषयति तत्स्थानं वृद्धादीन्पीडयत्यपि ॥

गोतमः—

- १ व्यवहारप्राप्तेन सार्ववर्णिकं भिक्षाचर्यमाभिश्चस्तं पतितवर्जम् ।
- २ राशे बलिदानं कर्षकैर्दशममष्टमं षष्ठं वा पशुहिरण्ययोरप्येके
पञ्चाशद्भागं विंशतिभागः शुल्कः पण्ये मूले फलमधुमांसपुष्पा-
पघतृणैर्धनानां षष्ठं तद्रक्षणधर्मत्वात्तेषु तु नित्ययुक्तः स्यात् ॥

- ३ प्रशस्तानां स्वकर्मसु द्विजातीनां ब्राह्मणो भुञ्जीत प्रति-
गृहीयात् ॥
- ४ वृत्तिश्चेन्नान्तरेण शूद्रान् पशुपालक्षेत्रकर्षककुलसंगत-
कारयितृपरिचारका भोज्यान्ना वणिक् चाशिल्पी
वसिष्ठः—
- १ आत्मत्राणे वर्णसंकरे वा ब्राह्मणवैश्यौ शस्त्रमाददीयाताम् ।
क्षत्रियस्य तु नित्यमेव रक्षणाधिकारात् ॥
- २ अष्टौ ग्रासा मुनेर्भक्तं वानप्रस्थस्य षोडश ।
द्वात्रिंशच्च गृहस्थस्य अमितं ब्रह्मचारिणः ॥
- ३ न मृगयोरिषुचारिणः परिवर्जमन्नम् ।
विशायते ह्यगस्त्यो वर्षसाहस्रिके सत्रे मृगयां चचार तस्या-
संस्तु रसमयाः पुरोडाशा मृगपक्षिणां प्रशस्तानामपि ह्यन्न . ।
- ४ राजा सह नागरैश्च दार्याणि कुर्यात् ।
- ५ पाणिग्राहे मृते बाला केवलं मंत्रसंस्कृता ।
सा चेदक्षतयोनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥

APPENDIX IV.

GENESIS OF THE DICTUM • कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः

We have not yet been able to trace the above dictum, meaning that there would be only two varṇas (Brahmins and Śūdras) in the Kali age, to its original source. We find it quoted by Kamalākara Bhatta of Benares in his work Śūdrakamalākara but he did not plainly believe in it as we shall presently show and hence perhaps he merely says “In some Purāṇa” (Purāṇāntare) when he quotes it. We have not yet been able to fix upon the Purāṇa which contains this oft quoted line. It is most probably an imaginary line first quoted by the above Pandit of Benares who cannot, however, have been its originator. Kinjavadekar Śastri of Poona a well-known scholar and particularly versed in Mīmāṃsā pointed out to us another interesting place where a similar verse is quoted and we make no apology for giving the whole quotation. In his Mahābhāṣya or commentary on the Sūtras of Pāṇini Patanjali says “ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च” meaning a Brahmin even though without necessity should learn the Veda with its six Aṅgas and understand it. On this line of the Bhāṣya (circa. 150 B.C.) of Patanjali, there is no comment in the gloss of Kaiyyata (who wrote his work about 600 A.D.). Nāgojibhatta of the 14th century A.D. in his commentary named Udyota says here “ब्राह्मणेनेत्युक्तेरन्यस्यैव मध्ययनं काम्यमेवेति सूचयतीति कश्चित्” “Some one says that in using the word Brahmin the Bhāṣyakāra intends to suggest that this learning the Vedas is optional with others.” Vaidyanātha Mahādeva Pāyagunde of the 16th century, who has written a Chhāyā on the Udyota remarks on this “अत्रारुचिबीजम् । तयोर्नित्याध्ययनाविधायकस्मृत्यन्तरादिविरोधापत्तिरिति । तस्माद्ब्राह्मणपदं त्रैवर्णिकोपलक्षणमिति बोध्यम् । क्षत्रियस्य च वैश्यस्य च साङ्गवेदाध्ययनं ज्ञानं चेत्यर्थः ।

वस्तुतस्तु कलौ क्षत्रियस्याभावं सूचयितुं तथोक्तमिति यथाश्रुतमेव तत्साधु ।
 तथा च “कलौ न क्षत्रियाः सन्ति कलौ नो वैश्यजातयः । ब्राह्मणश्चैव
 शूद्रश्च कलौ वर्णद्वयं स्मृतम्” इति स्मृतिरिति तत्त्वम् । Translation.
 The writer of Udyota expresses his disapprobation of the
 opinion in using the word *kaschit* some one for this rea-
 son viz., that the two (*varṇas*) Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas are ex-
 pressly enjoined by the Smṛitis to study the Veda and hence the
 opinion that its study is optional with them is contradictory of
 the Smṛiti injunction. Therefore (in the opinion of the Udyo-
 takāra), the word Brahmin in the Bhāshya sentence should be
 taken to include all the three *varṇas* by *upalakṣhaṇa* (suggested
 inclusion) and therefore the sentence means also that Kshatriyas
 and Vaiśyas have to study and understand the Veda. But (we
 think) the sentence is proper and mentions Brahmins only in
 order to indicate that in the Kali age there are no Kshatriyas
 nor Vaiśyas. For a Smṛiti says “In the Kali age there are no
 Kshatriyas and no Vaiśya castes. There are in Kali only two
Varṇas viz., Brahmins and Śūdras” The editor Śivadatta who
 publishes the Udyota with the Chhāyā of Pāyagunde tacks on
 the remark *धृतीनां कलियुगपरत्वकल्पनमसमञ्जसमिति त्रैवर्णिकानामुपल-
 क्षणमित्येव युक्तम् ।* “To suppose that the Veda (study) is
 regulated by Kaliyuga is not sensible and hence the word Brah-
 min includes by *upalakṣhaṇa* the three *Varṇas*.”

The above is a curious illustration how views based on the
 same original text change and toss from one side to another as
 times change. We will add the following historical comment
 on this. Originally, that is before Buddhism arose and spread,
 the Dharmaśāstra properly laid down the rule that all the three
Varṇas should study and understand the Veda and such indeed
 was the practice in those days. This rule is naturally embodied in
 Manu and other Smṛitis. When Patañjali wrote his Bhāshya
 after the general spread of Buddhism in about 150 B.C. Kshatri-
 yas and Vaiśyas had mostly become Buddhists and had given
 up the study of the Veda. Many Brahmins also were doing the
 same and Patañjali thought that it was the duty of Brahmins
 even without necessity to study the Veda. He, therefore, wrote
 the sentence above quoted with reference to the actual state of

the country, Brahmins now being responsible for the preservation of the Veda. Kaiyyata lived about 600 A.D., when Buddhism was still supreme and naturally thought no comment was necessary. In the days of Nāgojibhaṭṭa of about 1300 A.D. things had entirely changed, Buddhism had gone out of India for centuries and Rajputs—orthodox Rajputs—had established their right to study the Vedas though the study was taken up by some only. Hence Nāgojibhaṭṭa found room to record the opinion of *some one* that the study of the Vedas for Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas was optional according to Patañjali. Pāyagunde of Wai wrote his work after the Mahomedans had long established their sway over the whole of India including the south and after the Kshatriyas, especially the Marathas of the south, had given up learning the Vedas, took occasion to express the opinion that the Bhāshyakāra had properly restricted his statement to Brahmins, as there were no Kshatriyas in the Kali age according to the above quoted dictum which probably must have come into existence in the interval, reflecting the actual state of the country of the time. Lastly, under the present awakening of the country and the effort of the Kshatriyas and Marathas to re-establish their right and status, Śivadatta like ourselves denies the correctness of the view of Pāyagunde that the study of the Veda can be subject to any Kaliyuga rule and reverts to the oldest state of law that all the three varṇas have to study and understand the Veda.

From the above discussion it will be apparent that the dictum “कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः” arose sometime between 1300 and 1600 A. D. If the belief had arisen before the time of Nāgojibhaṭṭa he would certainly have taken the line of argument adopted by Pāyagunde later and justified the statement of Patañjali by the simpler method *viz.*, that Patañjali intended to convey that there were no Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas in the Kali age. It is hence extremely probable that the idea arose later than Nāgojibhaṭṭa.

It is, however, possible to suggest that Najogibhaṭṭa knew the dictum but did not support it. For we know that Kamalā-

karbhaṭṭa, one of the descendants of Nāgojibhaṭṭa only quotes the dictum in order to refute it. This is what he states at the end of his Śūdrakamalākara—

“ ननु कलौ क्षत्रियाभाव उक्तो भागवते नवमस्कन्धे.....द्वादश-
स्कन्धे देवापिः शन्तनोभ्रीता मरुश्चेश्वाकुवंशजः । कलापग्राममासाते महा-
योगबलान्वितौ ॥ ताविहेत्य कलेरन्ते वसुदेवानुशिक्षितौ वर्णाश्रमयुतं धर्मं
पूर्ववत् प्रथयिष्यतः ॥ विष्णुपुराणेपि महा-न्नभतिर्नाम नन्दः क्षत्रविनाश-
कृत् ।पुराणान्तर्गेपि ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रा वर्णास्त्रियो द्विजः ।
युगे युगे स्थिताः सर्वे कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः ॥ अतः कथं द्विजसंकरजा
उक्ताः । मैवं कलौ तु बीजभूताश्च कचित्तिष्ठन्ति भूतले इति विष्णुस्मरणात्-
ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशः शूद्रा बीजार्थे य इह स्थिताः । कृते युगे तु तैः सार्धं निर्विशेषा
स्तदाभवन् । इति मत्स्योक्तेश्च प्रच्छन्नरूपा स्वकर्मभ्रष्टाः क्षत्रियवैश्याः
सन्त्येव कचिदित्यस्मत्पितृचरणाः ॥ ”

Transl. : “ But in Bhāgavata Purāṇa 9th Skandha the absence of Kshatriyas in the Kali age is declared as also in the 12th Skandha in the verse “ Devāpi, brother of Śantanu and Maru born of the race of Ikshvāku will live in the village of Kalāpa endowed with great yogic power. These two, at the end of Kali, will again promulgate the Dharma of Varṇa and Āśrama by the command of Vāsudeva.” Again in the Viṣṇu Pūraṇa also (it is stated that) a Nanda named Mahāpadmapati will destroy the Kshatriya people. Again in another Purāṇa (it is said) “Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras are the four varṇas the first three of which are Dvijas. All these exist in every age but in the Kali age only the first and the last remain. ” How then can you speak of subcastes born of mixture with Dvijas ? The answer is : this doubt is not correct for Viṣṇu says “In the Kali age some remain as seed ” and in the Matsya Purāṇa it is stated “Those Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras who will remain as seed (at the end of Kali) will become mingled with these in the beginning of Kṛita Yuga.” From these two authorities our respected father holds the opinion that there are Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas in the Kali age though their appearance is concealed and their Karma or mode of life is defiled.” It must be pointed out that the author, Kamalākarkarbhaṭṭa, belongs to

the famous Bhaṭṭa family of learned men and Dharma-śāstris of Benares to which belonged Gāgābhaṭṭa also who crowned Śivaji with Vedic rites, believing him to be a good Kshatriya. To the same family belonged Nājogibhaṭṭa and it is possible to explain his silence on this question by supposing him to be unwilling to enter into this question of Dharmaśāstra in a work on grammar.

But whether this dictum had or had not arisen in the days of Nājogibhaṭṭa it had certainly no existence before 1200 A.D. as we proceed to show. In the time of Kumārila (Circa 650-700 A.D), there was no such idea in the mind of any writer on Dharmaśāstra that there were no Kshatriyas nor Vaiśyas in the Kali age. For Kumārila distinctly says in his disquisition on the word Rājā in his Vārtika (p. 587 Calc. Edn.) that there were in his time kings of all the four castes reigning (तच्च राज्यमविशेषेण चत्वारोऽपि वर्णाः कुर्वाणा दृश्यन्ते). The question was whether the word Rājā in the sūtra राजा राजसूयेन यजेत meant a Kshatriya and the eventual answer given by him after discussion is that the word meant a Kshatriya. Now this clearly establishes that he not only believes that there were actually Kshatriya and Vaiśya kings in his days (a fact historically true, as stated already) but that there would be Kshatriyas in times to come and that Kshatriya kings alone could perform the Rājasūya sacrifice. It is, therefore, certain that the dictum 'Kalāvādyantayoh sthitih' had not arisen in the days of Kumārila. In inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Śilāhāras and the Yādavas, they are certainly represented as Kshatriyas; but perhaps these are documents drawn up in praise of kings by royal orders. But we find Vijnāneśvara an authoritative writer on Dharmaśāstra not doubting that there were Kshatriyas in his days. He would certainly have stated so in his commentary where he discusses the question of the gotra of Kshatriya by adding that the question was not important in the Kali age. Vijnāneśvara's commentary belongs to the 12th century. Then again Hemādri, also an authoritative writer on Dharmaśāstra, does not desist from describing the Yādavas as descendants of Śrī Kṛishṇa and therefore Kshatriyas. No doubt, it may

be objected that he was a minister to the Yādava king Rāmchandra. But this eulogy of the Yādavas is not in a State document but in his work on Dharmaśāstra. And the famous saint and poet of Mahārāshtra, Jnāneśvara, also describes Rāmachandra-rao Yādava as Kshatriya. He was a man of great learning and saint as he was, he had no reason or motive to flatter any person. We, therefore, feel sure that this dictum had not arisen yet, when Jnāneśvara wrote his poem in Śaka 1212 or 1290 A.D. All these considerations, therefore, in our view point to the conclusion that this dictum arose about after 1300 in Mahomedan times, in the east and the south, where Pāyagundes and Kamalākar lived.

APPENDIX VI

THE RULING FAMILIES OF THE DECCAN IN THIS PERIOD WERE MARATHA KSHATRIYAS.

Mr. V. K. Rājavāde, the well-known historical researcher of the Deccan, in his learned preface in Marathi to the Rādhā Mādhava-Vilāsa-Champu, a poem composed by a Marathi poet named Jayarāma Pindye, a contemporary of Śahāji, which he has recently discovered remarks that the Marathas who settled in Mahārāshtra in ancient times (according to him after the time of Buddha) were of lower capacities and civilisation and hence were subject to foreign rule from about 250 B.C. down to 1600 A.D. His contention that the Marathas of the Deccan were ruled by Kshatriya kingly families from the north from time to time in effect means that the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Yādavas whose brilliant rule has been and will be described in the volumes of this history were not Maratha but Northern Kshatriya families. As this opinion is opposed to the view propounded in this work, it is necessary that this theory put forth by Mr. Rājavāde should be carefully examined in this appendix.

It may be stated at the outset that this theory coming as it does from Mr. Rājavāde is really surprising. In fact, Mr. Rājavāde himself observes "Our readers will be astonished to find us calling the Chālukyas and others foreigners." We may go further and add that the readers will not only be surprised but painfully surprised ; for none, not even Dr. Sir Bhandarkar had yet formulated the theory that these Chālukyas and others were not Marathas but foreigners. Indeed, we frequently hear it propounded that they were Marathas but not Kshatriyas and here we find Mr. Rājavāde going to the opposite extreme and holding the opinion that they were Kshatriyas but not Marathas.

Mr. Rājavāde calls the Chālukyas and others, Kshatriyas from the north. But all Marathas whether Brahmins, Kshatriyas or Vaiśyas are Aryans, come into Mahārāshtra from the north. The question really is, did these kingly families come into Mahārāshtra at a much later time than the other Marathas and did they live here as foreigners? A foreign rule is a rule maintained by a foreign people who do not permanently reside in the country ruled and whose military and civil power is exercised by a constant influx of men from a foreign country, men who eventually return to that country after their work is done, who, in fact, never intend to settle in the country ruled. The English rule in India is a perfectly foreign rule of this kind. British soldiers and military officers and British civil administrators who hold this country in subjection always return to their country after they have worked for a definite period in this country which they never intend to make their permanent habitation. Mahomedan rule in the south or in the north in past times was also practically a foreign rule; for, there was a constant supply of soldiers and officers from outside from Irān and Khurāsān, from Syria and Arabia. And even though Mahomedan rulers and many Sardars resided permanently in India, the majority of the foreigners coming to India eventually returned to their own country and thus there was a constant drain from India which, as Dadabhai Nowroji has shown, is the root cause of the evils of a foreign rule. Even in India itself the Maurya rule over the Deccan (Circa 250 B.C.) or the Andhra-bhṛitya rule over Magadha must be considered as a foreign rule. The Maratha rule of the Peshwas in modern times must also be treated as foreign; for, the soldiers of the army and the officers of civil administration who kept the north under subjection were Marathas from the Deccan and these never made Northern India their home but always returned to the Deccan to enjoy their earnings. But the present rule of Scindia, Holkar or Gaikwad cannot be looked upon as foreign though it is in parts of the country outside Mahārāshtra. For, their civil and military administration is carried on mostly by local men and the few Marathas who are found chiefly among clerks and officers are recruited not from the Deccan but from locally residing

Maratha families. And what is more important, these ruling families have made the respective territories ruled by them their home and they never think of returning to the Deccan although their marriage relations are usually contracted with the Maratha families of the Deccan. This examination of the essentials of a foreign rule will enable us to determine whether the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Yādavas can be considered foreign rulers in Mahārāshtra.

Looked at from the above stand-point, in no way can the Chālukya, Rāshtrakūṭa and Yādava rule in Mahārāshtra be treated as a foreign rule. There is nothing to show in the records of their time that their civil and military administration was maintained by an influx of foreigners into Mahārāshtra. Then again these ruling families had made the Deccan their home and their eyes never turned towards the north whence they are supposed to have come. Nay more, unlike the modern ruling families in Gwalior, Indore and Baroda, their marriage relations too, did not principally take place with northern Kshatriya families. Sometimes, no doubt, we find such marriages mentioned but therein there was no consciousness of the idea that these ruling families of the Deccan were foreigners in that land and that they had to continue their marriage affinities with their Kshatriya kinsmen in the north. In short, there is nothing in their rule or their family connections which would suggest, much less prove that their rule in the Deccan was a foreign rule.

But it may be urged that these families were, as a matter of fact, Kshatriya families come into the south from the north and though they may have eventually considered themselves as natives of Mahārāshtra and mingled their blood with its people, yet their inherent capacities of mind and body, their political instincts and their love of independence were those of the northern Kshatriyas whose civilisation was higher than that of the people of the Deccan. In other words, they were fresh incomers from the north into Mahārāshtra and had not yet lost their higher feelings and capacities. Probably Mr. Rājavāde calls

these ruling families of the Deccan foreigners from this point of view. But properly considered this view also is not historically correct. The Aryan settlement of the Deccan took place according to our opinion and that of Mr. Rajavade also, after Pāṇini and before Kātyāyana *i. e.*, after 900 B. C. and before 300 B. C. The only point of difference between us is that while Mr. Rajavade thinks that this settlement took place after Buddha *i. e.*, after 500 B. C. we think it must have taken place before Buddha's time (following as we do the opinion of Dr. Sir Bhandarkar) *i. e.*, about the 7th century B. C. (see Vol. I. p. 79). But whether the Aryans of Mahārāshṭra came to it before or after Buddha does not concern us here. The question here is : Did the early Chālukyas whose rule in the Deccan began about 500 A. D. come to it a little before that time or did they belong to the general stock of the Marāṭhā Aryans settled there for centuries ? Similarly did the Rāshṭrakūṭas whose rule began about 750 A. D. and the Yādavas whose rule began about 1100 A. D. come to the Deccan a little before their rules began ? We think Mr. Rajavade's apparent view that these families were fresh-comers is wrong and we proceed to show in detail how it is so.

Let us first take the case of the early Chālukyas, Pulakeśin and others. Mr. Rajavade says that they were Kshatriyas from Ayodhyā. This fact though indeed mentioned in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas is not mentioned in any inscriptional record of the early Chālukyas themselves who ruled from about 500 to 750 A. D. And even in the grants of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi it appears so late as about 1011 A. D. (See Ranastipundi grant E. I. Vol. VI p. 357). When after the new editions of the Purāṇas notably after the Bhāgavata of about the 10th century A. D. had come into popular favour and every ruling family in India wished to assign itself to either of the Purāṇic solar and lunar Kshatriya Vamśas it is very probable that the Eastern Chālukyas promulgated the view that they belonged to the lunar Vamśa and that they originally ruled in Ayodhyā. The most famous family of this Vamśa was of the Pāṇḍavas and Udayana was the last famous

historical king of this family who ruled in Kauśāmbi about 600 B. C. After about 59 generations from him, it is alleged, had ruled in Ayodhyā, a king of the family came to the Deccan. This no doubt brings the first Chālukya king to the Deccan about 500 A. D. as shown by us in Vol. I. p. 262. But this is according to our view a subsequent story, for it is not even hinted at in the records of the early Chālukyas (who were then apparently believed to be solar Kshatriyas). As this story is given so late as 1000 A. D. it is not historical and from the records of the early Chālukyas they appear to be, as we have already recorded in our opinion (Vol. I p. 269), true Marāṭhā Kshatriyas of the Māndvya gotra, the gotra of the northern Chālukyas being Bhāradvāja. Their marriage relations appear from their grants to be generally contracted with Pallavas, Rāshtrakūṭas and Sendrakas who were undoubtedly Marāṭhā families represented by the modern Marāṭhā families of Pālave Rāṭakute and Sinde.

The case of the Rāshtrakūṭas is still clearer. Their rule began about 750 A. D. and they were certainly not fresh-comers at that time; for it can be clearly proved that they were then a well-known old Marāṭhā family. The early inscriptions of the Chālukyas state that they wrested the sovereignty of the Deccan from the Rāshtrakūṭas. And the early records of the Rāshtrakūṭas themselves state that in seizing the sovereignty from the Chālukyas they got back what had been lost. In an inscription of Nityavarsha dated Śaka 834 (912 A.D.), we find it stated that Dantidurga the first Rāshtrakūṭa king recovered back the Lakshmī or regal splendour of the Rāṭṭa kingdom which had been drowned in the ocean of Chālukya power, like Nārāyaṇa who brought up the earth sunk in the ocean. (निमग्न-
अश्लुक्याब्धौ रटराज्यभ्रियं पुनः । पृथ्वीमिवोद्धरन् धीरो वीरनारायणोऽभवत् ॥)
J. Bom. Br.R.A.S. XVIII p. 260). This shows that the Rāshtrakūṭas always believed that they were the rightful kings of the Deccan even during Chālukya supremacy from 500 to 750 A.D. It is, therefore, clear from Chālukya as well as Rāshtrakūṭa records that the latter were kings of the Deccan in about 400 A. D. *i. e.* about 350 years before their Imperial rule began about 750 A. D.

The Rāshtrakūṭa records no doubt describe them as Laṭṭa-lūrapurādhiśvara or kings of the town of Laṭṭalūra and we have already stated that no body has yet ascertained the whereabouts of this town. It is possible to suppose that this was some town in the Deccan itself but Mr. Rajavade suggests that this was the town of Ratnapura in the Chedi country in the north, on what ground it is not stated. We think that writers of Sanskrit inscriptions could easily have given the Sanskrit name instead of the Prākṛit Laṭṭalūra in their records just as they give the Sanskrit form Mānnyakheta instead of the Marathi name Malkhed of the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas. But even granting that Mr. Rajavade is right in identifying Laṭṭalūra with Ratnapura in the Chedi country, the really pertinent question is when did the Rāshtrakūṭas come to the Deccan from Ratnapura? Did they come about the time of the establishment of their rule in about 750 A.D. in other words were they then fresh-comers into the Deccan from the north? As we have shown above, they were not, as from records their rule about 400 A.D. in the Deccan is undoubted and thus they were at least 350 years old in Māhārāshṭra when they became masters of it.

But we believe they were far older inhabitants of Mahārāshṭra, being as old as the days of Aśoka (250 B.C). These Rāshtrakūṭas are the same people as the Rāshṭrikas mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka. The word Rāshtrakūṭa, as we have already stated, means chief among the Raṭṭas. Indeed this truth lies embedded in the subsequent bardic concept contained in Rāshtrakūṭa records that in the vaṁśa of the Yādava Sātyaki there was a king named Raṭṭa whose son was Rāshtrakūṭa who gave his name to the family. The Rāshtrakūṭas were, therefore, Raṭṭas, in fact the original people who gave their name to the country and the kingdom of the Rāshtrakūṭas is described in their records and even in the Purāṇas as Raṭarājya. It seems, therefore, that the rule of the Rāshtrakūṭas was par excellence Marāṭhā rule and they were emphatically a Marāṭhā family. For the Chālukyas of Badāmi had latterly become so to speak a Karnāṭaka family and their kingdom is in Rāshtrakūṭa records spoken of as the kingdom of the Karnāṭakas (see p. 145). It

may be mentioned here that while Karnāṭaka scholars try to represent the Chālukyas as southern or Karnāṭaka Kshatriyas and not Marāṭhās, Mr. Rajavade tries to prove that they were northern Kshatriyas and we try to prove that they were Marāṭhā Kshatriyas of the Deccan. These different views are practically one and the same for the Chālukyas, Rāshtrakūṭas and Yādavas originally all came from the north, Marāṭhās and Karnāṭakas being local names of the same Aryan people from the north. What is, however, necessary to point out here is that these people were not fresh-comers into the Deccan or Karnāṭaka about the establishment of their rule and particularly the Rāshtrakūṭas were unquestionably one of the oldest and truest Marāṭhā Kshatriya families of Mahārāshṭra.

Lastly, the Yādavas who established their rule over Mahārāshṭra about 1100 A.D cannot also be proved to be Kshatriyas recently come from the north. They are undoubtedly Kshatriyas belonging to the Yādava Vamśa as their name indicates, believed to be descended from Śri Kṛishṇa as stated in a Praśasti of Hemādri; and from the same Praśasti it seems clear that they were long established in the Deccan; (Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part I. p. 270). "They all originally belonged to Mathurā; from the time of Kṛishṇa they were lords of Dvārakā. From the son of Subāhu these heroes of Yādava vamśa ruled in the south." The intermediate steps between Subāhu and Seuṇa who gave his name to the country are many and we can well see that when the Yādavas rose to eminence they were not fresh-comers. They were connected by marriage relations with Chālukyas and other Marāṭhā families of the Deccan and not with Kshatriya families of the north and were, therefore, as completely Marāṭhās as other Marāṭhā families.

But if Mr. Rajavade looks upon the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Yādavas as foreigners and treats their rule as foreign in the Deccan, the Bhosales of Śivaji were more certainly foreigners and yet he does not consider their rule as foreign. Śivaji unquestionably belonged to the

Northern Rajput family of the Śisodias. It is sometimes thought that this myth was created by Chitnis and other flatterers of Śivaji at the time of his coronation. But Mr. Rajvade by the discovery of this poem composed by a contemporary poet in the court of Śahāji has set at rest all such doubts and has shown that the belief prevailed even in the time of Śivaji's father. We have always accepted the truth of this pedigree for other reasons and chiefly for the fact that in lists of Marāṭhā family names belonging to pre-Śivaji time which we have come across, the Bhosales are not mentioned at all. This discovery by Mr. Rajvade has confirmed our view, a view which we have already recorded at page 5 of this volume. Perhaps, it may be objected by some that Śivaji's gotra is given as Kauśika in sanads issued by the family while that of the Śisodias is Baijavāpa. There is no doubt this discrepancy exists; but we think that it is due to the mistaken notion of the Paṇḍits of the Deccan recorded in Vijñāneśvara's dictum that Kshatriyas have no gotras of their own but have to take the gotras of their Purohitas. When the Bhosale family settled in the Deccan they probably took up the Kauśika gotra from their new Purohitas. In fact it may be contended that if this fiction had been set up by Chitnis at the time of Śivaji's coronation he would certainly have established the Baijavāpa gotra of the Śisodias for his patron's family. It, therefore, seems probable that the pedigree from the Udaipur family believed in Śahāji's time is true and believable. But that question apart, what we are concerned with here is since the Bhosales were undoubtedly Kshatriyas from the north even according to Mr. Rajvade, why does he not look upon their rule as foreign? In fact on this theory the foreign domination of Mahārāshṭra comes down to our own day without intermission over 22 hundred years. For the Peshwas too were foreign to the Deccan coming as they did from Konkan and even to Konkan from Persia according to a theory of Mr. Rajvade. But historically speaking the Bhosales though belonging to a Śisodia northern Kshatriya family cannot be treated as foreigners, for they had settled in the Deccan nearly 300 years before their rise; secondly their marriage relations were all with Marāṭhā families of the Deccan; thirdly they never

looked back to Chitore nor even wished to return to the north and fourthly and lastly the soldiers and officers of the Bhosale rule were all men of the Deccan, the very first soldiers assisting Śivaji in his struggle for independence being the Mavala Marāthās of the Poona district. In short, even Śivaji's rule and the rule of the succeeding Bhosale kings, Śisodias though they were, was not foreign in Mahārāshṭra.

But it may still be contended that although the Bhosale family in consequence of the mixing of blood with Marāthās for 300 years was practically a Marāthā family and although it was assisted in its rule by Marāthās yet the spirit of independence and the genius for organisation exhibited by Śivaji the founder of Marāthā rule, was his own inherited from the higher civilisation and capacities of northern Kshatriyas. There may be some truth in this contention which, however, is practically valueless. For the ancient Marāthās cannot really be considered to be lower in civilisation. They were a blend of the Aryan with the Nāga vāmśa. To which race the Nāgas belonged is a root question; but even if we concede that they were not Aryans, they appear to be men of a higher capacity than the ordinary Dravidian people. From the Mahābhārata we know that the Nāgas offered a most stubborn resistance to the Pāṇḍavas and were their hereditary enemies for three generations. In the Sarpasatra of Jarasandha which was in effect a war of extermination waged against them, many Nāgas perished but many were saved by Āstika and some of the names of these Nāgas recorded in the Mahābhārata are to be found, as Mr. Rajavade has himself pointed out, among Marāthā families of the Deccan. The Nāgas were a very powerful ruling race in India from Takshaśilā in the Panjab down to the Pāṇḍya country in the south as can be gathered not only from the Mahābhārata but also from ancient Tamil poems of the south. The Marāthās, therefore, from ancient times must have been a virile race with higher political capacities and Marāthā history shows that it is not only Śivaji of the Śisodiya Rajput clan who exhibited extraordinary political insight and military genius but even men from undoubted ancient Marāthā families whose

coming from the north has not yet been hinted, such as Rāṇoji Scindia and Mālhararao Holkar can be described as great soldiers and politicians. Indeed Mahadji Scindia's fame as warrior and statesman, as an organiser of armies and a founder of empire, stands unquestioned by any. In fine, the theory of Mr. Rājāvade that the Marāṭhās of the Deccan were lower in civilisation than the Kshatriyas of the north is itself mistaken and is at the root of his mistaken view about the Chālukyas and Rāshtrakūṭās being foreign peoples in the Deccan.

And why should the Marāṭhās of the Deccan be treated as of lower civilisation and of less vigour than the Kshatriyas of the north? Ethnologically the Marāṭhās may be considered to be a mixture of Aryan and Dravidian people but such mixture of blood must be presumed to have taken place even in the north as can be gathered from the accounts of the birth of the Pāṇḍavas and other heroes of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. We have stated elsewhere that the lunar race Kshatriyas appear to have had a greater admixture of Dravidian blood not only from their accounts but from the physical characteristics of the people of the United Provinces though it is true that the Rajputs of Rājputāna and the Panjab exhibit more distinct Aryan physical characteristics and are purer Aryans than those of U. P. to Mahārāshṭra. But as we have shown above, history does not show that the Marāṭhās have suffered to any appreciable extent in racial vigour and intellectual capacities. And if the Marāṭhās could not stand against the Afghans, Turks, and Moguls, equally the Kshatriyas of the north could not and north and south were eventually equally subjected to the foreign domination of Mahomedans. Before the Western Aryans of the present day too both have equally bent their necks. If any thing, it was in Mahārāshṭra alone that a successful struggle was made against the domination of foreign Mahomedans. And the credit for this success under Śivāji must be shared if it is to be shared, equally between the Kshatriyas of the north and the Marāṭhās of the south speaking ethnologically as well as historically. To look upon the Marāṭhās of the Deccan as lower in civilisation and capacities is, therefore, not correct from any stand-point.

That in the first and second sub-periods of Mediæval Hindu History the Marāṭhās were looked upon as Kshatriyas and of equal status by the Kshatriyas of the north we have already shown. But we may further add here that just as Kshatriya families of the north are in historical times known to have come to the south we have historical evidence to show that at least one Marāṭhā Kshatriya family went from the south to the north, settled there and obtained not only renown but full recognition as a Rajput family. We are here anticipating matters which will be elucidated in our third Volume but we may state here succinctly that the traditions of the Rāṭhods of the north who are in Indian history one of the most valiant Rajput clans declare that they came originally from the Deccan and its name was Rāshṭrakūṭa which by the usual rules of Prākṛit transformation has become Rāṭhoda. Of course this family is not the same as the Rāshṭrakūṭa family we have described in this volume for the present Rāṭhods of the north are a solar race family and its gotra is Gautama. We mention this fact here, however, simply to show that in the tenth century A.D. the Marāṭhās were as vigorous as the Kshatriyas of the north and founded a Rajput family which is now included among the 36 Rajput families of the present day. There is, therefore, no reason whatever to distinguish between the capacities mental and moral of the Kshatriyas of the north and the the Kshatriyas of the south;

We may thus conclude that the Chālukya or Rāshṭrakūṭa rule in the Deccan was not a foreign rule like that of William the Conqueror over England who came to England as a foreigner conquered it with the aid of his foreign Normans and held it in subjection by the aid of the same foreign warriors. The founders of the Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa rule had been established in the Deccan for centuries and they founded and maintained their rule not by the aid of foreign peoples but by the help of the people of the Deccan itself. They were thus in effect Marāṭhā Kshatriyas and the theory of Mr. Rajavade that they were northern foreign Kshatriyas is, to say the least, not well founded.

Before concluding it will be convenient to bring here in one place all the available evidence in disproof of the opposite theory that these ruling families of the Deccan were Marāthās but not Kshatriyas. We have shown that the first proof we have goes so far back as the 1st century A.D. A Nasik cave inscription of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi describes him as "Khatiya—Dapamāna—Damanassa" *i. e.* restrainer of the pride of Kshatriyas. The opinion of Cunningham that the Kshatriyas mentioned here are those of Rajaputana is untenable as, firstly there were no or very few Kshatriyas then in Rajaputana and secondly Gotamīputra never went to Rajaputana; in fact his conquests never extended beyond the Nerbudda. The Kshatriyas referred to here are, therefore, the Kshatriyas of Mahārāshtra itself such as the Rāshtrakūtas, the Aśmakas and others mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Next we have the evidence of Śabarāsvāmin author of the Bhāshya on the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini, who may be placed in about 400 A. D. He mentions that the Kshatriyas of Āndhra call themselves Rājās even though they may not actually be doing the work of a Rājā *viz.*, protecting town and country. This clearly admits the existence of Kshatriyas in the south. Again Kumārila who belongs to about 700 A.D. and who wrote his famous commentary on the Bhāshya of Śabara remarks that this statement about the Āndhras was made by the Bhāshyakāra in common with the Dākshinātyas which means that the practice of Kshatriyas calling themselves Rājās was really prevalent among the Marāthās of the Deccan. The word Dākshinātya in ancient Sanskrit writings always means Marāthā the latter word being indeed a later and a Prākṛit word. This is a most reliable piece of evidence to hold that the Marāthās of the Deccan were in the 7th and 8th centuries considered by the orthodox and learned Brahmins of the time to be Kshatriyas. And the practice of even ordinary (not ruling) Marāthā families styling themselves Rājās still prevails in the Deccan. We have the support of Hiuen Tsang for this statement of Kumārila as in 640 A. D. he calls Pulakeśin king of Mahārāshtra a Kshatriya. Fourthly the Rāshtrakūtas were considered to be descendants of Sātyaki a lunar race Kshatriya. And the Yādavas were considered to be

descendants of Śrī Kṛishṇa himself by Hemādri, a great Brahmin writer on Dharma-Śāstra belonging to the 12th century A.D. Even Jñāneśvara, the famous saint and Marāthi poet, describes Rāmadeorao Yādava in the thirteenth century as a lunar race king at the end of his Marāthi commentary on the Bhagavadgītā. This continuous chain of evidence, extending over twelve centuries, of Brahmin writers on Dharma-Śāstra is in our view conclusive and shows that the Marāthās were all along treated as Kshatriyas. The theory that there are no Kshatriyas or Vaiśyas in the Kali age came into existence hereafter as shown in Appendix IV. and notably found expression in the works of Dharma-Śāstra writers of the Deccan. The Marāthās in Mahomedan times apparently lost touch with Vedic rites and the gotra system was probably not properly kept up by them owing to the wrong theory of Vijñāneśvara that Kshatriyas have no gotras of their own. The Marāthās as Kshatriyas had certainly their own gotras as testified to by the inscriptions of Pulakeśin and others ; but the records drawn up by the Rāshtrakūta and Yādava governments do not unaccountably mention their gotras though this fact is in consonance with the practice also followed by the northern Kshatriyas of the time ; for we do not find mention of gotras in the records of the Pratihāras and other Rajput kingly families. This circumstance encouraged the neglect of the gotra system by the Marāthās. There is, however, reason to believe that like the Kshatriyas of the north the Marāthas also kept up some memory of their gotras in their bardic records and vaṁśāvalis, though marriage relations as among the Rajputs of the north were now regulated by the clan-system and not the gotra system. The gradual neglect of Vedic rites and of the gotra system led to their being ranked in Mahomedan times as Śūdras. It would be most interesting if these ancient vaṁśāvalis of Marāthās of pre-Śivaji days were found in the diligent search going on in the Deccan for old documents. But whether such vaṁśāvalis be discovered or not and in spite of some discrepancies to be noticed in their gotra system as at present known, it will be conceded that the Marāthas must be treated as Kshatriyas from the long chain of evidence sketched above.

We will close this Appendix by noting certain authenticated gotras of Marātha Kshatriya families from published and unpublished ancient records. The gotra of the Bhosale family is Kauśika while that of Nimbalkars (Paramāras) is Vasishtha. The gotra of the Pātankars and of Dubals of Karhad is Bhāradvāja which is the gotra given in ancient records of the northern Chālukyas from whom they claim to be descended. The gotra of the Māne family of Mhasvad is Atri, their clan being Gaura. The gotra of Palaves or Pallavas is Bhāradvāja as mentioned in stone inscriptions from the fourth century A. D. and of Kadams and Chālkes is Mānavya mentioned in records of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. and even earlier. Lastly, the gotra of the Gaikwad family of Baroda is mentioned in their state records to be Bhārgava.

APPENDIX VI:

NOTE.

RAI BAHADUR GAURISHANKAR OJHA ON BAPPĀ RĀWAL.

It is fortunate that before this book has been finally printed we have been placed in possession of the views of Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha on the several disputed topics in connection with Bappā Rāwal, embodied by him in a recent brochure in Hindi published in the Nagari Pracharini Patrika Part I No. 3. This brochure is written in elucidation of a golden coin of Bappā which the learned Pandit has recently obtained; and contains a full discussion of all the topics with detailed references to the authorities relied upon. Rai Bahdur Gaurishankar Ojha's intimate acquaintance with the ancient inscriptions of Rajputana, nay of the whole of India, is so well known that his views would always be entitled to the highest respect. It is, therefore, but meet that this volume should contain his views on Bappā Rāwal, although they may differ in some particulars from the views adopted in this volume. We, therefore, in this note in the Appendix will try to set forth Pandit Gaurishankar's views together with the authorities on which he relies and will also explain where necessary why we still adhere to the view advocated in this volume.

1 Was Bappa a Brahmin ?

Firstly then with regard to the question whether Bappā was a Brahmin or a Kshatriya, it is gratifying to find that Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar distinctly and emphatically is of opinion that he was a Kshatriya and not a Brahmin, and that he was a solar race Kshatriya. For this view, he firstly relies on the disc of the sun impressed on the obverse of the golden coin of Bappā recently found, which he has minutely described in his paper. But this is not the only piece of evidence on which he relies. It is no doubt true, he observes, that the Ātpura Inscription of V.E. 1034 begins with a verse in which the word Mahideva occurs which can be translated as Brahmin, though it can also mean a king; it is also true that the two inscriptions next in date found at Abu and at Chitod distinctly state in the beginning that Bappā was a Brahmin (Vipra). Yet the matter is settled he thinks by the expression Raghuvaṁśa-kirtipiśunāḥ applied to the ascetics of Ekalinga by the Naravāhana inscription which is earlier than the first named inscription at Ātpura and is dated V. E. 1028. This inscription is republished by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar himself in B.B. R. A. S. Vol. XXII p. 167. Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha thinks that

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has wrongly omitted these words from consideration in the purport of the inscription which he has given in the beginning of his notice of the inscription where he says (p. 152) that "the fame of the ascetics had spread from the Himalayas to Rāma's bridge" whereas in reality the expression means that "these ascetics had spread the fame of Raghuvamśa from the Himalayas to the bridge of Rāma or Cape Comorin" Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has no doubt knowingly or unknowingly omitted to take into consideration the word Raghuvamśa. This inscription, we have already shown, makes the earliest mention of Bappā Rāwal and states that he was the very moon to the Guhila gotra kings. It clearly follows that these ascetics of Ekalinga who were their Gurus were instrumental in spreading the fame of the Guhilavamśa kings. The word piśuna means displaying (see Apte's Dic.); the epithet could not have been interpreted as meaning being famed. It is, therefore, clear that as early as the Naravāhana inscription of V. E. 1028 or A.D. 971, Bappā was not only famed as the greatest king and even the founder of the Guhila Vamśa but the vamśa was also known as Raghuvamśa. Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha has certainly the credit of distinctly pointing out this old authority for believing that Bappā was considered to be a solar race Kshatriya both from this inscription and also Bappa's coin (p. 260).

The word Mahideva in the Ātpura inscription recorded only 6 years after this Naravāhana inscription should, therefore, be translated as king and not Brahmin. But how do the Chitod and Abu inscriptions say that Bappā was a Vipra or Brahmin as they distinctly do? Gaurishankar rightly says that they do so by mistake but he has not given an explanation as to how this mistake must have arisen. We have explained in the body of this book (p. 87) how the word Mahideva in the Ātpura inscription being misleading was found useful, when later bards were in search of an explanation for the Brahmin gotras of Rajputs. They generally invented new origins for the Rajput families and assigned Brahmins of their gotras as their first ancestors. Thus we have seen that the Chāhamānas who were all along reputed to be solar race Kshatriyas were said to be born from a Brahmin of the Vatsa gotra, nay one tradition represents the first Chāhamāna as born from a tear of the Vatsa Rishi himself. Similarly the Paramāras whose gotra is Vasishtha are said to have been born from Vasishtha's sacrificial fire; and the Chālukyas who are of the Bharadvāja gotra are said to have been born from the chuluka or handful of water in the hands of Droṇa Bhāradvāja. We have clearly explained in our chapter on gotra and Pravara how Brahmins and Kshatriyas have the same gotras (see pp. 56-63) but mediæval bards who did not probably sufficiently know Vedic Sūtra literature invented new stories

* The wording is योगिनः । शापानुग्रहभूमयो हिमशिलाबन्धोज्ज्वलादाबिरे-
राक्षेतो रघुवंशकीर्तिपिण्डनास्तीव्रं तपः... (तेपिरे) p. 167.

for the founders of Kshatriya families in which they are represented as Brahmins. Even the Pratihāras who were also known as Solar race Kshatriyas are said in one inscription to have been born from a Brahmin father and a Kshatriya mother. During an interval of three hundred-years this new theory of Bappā being a Brahmin may thus have arisen and found expression in the Chitod and Abu inscriptions dated 1331 and 1342. But as in the case of the Agnikula theory based on a wrong interpretation of a verse in Prithvirāj Rāsā and now exploded from more ancient inscriptions, we have also to abandon this theory of a Brahmin origin for Guhilots given in these later inscriptions, on the strength of an earlier inscription and the golden coin. All later records copy the Chitod tradition including the Ekalinga Purāṇa and must be disregarded in this matter at least; just as Vamśa Bhāṣhasa of the Chauhans must be disregarded on the basis of ancient inscriptions of the Chauhans themselves. The story of Bappā being given when an infant to a Brahmin to rear must also be similarly set aside and the Naravāhana inscription as the oldest record on this subject followed.

We must refer here in detail to the Chātsu inscription two words in which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has wrongly interpreted in order to find a support to the theory of a Brahmin extraction for the Guhilots first propounded if not started by him. Pandit Gaurishankar has referred to this inscription but on another point (p. 283). He has not marked the wrong interpretation of two words by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and has, therefore, not pointed out how the interpretation is wrong. The Chātsu inscription was found at Chātsu a Tahsil town of Jaipur state lying to the south of Jaipur city. It relates to a Guhila family no doubt; but it is not certain that it is the same as the Udaipur Guhil family and hence it may be urged that the inscription is irrelevant. But it is not unlikely that the two families are one and we will, therefore, notice this inscription further in this connection. The inscription is not dated though the word Samvat appears at the end but without any figures or words following it. The inscription gives a genealogy extending over 12 kings from one Bhatripatta of the family of Guhila. This first king is described as the equal of Rāma and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says at page 11 (E. I. XII) "Rāma here referred to is, of course, Paraśurāma and what the verse intends saying is that as Paraśurāma was a Brahmin by caste, but did the duties of a Kshatriya, Bhatripatta also was a Brahmin by extraction and displayed martial energy; in other words Bhatripatta was a Brahmakshatra, *i. e.*, what is now known as Brahmakshatra." This clearly shows how Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is obsessed by the theory of the Brahmin extraction of Guhilots. For the theory represents Bappā alone as a Brahmin and not every king in the Guhila family as a Brahmin. Bhatripatta is nowhere represented as a Brahmin; and he could not be so as we shall presently show. Nor can he be represented to be a Brahmin, because he is likened to Paraśurāma. For one must always remember the definition of Upamā given by Mammata

viz., that there can be a simile only when there is a resemblance in some points and a difference in others. In order, therefore, that Bhatripatta may be taken to be a Brahmin, it ought to have been distinctly stated that he was a Brahmin. And further Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has here also ignored the word 'asame' which to our mind refers to the different character of the families of the two.*

The second word which has similarly been misinterpreted is the word dvija used in connection with king Sri Harsharaja born from Śankaragaṇa, a descendant of Bhatripatta, on which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar observes at p. 12 "In inscriptions of this period, so far as my knowledge goes, this word denotes a Brahmin only." Now it is well known that the word dvija means also a person belonging to any of the three higher castes and as an adjective it means twice-born. The word means, so far as we can judge, no more than 'twice born' in this verse taken in conjunction with the previous verse†. In the previous verse, Śankaragaṇa is said to have married one Yajjā who was like Pārvati, because she was the daughter of a great Mahibhrit (the word being double meaning) and because her mind was pleased with Śiva (ditto). Now in the verse in dispute the son of Sankaragaṇa and Yajjā (who were like Śankara and Pārvati) is naturally likened to Skanda; and each epithet is double meaning and applicable to both. Now dvija seems to us to mean, therefore, in this connection, twice-born, as Skanda was born twice through Śikhi or fire. The expression-Śikhinah parigrihatayā' is not quite clear, but it refers in our view to Skanda being taken up gladly by fire. But whatever this may be where was the necessity or the propriety of the poet's stating with regard to this king alone out of the 12 descendants given that he was a Brahmin? And unless it was stated that Śankaragaṇa was a Brahmin and Yajjā was also a Brahmin woman, their son could not have been a Brahmin. Yajjā is merely described as daughter of a great king and taking into consideration, the condition of the caste system as it existed at this period, Sriharsharāja could not have been called a Brahmin.

It is necessary to state here that a good deal of misconception would be avoided if the social fabric obtaining at this period, differing as it did

*The verse is as follows; अस्त्रग्रामोपदेशैरवनतनृपतीन् भूतलं भूरिभूत्या ।
भूदेवान् भूमिदानैस्त्रिदिवमपि मखैर्नन्दयन्नन्दितात्मा ॥ ब्रह्मक्षत्रान्वितोस्मिन्सम-
भवदसमे रामतुल्यो विशल्यो शौर्याढ्यो भर्तृपट्टः रिपुभटविटपिच्छेदकेलीपटीयान् ॥
p. 13.

†The two verses are—महामहीभूतः पुत्री शिवानन्दितमानसा । तेनो-
क्ता पार्वतीतुल्या यज्जा नाम यशस्विनी ॥.....निश्चलमर्तिशक्तिदधानं
परां सेनारक्षणदक्षमुग्रमहसं व्यावृत्तविद्देपिणं ॥ सानन्दं शिखिनः परिग्रहतया
श्रीहर्षराजं द्विजं तस्यां वीरमजीजनत्स तनयं स्कन्दोपमं भूभुजम् ॥

from our present condition, were borne in mind. We have already described the social condition of this period in Chapter II Book V, and have also explained the custom of Anuloma marriage which was then prevalent (p. 192-5). But it will bear repetition if we here state that unlike Brahmins of the present day who can only marry Brahmin wives, Brahmins could then marry Kshatriya wives but unlike what happened in ancient times when the progeny of such marriage was treated as Brahmin or later on as belonging to an intermediate caste the progeny of a Brahmin from a Kshatriya wife was treated as a Kshatriya at this period. Hence even if the bards of those times and later declared that Bappā Rāwal was a Brahmin, that could not make the Guhila family a Brahmin family. For this purpose it must be told that each king married a Brahmin wife and the next king was the son of that Brahmin wife. Now we have seen that chronicles distinctly state that Bappā married many wives chiefly daughters of kings and therefore even if Bappā had been a Brahmin as a matter of truth, his son Guhila or Bhoja could not have been a Brahmin, unless it was also stated that he was the son of a Brahmin wife. In fact most probably Guhila was the son of a Kshatriya princess and hence a Kshatriya. The Ātpura inscription does not mention the mothers of all kings but where it does, they are daughters of a Rāshtrakūta or a Chāhamāna or a Hūṇa* family. Similarly this Chātsu inscription where it mentions queens, mentions them as belonging to Chāhamāna or Paramāra family and hence it clearly appears that these inscription writers never looked upon the Guhila family as anything but a solar race Kshatriya family. The Guhila family in fact never had the repute of being a Brahmin family. There was nothing wrong or derogatory then that a reigning family should be known as a Brahmin family. The Chachā family of Sind was known as a Brahmin family and Mahomedan historians have recorded that Brahmins appeared bare-headed before Kasim alleging that they were kinsmen of the deceased Dahar. Similarly Al-Beruni records that the Lalliya family of Kabul kings was a Brahmin family. Therefore, had Bappā's family remained a Brahmin family, it would certainly have been reputed as such. A Kshatriya family may also, in fact can alone, be described as Brahma-Kshatra family, if it leads an orthodox Kshatriya life according to the Vedas and the Smṛitis and there is nothing wrong if the Udaipur family is so described. In fact it deserves to be so described, having always abstained from wine, as described even by Arab writers. In short even if Bappā is represented as a Brahmin by the Chitod and Abu inscriptions of V. E. 1331 and 1342 and all later records, that does not make the Guhila family a Brahmin family and the Chitod and Abu inscriptions do not represent the Guhila varṇa as a Brahmin Varṇa. Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha is apparently under a wrong impression in this

* Hūṇa is not necessarily a Mlecchha family as it is also the name of Kanatriya family (See Hall in A. B. XXXI p. 117 note 11).

respect. ' गुहिलवंशजाको ब्राह्मण लिखा है ' (p. 265) is too general a statement and it must be clearly understood that these inscriptions and some others represent Bappā alone as a Brahmin and not this family and that according to the social customs of the times, the family could not have been a Brahmin family. The fact of Bappā being looked upon as a Brahmin under a wrong idea of the gotra system, and by the misunderstanding of the word Mahīdeva did not interfere with the status of the family in the opinion of the bards themselves as a Solar race Kshatriya family. It is only we, living in a different social atmosphere, who are misled by the mere mention of Bappā's being a Brahmin, into believing that the status of the whole family is changed or vitiated thereby. As we have shown, Bappā's being a Brahmin would not alone detract from the family's being known as a Solar race family, even if that were true. But, as Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha has shown, the oldest inscription of Naravāhana settles the point and Bappā's being represented as a Brahmin is due to a mistake caused by a wrong interpretation of the word Mahīdeva.

And the mischief has, we think, further been aggravated by the misinterpretation of the word Ānandapura in that same verse of the Ātpura inscription. Ānandapura is now known as the name of Vadnagar and a Brahmin coming from Ānandapura means now a Nagar Brahmin. But it is clear that Ānandapura in this first verse of Ātpura Inscription means the town of Nāgahrada as distinctly stated in the Chitod inscription. In fact Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has himself admitted that Ānandapura here is the name of Nāgahrada or Nagada and that it is the name of many other towns besides Vadnagar. It is surprising that Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha also translates it by Vadnagar and treats Ānandapura Brahmin as meaning Nagar Brahmin (p. 267). The result has been that the word Mahīdeva has led to the tradition of Bappā being a Brahmin and the word Ānandapur has led to the tradition of his being a Nagar Brahmin from Vadnagar. We have already pointed out (p. 85) that the writer of Chitod and Abu inscriptions who was himself a Nagar Brahmin does not describe Bappā as a Nagar Brahmin which he would have been too glad to do, had he thought him to be so. He distinctly describes Nāgahrada as Ānandapura (जीयादानन्दपूर्वं तदिह पुरमिलाखण्डसौंदर्यशोभि) and never thought that Bappā was a Nagar Brahmin. The Nagar tradition thus, as given in Ekalinga Purāṇa and other later records, has also to be abandoned. In fine, we have to remember that this myth of Nagar extraction like the Agnivaṇśa myth arose under a misapprehension and as Pandit Gaurishankar has conclusively shown, we have to hold that Bappā Rāwal was a solar race Kshatriya, from the Naravāhana inscription and the golden coin of Bappā.

Whether Bappā belonged to an off-shoot of the Valabhī family, which might have established itself at Nagada is a question which may here be discussed before proceeding further. Bappā's great exploit, historically spe-

aking, was his taking the fort of Chitod and supplanting the Mori dynasty which ruled there. Round this great and dazzling exploit, it is natural that traditions should gather. The case of Bappā seems to us to exactly resemble that of Śivaji in this as in many respects. When Śivaji founded an independent kingdom defeating four Mahomedan powers, he was naturally extolled to the highest and historians and Bakharkars and even ministers would find for him some great genealogy. Consequently he was connected in his own life-time with the then best blood among Rajputs and Śivaji was believed to be descended from the Śisodia family of Udaipur. Bappā was similarly connected probably in his own life-time with the best royal blood in his time and his connection was established with the royal family of Valabhī which was then known as the best Kshatriya family, as evidenced by Harsha's giving his daughter to a king of this family who again is described by Hiuen Tsang as a Kshatriya. In fact this very connection of Bappā's family with the royal family of Valabhī which was then ruling it shows that that family was considered the best Kshatriya family and it also proves to our mind that it was also known as a Solar race family as Udaipur tradition represents it. In our view the genealogy of Śivaji as a descendant of the Śisodias of Udaipur is not a concocted story and we equally believe that the Guhila family of Nagada in which Bappā was born was similarly *really* connected with the Maitraka family of Valabhī. But what we urge is that even if this connection be looked upon as concocted by bards of the eighth and later centuries, it at least establishes the fact that the Valabhī family was then reputed to be a Solar race Kshatriya family of the best blood.

2 The Dates of Bappā's Birth, Accession and Retirement.

On the next disputed topic in connection with Bappā viz., his dates, there is again fortunately no difference practically between the view of Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha and the view adopted in this volume. Certain minor differences, however, exist and must be discussed at length. And first with regard to the date of Bappā's birth. We have taken this date to be 700 A.D. on the basis of the tradition long current in Mewad and which, as Tod has recorded, in spite of many difficulties Mewad bards and even the Maharaja were not prepared to give up viz., that Bappā was born in St. 191. This figure was thus a riddle before Tod and he explained it by referring the figure to an era starting from the destruction of Valabhī which he wrongly put two hundred years before it actually took place. We now know from inscriptions that Valabhī kings were still ruling when Bappā rose to fortune and established rule in Chitod. The explanation of the figure which we have given (p. 75) is this that the years should be counted not from the extinction of Valabhi rule but from its founding by Bhaṭārka in 509 A.D. The figure 191 added to 509 gives 700 A.D. as the date of Bappā's birth and it fits in well with the history

of the period, Man Mori's inscription at Chitod dated V.E. 770 showing that the Mori rule must have been supplanted thereafter by Bappā. Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha, has however, shown that St. 191 was the traditional date in Mewad not of Bappa's *birth* but of his *accession* to the gaddi of Chitod. Unfortunately it must be conceded that Gaurishankar is right and Tod is here mistaken (see Crooke's Tod Vol. I p. 268). The oldest edition of Tod gives this date as the date of Bappa's *birth* (p. 229); it was expected that Crooke would have added a note to the effect that the date was the date of the accession of Bappā. Probably Crooke forgot to notice this as we failed to notice. The date is, however, not only given as the date of Bappā's accession by local oral tradition but is also given in an inscription printed in the Bhavnagar inscriptions quoted by Gaurishankar Ojha (p. 272). The verse therein means that Bappā having obtained boons became endowed with fortune by the favour of Ekalinga and Hārīta in 191 (Māgha Śuddha 7) at the age of fifteen"* The fact is thus certain that St. or year 191 is the date of Bappā's accession to the gaddi of Chitod and not his birth.

How to explain this figure therefore, again a riddle and Gaurishankar Ojha has solved it by supposing that the figure is a mis-reading for 791 as the figure seven is often mistaken for one. The year of Bappa's accession is therefore St. 791 or A.D. 734 and as Bappā cannot be taken to be then 15 as the tradition represents, Gaurishankar thinks that the year St. 769 given by Tod for Bappā's birth may be accepted as it would make him 22 years old in St. 791 i.e. at the time of the taking of Chitod. In short Bappā's birth may be placed according to Gaurishankar in 712 A.D.

But it may be urged that this is not a satisfactory explanation, unless you show in what particular writing the figure seven was misread for one; in fact unless the original writing is pointed out, this explanation cannot recommend itself to us. Moreover in ancient writings especially Sanskrit verse we have usually words instead of figures denoting number. And in the only inscription where this figure is given it is given in words 'ekāgranavati' etc. There it is not possible to misread the figure. We have, therefore, to suggest another explanation and it is this that the years may be counted from the date of Guhāditya in whose reign the branch family of Guhila was founded at Idar. That date as shown in Vol. I (p. 246) is 539 A.D. and if we add 191 to this figure we get the date 730 A.D. as the date of Bappā's accession. And if Bappā was then 30 years old as we have taken him to be, the date of his birth would be 700 A.D. as already taken.

प्राप्येत्यादिवरान् बाप्पः एकस्मिन्शतके गते । एकाग्रनवतिसृष्टे माघे पक्षे वलक्षके
सप्तमी दिवसे बाप्पः सपञ्चदशवत्सरः । एकलिंगेशहारीतप्रसादाद्भाग्यवान्भूत्
॥ १२ ॥ राजप्रशस्ति.

This explanation of the figure 191 is supported to our mind by the Raisāgar inscription itself wherein it is recorded. The figure is not given therein as that of any Saṁvat. We have seen that the verse means only that after 191 years had elapsed Bappā came to fortune. Now to determine from where this figure is to be counted, we have to take into account the story of the sarga itself wherein this verse is given. In the previous sarga the story is given how Kanakasena came from Ayodhyā and his descendant Vijayasena came to the south and he was told by a voice from heaven that he should thenceforward give up the name ending Sena and adopt the ending Āditya (p. 149 Bhav. Ins.). Accordingly in this sarga we are first told that Vijaya's son was called Padmāditya and so on and after 14 Ādityas the last Guhāditya's eldest son was Bappā. It clearly, therefore, appears from the context that the years 191 are to be counted from the time when the title Āditya was adopted presumably by Valabhī or Idar kings and that 14 kings had ruled before Bappā. A period of 191 years for 14 kings is not improbable and we have not the slightest hesitation in urging that 191 should be counted from the foundation of the Āditya family of Idar, Guhāditya and others, especially as we get at a reasonable date for Bappā's accession in this way also. The date of Bappā's accession thus comes to 730 A.D. ; while by supposing that some one misread 191 for 791 Saṁvat somewhere, as Gaurishankar thinks, that date comes to A.D. 734, a difference of four years only ; which may even be removed if we suppose that the Idar branch was founded four years before Guhāditya came to the throne of Valabhī. The date of Bappā's birth will depend upon the view that we take of Bappā's age at accession. That the tradition that he was fifteen years old is absurd nobody can doubt and he may be taken either 22 or 30 years old, and the date of Bappā's birth would be 712 A.D. or even 700 A.D. as we have taken it.

We next come to the question of the date of Bappā's accession which has in the above discussion been nearly answered. The oldest Mewad oral and written tradition gives 191 as the year of that event. From what point that period is to be reckoned was a riddle before Tod which he, as we have seen, wrongly solved by holding that the period should be computed from the destruction of Valabhī. We consequently computed the period from the establishment of Valabhāi rule, thinking that was the date of Bappā's birth. As it now seems clear that it is the date of Bappā's accession we have suggested another solution and that is that the period should be computed from the rule of Guhāsena of Valabhī which began in 539 A.D. ; and hence the date of Bappā's accession again comes to be 730 A.D. Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha's solution of the riddle is not acceptable according to our view as firstly the figure 191 is not given as that of any Saṁvat much less of Vikrama Saṁvat and secondly the idea that St. 791 was somewhere read wrongly by some one as St. 191 is not plausible, unless the very record, stone or paper is before us. Moreover

as stated above the Raisāgar inscription which gives this period in words "one hundred and ninety one" clearly leads to the idea that the period is to be reckoned from the time of that son of Vijayabhūpa from whom the name ending of the king was changed from Sena to Āditya, undoubtedly a reference to the Valabhī dynasty. Unfortunately we do not find the name Vjiaya in the Valabhī dynasty nor many of the names given in this inscription (Bhav. Ins. p. 150) such as Padmāditya, Śivāditya and so on, except Śilāditya; which name was taken in the Valabhī dynasty by seven kings and by six of them in succession. We will refer to this list again hereafter; but it seems to us that these names are names of kings either at Idar or at Nagada sprung from Guhasena of the Valabhī dynasty. There is no record about the branch at Idar and we rely for this on oral tradition; but whether the off-shoot family reigned at Idar or at Nagada does not make much difference. This much is certain from this Raisāgar stone inscription dated Sāmvat 1732 or A. D. 1675, that the Mewad tradition at least in the 17th century A.D. computed 191 years from the connection of the Mewad family with the family at Valabhī and therefore presumably from Guhasena or Guhila whose rule began in 539 A.D. This gives a date for Bappā's accession somewhere about 730 A.D. which fits in properly with the end of Mān Mori's rule at Chitod his inscription at Chitod being dated St. 770 or 713 A.D. as also with the inroads of the Arabs in the inner country after their conquest of Sind in 712 A.D. In short, although we have not been able to fix the date of Bappā's accession with exactitude it must have been somewhere about 730 A.D.

Lastly we have to settle the date of Bappā's abdication. Tod gives this date on the basis of Mewad tradition as St. 820. But Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha has pointed out that this figure ought to have been St. 810, as the several records noted by him give the year in words 'khachandradig-gaja.' (Ekalinga Mahātmya and other records p. 270). But Gaurishankar has himself stated that from Bikaner records that date appears to be Śaka pañchāśtṣaṣaṭ or 685 i.e., A.D. 763 or St. 820. (Descriptive Catalogue of bardic and historical manuscripts Part II. p. 63 Bikaner State by Dr. Tesitori). Though thus there is a divergence of records, we think that St. 820 is more acceptable. For it is generally accepted that Bappā ruled long and eventually abdicated in favour of his son. If according to Gaurishankar's dates, we believe that Bappā was born in 712, came to the throne in 734 at the age of 22 and abdicated in V. E. 810 or 753 A.D. he had ruled only for 19 years and was about 41 years old. We, therefore, think that the dates which we have proposed viz. 700, 730 and 763 for the three events fit in more properly with the tradition that Bappā ruled long and abdicated in his old age. With these dates his age at abdication would be 63 or 64 and his rule would extend over 33 or 34 years. The Bikaner tradition, therefore, seems to be more correct as also the oral tradition prevailing at Udaipur as reported to Tod, and we may place

Bappā's abdication in St. 820 or A.D. 763. Although thus we have differed from Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha's views on these points, the difference is only slight and it cannot but be recognised that he has corrected some wrong notions and based his opinions on several inscriptional records which must be placed before the curious reader, in order that he may draw his own inference and that further light may be thrown on these dates. Minor differences being disregarded, we may take it as certain that Bappā was on the throne of Chitod in 750 A.D. in any case.

3 Bappa's Place in The Genealogy of The Guhilots.

This topic is the most vexed topic in connection with Bappā and the opinion of Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar on this subject is at great variance with the view adopted in this volume as he identifies Bappā with Kālabhoja of the genealogies. It may be stated that there is not much dispute about this genealogy in other respects, it being generally accepted that the genealogy as given by the Ātpura inscription recently published by Dr. D. R. Bhankarkar is correct with its details. The inscription begins with the verse discussed at length in this volume in connection with the word Mahīdeva. But there is also a dispute as to who this Guhadatta mentioned in that verse is. The verse when translated runs as follows. "Triumphant is Śri Guhadatta the origin of the Guhila family, the king who came from Ānandapura and who was the delightor of Brahmin families." The inscription thereafter gives the successors as 2 Guhila 3, Bhoja 4, Mahendra 5, Naga 6, Śīla 7, Aparājita 8, Mahendra II and 9, Kālabhoja. Now while Pandit Gaurishankar identifies Bappā with Kālabhoja, we have identified Guhadatta the founder of the family with Bappā, on the strength not only of tradition but of the two detailed inscriptions at Abu and Chitod. Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha has given a table of the several genealogies as given in five inscriptions at page 275, viz, Ātpura dated V.E. 1038 2 Chitod V. E. 1335, 3 Abu V. E. 1342, 4 Bānapura V. E. 1436 and 5 Kumalgadh V. E. 1517; and in three of these viz. Chitod, Abu and Bānapura, Bappā is given as the founder of the family, Guhila being given as his son with descendants Bhoja, Śīla, Kālabhoja, &c, while in the fifth Kumalgadh Bappā is given in place of Śīla and not Kālabhoja who is given in the fourth degree after him. In the first Ātpura inscription Bappā's name has not been given at all. But as Bappā is mentioned in the very beginning in the Naravāhana inscription dated 1028 *i.e.*, only six years before, it can not but be doubted that the Ātpura inscription seems to identify Guhadatta with Bappā and therefore does not mention him separately. The very fact that blessing is invoked on Guhadatta and that he is said to be the originator of the famous family of Mewad or Guhila naturally leads to the identification of Guhadatta with Bappā. Let us see now what difficulties stand in the way of this identification inducing Pandit Gauri-

shankar to identify Kālabhoja with Bappā and let us consider whether these difficulties are insuperable.

The first and foremost difficulty is that caused by the dates of the inscriptions of Śīla and Aparājita two names in this genealogy viz., V. E. 703 and 718 or A.D. 646 and 661. Since Bappā's probable date of accesssion is 730 A.D. and since he was unquestionably on the throne of Chitod in 750 A.D., he cannot be taken to be an ancestor of the Śīla of 646 A.D. or the Aparājita of 661 A.D. but must be treated as their descendant two or three degrees later. But there is nothing in these inscriptions of Śīla and Aparājita to show that they are the kings of the same name in the Ātpura genealogy. They may be Guhila-vaṁśīs, but the name Guhila is also one which frequently recurs. For we actually find Guhila recurring more than once in the Chātsu inscription as also Bhatripatta and other names. The real vital question would thus be, are these kings Śīla and Aparājita whose inscriptions dated A.D. 646 and 661 have been found, Guhila's ancestors or descendants ?

First we think that Guhila is both a son of Bappā and an ancestor. The Chitod and Abu inscriptions distinctly state that Guhila was a son of Bappā and Bappā retired in his favour. They also state that the family was named Guhilota from him. यस्य नामकलितां किल जातिं भूभुजो दधति तत्कुलजाताः . It does not seem to us proper that these inscriptions of so old a date as St. 1332 and 1341 should be disregarded in this matter. The expression Guhilagotra-Narendrachandra appearing in the Naravāhana inscription dated V. F. 1028 may be explained in two ways ; either that Bappā was a moon among kings of the Guhila gotra referring to kings after him, surpassing them as the moon surpasses stars, or that Bappā was a moon to kings in the Guhilagotra referring to kings before him at Nagada born in the family of Guhila born of the Valabhī king Guhasena or of Guhasena himself. There does not appear to us any doubt as to the fact of there being two Guhilas, one before Bappā and the other a son of Bappā. The previous kings were called Guhilas and the subsequent kings Guhilots (Guhilaputras.) Probably this name was adopted to distinguish the subsequent kings from the previous kings.

In this manner practically, there remains no difference between the Ātpura inscription of 1034 and the Abu and Chitod inscriptions of 1334 and 1342. If some kings are omitted in the latter they might have been omitted because of their unimportance. The most glaring difference arises in the beginning if we take Guhadatta as none else but Guhila in the Ātpura inscription and therefore Bappā as king Kālabhoja many degrees after him. In our view there is nothing in the first verse of the Ātpura inscription to prevent us from taking Guhadatta as distinct from Guhila; the expression Guhadatta " the origin of Guhila family " does not necessarily equate Guhadatta with Guhila. The family known subsequently as Guhila family was started by Guhadatta whose son Guhila

gave his name to the family. Moreover the words Jayati Śrī " May he triumph " indicate that Guhadatta was a very great king . If Bappā is brought down the list and identified with Kālabhoja what is it that made Guhadatta great or even Guhila great ? The memorable exploit of Bappā in founding an independent kingdom at Chitod goes not to the founder of the family but to a descendant many degrees below !!!

Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar has seen this defect and tries to show that Guhila alias Guhadatta was himself an illustrious king whose coin has been found near Agra indicating that his rule extended as far as that place (p. 283). These coins were found as many as 2000 and could not have been taken there from Mewad but they must have been current there as is inferred by Carlyle himself the editor (Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Report* Vol. IV p. 95). We have referred to this volume and find that this Guhila in Carlyle's opinion could not be the Guhila of the Ātpura inscription. If Śīla and Aparājita are taken to be his descendants as Gaurishankar takes them, the date of Guhila falls somewhere about A.D. 598. (We must remember that in this line we cannot use the 20 years average but only about 12 years and deducting 48 years for 4 generations from 646 A.D. we come to 598 A.D.) . Pratāpavardīrāja was a great king in Northern India at this time and the Maukhari family of Kanauj was also very powerful and hence Guhila could not have extended his sway as far as Agra. If we take 20 years average and more and throwing back Guhila fifty years place him somewhere about 540 A.D. he cannot be distinct from Guhila or Guhasena of the Valabhī family himself. In fact Carlyle himself suggests this when he observes. " Upwards of 2000 coins were dug up at Agra in 1869, all bearing an inscription in an ancient western form of the Sanskrit character which I read plainly as 'Guhila Śrī' or 'Śrī Guhila.' These might possibly be coins of Śrī Gohidit or Guhila, the founder of the Guhilot dynasty of Mewar of A.D. 750, if it were not that the characters which compose the inscription on these coins appear to me to be of too ancient a form for such a late date. Could these coins then possibly be attributable to the earlier Gohila or Grahāditya or Guhāditya of the same race the son of Śīlāiditya of the expelled dynasty of Valabhī or Saurāshtra, the exact date of whose reign is not certain but who probably lived about the sixth century of the Christian era." Valabhī or Saurāshtra history was not well elucidated in the days of Carlyle, but it is to be remembered that he thought that the coin was as old as the sixth century and was attributable to the first Guhadatta the origiator of the Guhilot branch. We now know for certain that Guhasena ruled from 539 to 569 A.D. and that he was an independent king having declared his independance of the Gupta empire which was then dying. He or his son a Guhila may very probably have extended his sway as far as Agra in the moribund state of the Gupta empire, and before the Vardhanas or the Maukharis had become powerful. It seems, therefore, very probable that there were two Guhilas who were famous, one

preceding Bappā and the other following him viz. his son. It is therefore possible to explain the inscription of Śīla and Aparājita as those of two kings preceding Bappā and to hold that the Śīla and Aparājita mentioned in the Ātpura inscription are descendants of Bappā.

It is necessary to advert here to the Chātsu inscription again as it makes mention of the Guhila vaṁśa and as it is looked upon as the same Guhila vaṁśa as that of Mewad. Now this inscription gives 12 kings from Bhatṛipaṭṭa as follows :—1 Īśānabhata, 2 Upendrabhata, 3 Guhila, 4 Dhanika, 5 Auka, 6 Kṛishṇarāja, 7 Sanakaragaṇa, 8 Harsharāja, 9 Guhila, 10 Bhatta 11 Bālāditya and 12 Vighraharāja. Now with regard to Harsharāja it is stated that "he conquered kings in the north and presented with great devotion horses to Bhoja." This evidences not only that he was a feudatory of Bhoja, but also shows that his date must be somewhere about 840 A.D., Bhoja being properly identified by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar with the Bhoja Pratihāra of the Imperial line of Kanauj. Now if we count back eight generations to Bhatṛipaṭṭa the first king, his date comes to be somewhere about (840-160) 680 A.D. Now this clearly takes him some generations before Bappā himself of 750 A.D. whereas the first Bhatṛipaṭṭa of the Guhilot dynasty given in Ātpura inscription is 6 generations after even Kālabhoja sought to be identified with Bappā. Bhatṛipaṭṭa is therefore a name which appears both before and after Bappā, in the Guhila vaṁśa. His Guhila vaṁśa is, therefore, different from the vaṁśa given in the Ātpura inscription for we find no Bhatṛipaṭṭa between Guhadatta or Guhila and Kālabhoja. It is therefore certain that the Guhilavaṁśa of which the Chātsu inscription makes mention is a vaṁśa which preceded 680 A.D. and leads us to the same Guhila vaṁśa of which Śīla and Aparājita of 646 A.D. may have been members and which was started by Guhila or Guhasena of the Valabhī dynasty. The Guhila vaṁśa mentioned therein cannot be started by the Guhila of the Ātpura inscription as seems to be taken by Gaurishankar (p. 283).

The second difficulty (which also presented itself before Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and which led him to identify Bappā with Khommāṇa son of Kālabhoja) is presented by the shortness of the average reign per king which we get if we identify Guhadatta with Bappā. Bappā's reign ended in 763 A.D. and if we regard Śīla and Aparājita as kings subsequent and different from those whose inscriptions have been found, since Bhatṛipaṭṭa II, whose inscription has been found dated 1000 V.E. or 943 A.D. is the sixteenth descendant from Guhila, we get for 15 intervening reigns a period of 180 years or an average of about 12 years per reign. This is very short and Bhandarkar would identify Bappā with Khommāṇa I, taking an average of 20 or 22 years. But as we have said before, to overhaul a regular genealogy merely for the purpose of recurring the usual average is not proper. For we actually see that the average for the next 4 or 5 reigns is even less than what we have obtained. For Śaktikumāra's inscription is dated 1038 V.E. and Bhatṛipaṭṭa II's 1000 V.E. During 38 years we have four reigns

or an average of 9 years according to the Ātpura inscription itself. On the other hand if we identify Kālabhoja with Bappā whose accession date is 734 A.D. and take Śīla whose inscription of 646 A.D. has been found as his ancestor in the Ātpura line, we have only three kings before him and we shall have to assign about 88 years for three reigns giving an average of about 30 years ; which Pandit Gaurishankar thinks is not unbelievable from the reigns of Akbar, Jehangir and Shahjahan. But if long reigns are not uncommon, short reigns are also not uncommon ; for example, the Peishwas ruled for about 100 years only and were 1 Balaji, 2 Bajirao, 3 Nanasaheb, 4 Madhavrao, 5 Narayanarao, 6 Savai Mahdhavrao and 7 Bajirao II in all 7 which gives us an average of about 14 years. It is therefore not proper to distrust genealogies for the averages which they give and reject evidences of ancient inscriptions merely to secure any particular average without any further reason.

It may perhaps be suggested that if Guhadatta in the disputed verse of the Ātpura inscription be taken to be distinct from Guhila as we do, he with 2 Guhila, 3 Bhoja, 4 Mahendra and 5 Naga may be taken to precede Śīla, supposing him to be the Śīla of the inscription of St. 703 or A.D. 646 and supposing Śīla's reign began about 640 A.D., by about 100 years at 20 years per reign and hence Guhadatta may be identified with Guhasena of the Valabhī dynasty whose reign began about 539 A.D. The same result follows if the pedigree down to Kālabhoja identified with Bappā whose reign began about 734 A.D. be taken as we have 1 Guhadatta, 2 Guhila, 3 Bhoja, 4 Mahendra, 5 Naga, 6 Śīla, 7 Aparājita and 8 Mahendra II or 8 reigns which at 25 years per reign will take us back 200 years *i. e.*, to 534 A.D. *i. e.*, to the date of Guhasena of the Valabhī dynasty. This in fact would not be unwelcome in one way as the Ātpura inscription would properly begin with a praise of that king of the Valabhī family from whom the Ātpura branch has always been believed to have been sprung. It is not quite certain whether Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar looks upon Guhila or Guhadatta of the Ātpura inscription as identical with the Guhasena of the Valabhī dynasty. He probably looks upon that Guhadatta as some Guhila yet unidentified whose coins were found near Agra. But even if he or any one identifies this Guhadatta with Guhasena of the Valabhī dynasty, we yet think that this identification, plausible and acceptable though it may be, does not satisfy the requirements of the case. For in the first place there is then no mention in the Ātpura inscription of Bappā whose great exploit in acquiring Chitod was memorable. His name even is not mentioned nor also this exploit against the name of Kālabhoja, nor any blessing invoked on him at the beginning of the inscription or in the middle. It was impossible to ignore Bappā or his great exploit altogether in the Ātpura inscription of V. E. 1038 when we know that only 6 years before in the Naravāhana inscription Bappā is mentioned by that name and he is described there as the most illustrious of the Guhila kings. Secondly the epithet " Ānandapuravinirgata " cannot apply to Guhasena

of Valabhī. For Valabhī is not yet shown to have had this name also. Ānandapura is the name of many towns and notably of Vadnagar and had Guhadatta been taken to be a Brahmin come from Vadnagar, it would have applied to him properly. But as it is certain that Guhadatta was not a Brahmin and had not come from Vadnagar, the expression "come from Ānandapura or Nagada" would well apply to Bappā, who going from that capital conquered Chitod. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar has in his usual way ignored the word 'tad' used in the Chitorgadh inscription (p. 170 Bengal R. A. S. New series Vol. V) when he translates the line jīyād &c. as "May Ānandapura be victorious which shines" &c., whereas the translation ought to have been "May *that* Ānandapura be victorious," meaning thereby the Ānandapura described in the previous verse (8) viz. Nāgahrada. There is not the slightest doubt (see Bhav. Insc. p. 74, 75) that this verse in the Chitorgadh inscription clearly states that the vipra Bappā came from Ānandapura alias Nāgahrada. It is well known that Ānandapura is the name of more than one town and Nāgahrada is one of these. Bappā's coming from Vadanagar is neither contemplated by the Chitod Ins. of V. E. 1332 nor by the Ātpura inscription. Therefore, we maintain that the epithets 'come from Ānandapura or Nagada' is an epithet which can well apply to Bappā alone who from thence conquered the fortress of Chitod. It would not apply to Guhasena of Valabhī at all nor to any other Guhila who may have ruled in Nagada itself. The word 'vinirgata' shows that the man originally came from one place and went to another and hence applies to Bappā properly who went from Nagada to Chitod. Similarly the epithet 'viprakulānandana' applies to Bappā appropriately. The word is no doubt used for the sake of alliteration (Ānandapura and Ānandana) but the epithet 'delighter of Brahmin families' refers to the highly religious tendencies of Bappā, to his devotion to Brahmins and ascetics. Hence we think that the line is an appropriate description of Bappā and it would be absurd to think that the Ātpura inscription giving the whole Mewad dynasty spoke not a word about Bappā or his great exploit. It seems, therefore, proper to hold that in this introductory verse we have a description of Bappā and putting together the Nāravāhana, the Ātpura and the Chitod inscriptions, we may believe that Guhadatta or Bappā was the greatest monarch of the family and hence was looked upon as the founder and that Guhila was his son.

It remains to consider how the name Guhadatta in this verse may have been used for Bappā. We have stated that Bappā was his usual name and not given to him as founder of the family (p. 76). But it is possible that he may have had another name in consonance with his family tradition and that name might have been Guhadatta which is specially mentioned in this Ātpura inscription to show his family connection. Bappā according to our view belonged to a branch family from the Valabhī family reigning at

Nagada and according to the Raisagar inscription detailed above the kings of this Guhila vanśa called themselves by names ending in Āditya. These names from the beginning are given therein as 1 Padmāditya, 2 Śivāditya, 3 Haradatta, 4 Sujasāditya, 5 Sumukhāditya, 6 Somadatta, 7 Śilāditya, 8 Keshavāditya, 9 Nāgāditya, 10 Bhogāditya, 11 Devāditya, 12 Āsāditya, 13 Kālabhojāditya, 14 Guhāditya. "These are the 14 Ādityas" so says the Raisagar inscription and "the eldest son of the last was Bappā" (Bhav. Ins. p. 150). Now probably these are imaginary names but the name Śilāditya occurs therein and the inscription found dated 703 V. E. is of one Śilāditya and not of Śīla (see Report Western circle for 1909 p. 48 referred to by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Indian Antiquary XXXIX). It must be borne in mind that the tradition is that the Valabhī kings separating from Valabhī were called for 14 generations by names ending in Āditya and these names are given with Āditya at the end. When from Bappā and his son Guhila a new branch began, so to say, the names never used Āditya at the end and accordingly we find in the Ātpura inscription no name ending in Āditya. The Śīla, therefore, mentioned therein may be taken to be different from the Śilāditya whose inscription of V. E. 703 has been found. But what we chiefly draw the attention of the reader to here is that the last name among the fourteen is Guhāditya. We also find that in one or two names the word Āditya is changed into datta probably for the sake of easy pronunciation. It is, therefore, natural that Bappā may have had a name in the beginning ending in Āditya itself, softened into datta; nay we even think that Guhādatta in this first verse of the Ātpura inscription stands for Guhāditya and is used in this form to suit the exigency of the metre. Bappā was practically the last and the greatest of the Āditya kings of Nagada and having conquered the famous Chitod fortress and established himself in the sovereignty of the Moris, he became the starter of a new line of kings which became known through Guhila, his son and successor. Such is our view of this verse and this inscription and we place it before the reader with some diffidence, differing as we do from the view of Gaurishankar Ojha. We may state in the end again that we are not justified in giving up the Ātpura inscription of V. E. 1035 as amplified by the Abu and Chitod inscriptions of V.E. 1332 and 1341 and as repeated again in the Bānapura Inscription V. E. 1496 which tersely gives the genealogy as follows 1 Śri Bappā 2 Śri Guhila 3 Bhoja 4 Mahendra 5 Śīla 6 Kālabhoja 7 Bhatṛipatṭa 8 Sinha &c. It must be pointed out that if later inscriptions change the order a little, they are to be corrected by previous inscriptions. The rule of Pūrva-prāmāṇya applies forcibly to inscriptions also but unless statements in inscriptions are unbelievable or contradicted by older inscriptions, they must be believed. Hence we are not prepared to identify Bappā either with Kālabhoja or with Khommāṇa but place him at the head of the genealogy given by the Ātpura inscription.

APPENDIX VI.

NOTE.—RECENT RESEARCH AND THE LIGHT IT THROWS ON THE HISTORY OF THIS PERIOD.

I

Professor Velankar of Wilson College, Bombay has recently discovered a copper-plate grant made by a Śilāhāra king of Thana in Śaka 915 or A.D. 993, which will shortly be published by him, but which we have had an opportunity of inspecting before publication ; and we were surprised to find therein not only a complete genealogy of the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed, who were the overlords of these Śilāhāras of Thana but a correct reflection of the political condition of India in the tenth century A.D. It must be remembered that this grant was made after the fall of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty in about 974 A.D., and the grant actually contains expressions of sorrow over the destruction of Rattarājya by Tailapa. This clearly shows how the rule of the Rāshtrakūtas was popular even among the feudatory chiefs ; for who would be disposed to deplore the downfall of their overlords after the destruction of their power ? The genealogy given in this copper-plate grant, of the Rāshtrakūtas does not differ from the one we have given. Thus we are assured that the genealogy hitherto accepted is substantially correct. The grant highly extols king Kṛishṇa, grand-father of Kakkala in whose reign the Rāshtrakūta power came to an end and declares that his sovereignty was accepted by the whole of India from the Himalaya to Ceylon and from the western to the eastern ocean. As this eulogy comes from a grant made by an entirely different line of kings and after the loss of their power by the Rāshtrakūtas, it may be taken to be based on substantial truth. In the following śloka* the exact political condition of India at this time is portrayed. " The Chola trembled with fear and the lord of

*चोलो लोलो भियाभूद्रजपतिरपतञ्जान्हवीगव्हरान्तः ।

वार्जशस्त्रासशेषःसमभवदभवच्छैलरन्ध्रे तथान्ध्रः ॥

गण्डयेशः खण्डितोऽभूदनुजलधि जलं द्वीपपालाः प्रलीना ।

यस्मिन्दत्तप्रयाणे सकलमपि तदाभराजकं न व्यराजत् ॥

It may be noted that Gajapati and Hayapati became in later times hereditary titles of certain lines of Kings.

elephants slipped into the ravines of the Ganges. The lord of horses was sorely troubled while Āndhra took refuge in mountain holes. The king of the Pāndyas was foiled and the kings of maritime countries took to the sea. When Kṛishṇa took the field, all kings lost the colour of their faces." We recognise here the power of the Cholas just rising, while the lord of elephants was the king of Bengal and the lord of horses was the king of Kanauj. We have already noted that Kanauj was strong in cavalry and Bengal in elephant force. Āndhra and Pāndya were the next important kingdoms in India but fast declining as we shall see in the next volume. It is not strange, therefore, to conceive that the supreme power of Kṛishṇa the 11th Rāshtrakūta king was felt all over India.

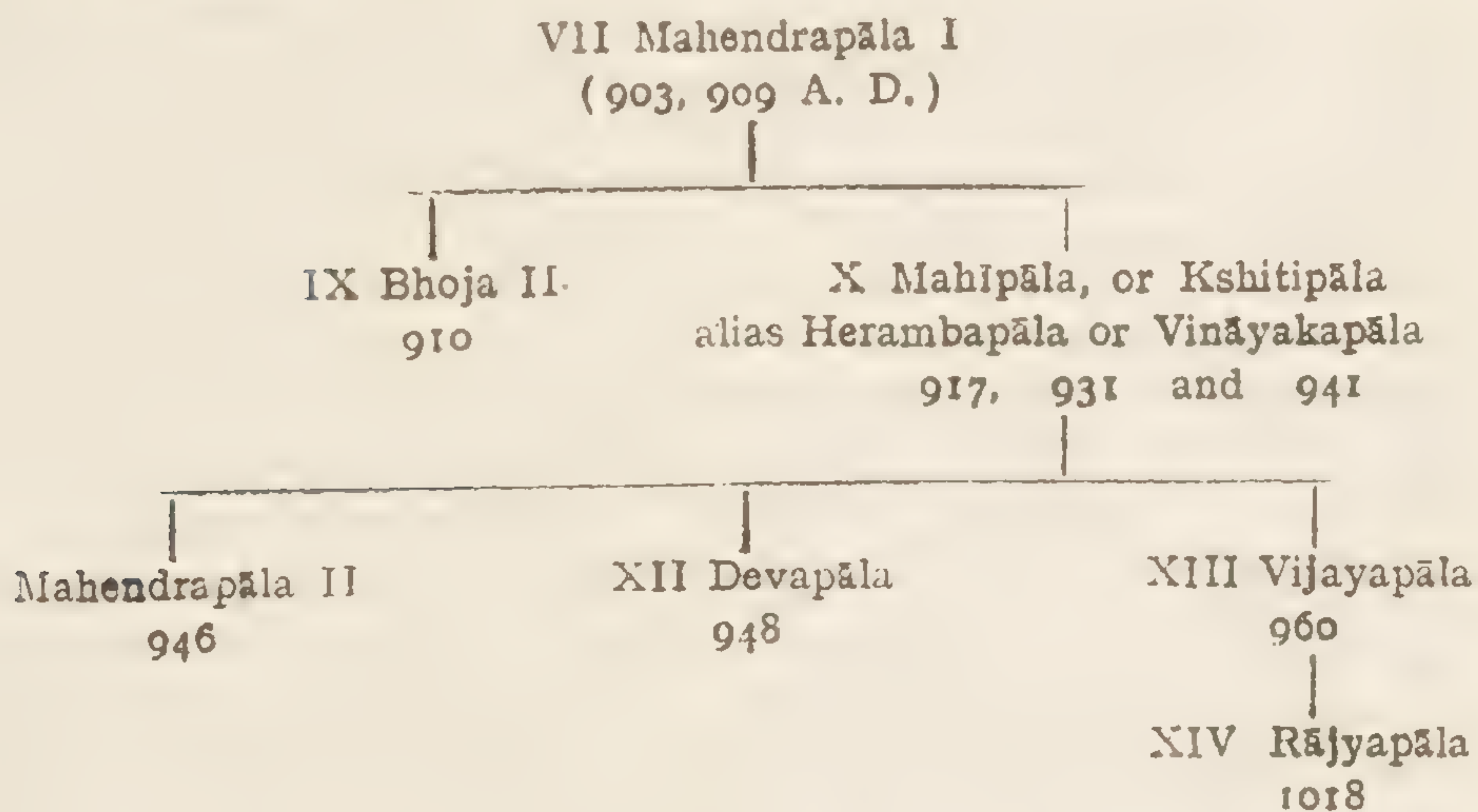
The Bhadāna grant of the same Śilāhāra king has already been published in Ep. Ind. III. (p. 257) and contains similar expressions of regret over the fall of the Rāshtrakūta kingdom. But it is dated four years later viz., 997 A.D. and though it extols the power of the same Kṛishṇa and gives the whole line of the Rāshtrakūtas, it does not contain the above quoted verse about Kṛishṇa and hence the importance of the earlier grant.

In these grants as in some others, the kingdom of the Rāshtrakūtas is distinctly called Rattarājya and Ratta means clearly the Mārāthas. The latter word came into use generally hereafter. The Rattarājya mentioned in the Skanda Purāṇa is this very kingdom of the Rāshtrakūtas and Skanda Purāṇa therefore cannot have been composed before their rule *i. e.*, before 750 A. D.

II. Pratihara Line.

II. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha has recently published a new Pratihāra inscription which adds a further king to the Pratihāra genealogy named Mahendrapāla II. (See Pratāpgadh Inscription Ep. Ind. XIV p. 182). The inscription is dated 1003 (A.D. 946) as the figure is read by Pandit Gaurishankar and it recites the whole genealogy from Maharaja Devaśakti, giving the mother of each king and his favourite deity as usual. The genealogy of the Pratihāra Imperial line given at page 113 does not give Mahendrapāla II who makes this Pratāpgadh grant and who is stated therein to be a son of Vināyakapāla. Now the Khajuraho inscription of Yaśovarman (Ep. Ind. I) speaks of Haya-pati Devapāla son of Herambapāla; and this Devapāla is considered to be the same Devapāla spoken of in the Siyadoni Inscription (Ep. Ind. I) of Samvat 1005 or A.D. 948 as meditating on the feet of Kshitipāla. But Pandit Gaurishankar thinks that these two can not be the same persons as Hayapati is not a title of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. However

on this point we may be certain that by 'Hayapati', only kings of Kanauj are meant. As we have already shown, they were, even according to the accounts of Arab travellers, strong in cavalry and we find in the above Śilāhāra grant the word Vājiśa used clearly with reference to the king of Kanauj. Hence though Kanauj kings had not the title 'hayapati,' nor did they call themselves so, other kings and their documents described them usually as 'lords of horses' much as the Rāshtrakūtas called the Pratihāras Gurjaras though the latter did not call themselves so. We may, therefore, feel sure that the Hayapati Devapāla son of Herambapāla spoken of in the Khajuraho inscription from whom the image of Vaikuntha was obtained by Yaśovarman is the same Devapāla spoken of in the Siyadoni inscription as son of Shitipāla and ruling from Kanauj. The genealogy which Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha gives on the supposition that the Devapālas are different need not, therefore, be considered. But the genealogy which he gives on the supposition that the two are one must be given here, and it is as follows.



We may, however, add two observations. It is possible that Mahendrapāla may be another name of Devapāla himself as the date 946 is very near 948 a certain date of Devapāla; and Mahendra is only an amplification of Deva. Secondly, a difficulty is further presented by the fact that the Khajuraho inscription above noted and dated Samvat 1011 or 954 A. D. ends with the expression "In the reign of Vināyakapāla" as stated at page 12^a of this volume. We have there stated that the Chandellas still nominally recognised the suzerainty of Vināyakpāla *alias* Mahīpāla who was then dead. But if we believe that this was a reference to a living Vināyakapāla on the throne of Kanauj also acknowledged as emperor, like the last Mogul emperor acknowledged by the Marāthas and the English, we shall have to suppose that Devapāla had a son named Vināyaka-

pāla who was on the throne of Kanauj in 954 A.D. and who after a short reign was succeeded by his uncle Vijayapāla whose certain date is 960 A.D. from the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva (Ep. Ind. III). Until further light is thrown on this part of the Pratihāra genealogy by fresh epigraphic records, we may, however, accept the genealogy as proposed by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar.

It is important to add that Mahendrapāla II signs the grant as Śrividagdha or simply Vidagdha. This epithet, might lead to his possible identification with Devapāla. No record of Devapāla has yet been found. Smith in his table of Pratihāra documents in J. R. A. S. 1909 p. 33. only refers to the Siyadoni and the Khajuraho inscriptions for evidence of Devapāla. It would be interesting to find what epithet Devapāla had taken for signature on documents as the custom appears to be with all Pratihāra emperors.

III. Paramara Line.

The above Pratāpgadh inscription (Ep. Ind. XVI) has caused another riddle, and that about the Paramāras of Dhār. A sun temple probably built at Pratāpgadh by a Chāhamāna Chief Indrarāja was granted a village at his request by one Mādhava son of Dāmodara who calls himself Mahasāmanta and Mahādandanāyaka in Ujjain under Śrividagdha (Mahendrapāla II). And the grant is made at Ujjain and signed by both Mādhava and Śrividagdha. It is not dated, yet its date must be somewhere about the date of the previous document viz., A.D. 946. Now this shows that Malwa with its capital Ujjain was still under Kanauj. But we have held that Kṛishṇa had founded the power of the Paramāras in Malwa and at Ujjain already in about 910 A.D. (p. 119); how could Mādhava then be a Viceroy of the Kanauj Pratihāras about 946 A.D.? Of course this in one way confirms our view that the Paramāras had not come to Malwa before Kṛishṇa of 910 A.D. But it goes to show that even Kṛishṇa must be put later or that Mādhava was allowed to pose as Viceroy of the Pratihāras in Ujjain, while Kṛishṇa was virtually his own master. The suzerainty of decaying empires is often seen acknowledged by habit or for the satisfaction of people, before it is finally disowned. Even the English for long acknowledged the overlordship of the Mogul emperor over Bengal though they were its real masters and had merely for people's satisfaction leased its Diwani from the Emperor of Delhi.

IV. Rashtrakuta Line.

In a recent Rāshtrakūta record published in Ep. Ind. XIV. p. 125, Dr. Sukthankar following Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that Kṛishṇa succeeded Dantidurga by natural succession and not by uprooting him as surmised by Fleet from the Baroda grant. We have referred to this

controversy at page 145 of this volume and stated at the end of the para that we may accept the story of Dantidurga being uprooted by Kṛishṇa though given in one grant only. Mr. Sukthankar in publishing this new inscription of Kṛishṇa I, dated śaka 694 or A. D. 772 says that as Kṛishṇa himself says nothing wrong about Dantidurga, the story of his getting into evil ways and his eventual supression may be disbelieved. We think after looking into the several documents that the story may be accepted with some variation. The Baroda grant which is dated 812 A. D. *i. e.*, only 40 years later cannot be set aside altogether. There can be no reason why a false statement should have been made so shortly after Kṛishṇa. Any statement in an inscription should be given its due weight unless we can show how an erroneous idea might have arisen. Now this account may very easily have been forgotten in later times or may have been omitted from a sense of propriety. The Kardā grant which is dated 972 A.D. may have made, after 200 years, the mistaken statement that Dantidurga left no issue since his uncle Kṛishṇa succeeded him and we may believe that Dantidurga left behind him a son who was ill-behaved and who consequently was set aside by his powerful uncle Kṛishṇa. The words in the Baroda grant are wide enough to admit this possibility; यो वंश्यमुन्मूल्य विमार्गभाजं राज्यं स्वयं गोत्रहिताय चक्रे mentions only a Vaṁśya or a person to whom inheritance goes and may include a son of Dantidurga. This indeed lays down a good maxim viz : that any rightful heir, if he is unfit to govern by his licencious behaviour should be set aside by the next heir for the benefit of the family (गोत्रहित). We see that this was done at the very next step; for we are told that Kṛishṇa's elder son Govinda was immersed in sensual pleasures and was therefore set aside by his younger brother Dhruva (Deoli grant). In fact a battle was fought between them according to the Paṭhan grant (Ep. Ind. III. p. 167) which states that Dhruva defeated his brother Govinda though assisted by Kānchi, Ganga, Vengi and Mālava. This also shows that outsiders are ready enough to interfere in internecine quarrels ; but it also shows that the Rajputs who came to the front about this period were men of strong moral fibre and the people also sided with virile and well-conducted claimants. It may, in short, be accepted that though Dantidurga was not himself ill-behaved nor was himself uprooted by Kṛishṇa, his son most probably was from the Baroda grant.*

* The several records of the Rāshtrakūṭas in order of date are as follows :

1 The recently published Bhandak plates of Kṛishṇa I (Ep. In. XIV 772 A.D. 2. Paṭhan grant (Ep. In. III. 167) of 794 A.D. 3. Baroda grant (Ind. Ant. XII. p. 162) of 812 A.D. 4. Bagumra grant (Ind. Ant. XII. p. 187) of 867 A.D. 5. Alas plates of Govind III. (Ep. Ind. VI. p. 209) and Samangad plates (ditto) of.....7. Kardā grant (Ind. Ant. XII. p. 267) of 972 A.D. etc.

V. Palas of Bengal:

Mr. Bannerji has republished the smagāchhi grant of Vighrahapāla III. which had been half published by Kielhorn years ago. In the present edition of the grant (Ep. Ind. XV. p. 295) we get the same genealogy of the Pālas with an additional name Jayapāla who is said to be a son of Vākpāla, brother of Dharmapāla. (See genealogy given at page 143 of this volume.) His son was Vighrahapāla I, who is mentioned in this genealogy which onwards is the same. It may further be noted that the donor of this grant Vighrahapāla III, is distinctly said to be a Buddhist.

VI. Malkhed.

I recently visited Malkhed (not Mālkhed) which is identified with Mānyakheta the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan. I found no trace of any large city described as " vying with the city of gods. " Nor can a city exist here for the Kāngini river which runs by Malkhed, though large, runs dry in the hot season and in Malkhed itself there are no wells ; nor can there be any as the ground is rocky and the rock appears to be very deep. The only thing which seems favourable is that there is an extensive fort at the confluence of a large stream with the Kāngini river on a natural eminence ; which, standing in a vast plane country must have commanded it in ancient days when there was no canon. The present fort is, however, said to have been built by a Mahomedan Sardar, named Mujaffar and hence called Mujaffar Kilā. The fort is an extensive one and the present Jagirdar resides therein and the vast space inside the fort can contain a population of about 5000 souls. It is full of debris but there is a remnant of a Jain sanctuary and also a Vaishṇava Muṭh of about the thirteenth century. Oral tradition states that Mujaffar obtained the place from a Jain chief by stratagem. It is likely that there might have been an old fort at the place and Mujaffar only rebuilt it. And that fort like the fort of Rayagad built by Śivaji and made his capital might have been selected by the Rāshtrakūṭas as a strong commanding place, for their capital, even without a large city outside it.* The statement of an Arab traveller that the capital was surrounded by mountains is no doubt inapplicable to Malkhed as the place is situated in a perfectly plain country. But if we can believe that the word mountains in the translation is incorrect and in the original Arabic, the word is merely ' rocky ground ' then the description is correct as the ground in and about Malkhed is entirely stony and unfit for movements of cavalry. The fort can be held or attacked by infantry alone. Taking all these facts into consideration I think, however, that the identification of Mālkhed with Mānyakheta is still problematical.

* In ancient times, a strong fort was the *sine qua non* of capital not a city.

INDEX.

A

Abul Fazal 133.

Abu Zaid—a peculiarity recorded
by—190 f.

—statement about ornaments and
Queens in darbar of—and refuta-
tion thereof 187.

—statement of practice of suicide
of—191.

Abhiyara—23.

Abu mountain or Arbuda mountain,
legend of—67 f.

Abhira 25.

Addaka 116.

Administration—sources of system
of 229.

—Civil and Military 229 ff.

—Civil leading to happiness 255f.

Ādisura cannot be identified 142.

Agastya 56 ff.

—origin of—86.

Agnihotra gradually disappearing
200f.

Agnikulas 9 ; 16.

—are they Gujars ? 27ff.

—correct interpretation of story
of—16.

—examination of caste of—30ff.

—exploded myth of—12ff. 91.

—fancy, misconception 13.

—Gotras of supposed—50.

—mere myth ; tradition 11.

—origin of—unhistorical, miscon-
ception and of recent date 12.

—story of, accepted 13.

Agnikulas story of—first told by
Chand 12f.

—story of—not correct representa-
tion of tradition but misinterpre-
ted 15f.

Āgamas—list of different—200.

—the result of different deity wor-
ship 199f.

Ahichchhatra (City) same as Ahich-
chhatra of Pañchāla 92.

Ahichchhatra town 36.

Ahimsā doctrine—influence of—202f.
Āhīra 25.

Aiṅgra Mainyu 264.

Ajmīdha 58f ; 290.

Akālavarsha, son and successor of
Amoghavarsha—account and ex-
ploits of—148.

Alexander—40 ; 292.

Al Idrisi—extract about religion
from work of—196.

—statement of noble characters of
Indians of—191f.

Al Istakhri—extracts from writ-
ings of—166.

—statement of dress of Sind, Multan
etc. of—187.

Allaṭa son of Khommāṇa III 80.

Al Masaudi, an Arab traveller, 36,
105, 184f.

—extract from writings of—on
caste, 181.

—accounts of—and inference
therefrom 107.

—Identification of writings about
India of—164ff.

- Al Masaudi—evidence about languages of—168f.
 Amala 41.
 Amarasing Maharaja—statement about learning of ancient Rajputs of—181f.
 Ambarīsha 58f.
 Amitagati 122.
 Amoghavarsha—devotee of Jains 148.
 —son of Govind III—date, exploits and account of—147f.
 Anahillapaṭṭaṇa 14.
 Ananda Vikrama era, a special era, —efforts to construe—20f.
 Anaṅga 23, 25.
 Anaṅgapāla Tomara 159.
 Aniga 23, 25.
 Audhala 41.
 Animal sacrifices—aversion to—1f.
 Anuloma marriages checked 27f.
 Anus 276ff, 282, 284ff, 297.
 —progress of—294.
 Anthropometry—science of—7f.
 Ānandapāla—date of—157.
 Ānandapura or Nagad—come from —an epithet well applied to Bappā alone 347.
 —not Vadnagara of Nagar Brahmins 85.
 Ānarta,—central and north Gujara-
 rata 33, 104.
 Āndhra 103.
 —history of Yavana kingdom of—
 161.
 Aparājita 345f.
 Āpastamba Sūtra 57.
 —explanation of rule for pravara
 of—61.
 Arab—conquest of—4.
 Arab invasion before Bappā 73.
 —in Khommāna Rāsā—date of—79f
 —Arab writers 162ff.
 Arbuda Tīrtha 67.
 Arjuna 24.
 Arkabhava 25.
 Armies of different kings 102f.
 —manner of fighting of 245f.
 —officers of—244.
 —reasons and result of defects in
 246.
 —in general—contents of—242ff.
 —standing—persons engaged there
 in 242ff.
 —of different kings—contents of—
 and evidences thereof—223f.
 Aryans—characteristics of—7.
 —analogy from American history
 to the colonisation of—268f.
 —analogy from American settle-
 ment to settlement of—264.
 —evidence of and conclusion from
 two invasions of India by—265f.
 —countries occupied by—265f.
 —mixing with Dravidian races 27.
 Asceticism—reasons of Indian feel-
 ing then and now about—199.
 Assam or Kāmarūpa—history of
 kingdoms in—160.
 Aśvalāyana 58 ff.
 Aśvamukha 41.
 Aśvamedha 47.
 Aśoka 100, 323.
 Atilāṅgada 40f.
 Atisindhu 41.
 Atri 56ff.
 Avanti Bhūpāla—meaning of—
 101f.
 Avantivarman of Utpala dynasty
 158.

B

- Babar 36.
 Bais 25.
 Balhara of Māṅkīra is Vallabharāya
 of Mānyakheta—some facts
 noted about him 162f.
 Balana—a Mlechchha king 99.
 Bambaṇavāhaka 41.

- Banerji 354.
 Bappayarāja—Vindhya Nṛipati 93f
 Bappā Rāwal—4f, 26, 70ff, 99, 177, 322ff, 346f.
 —accession story of—73f.
 —belonged to Guhila Vamśa according to Naravāhana Inscription 88.
 —commander-in-chief of Mori forces 73.
 —compared with Charles Matrel 72ff.
 —descent of—72.
 —evidences and discussion of dates of birth, accession and retirement of—74ff 338ff.
 —evidences of his being Brahmin 84f.
 —evidences of and conclusion from the place in genealogy of Guhilots of—342ff.
 —facts of life of—in author's opinion 88f.
 —golden Valaya legend of—77.
 —identical with Guhādatta and founder of the line 82, 85f.
 —identification with Khumāna of—76.
 —identification with Khumāna of—impossible 82.
 —interpretation of date St. 191 of—75.
 —legend of abdication of—74.
 —not Brahmin 88, 232ff.
 —Nagara Brahmin 85.
 —number of his successors varying 78.
 —proper name; similar examples 76.
 —śaivait; devotee of Hārīta worshipper of Ekaligña 88f.
 —story of—71ff.
 —successors of—77ff.
 —though taken to be a Nāgara Brahmin still not foreigner 87f.
 Bappā—why looked upon as brahmin 786f.
 Baudhāyana 56.
 Baurā—identification of—165.
 Bbhandikula—mentioned in Sāgaratala Inscription 112.
 Badāmi 14.
 Bālaka 41.
 Bālhika 42.
 Bāṇa 29, 103, 178.
 —uses Rājputra as Kshatriya soldier 44.
 —uses Rājaputra in good sense 45.
 Begging bands—absence of—252f.
 Benares 5.
 Bhadra 41.
 Bhandarkar—Dr. Sir —318, 321.
 Bhandarkar—Dr. D. R.—9ff
 27ff, 40, 65, 69, 72, 82ff, 98, 111, 113, 144, 148, 332ff, 345, 347f, 352.
 —Theory of Gujars as foreigners of—mistaken 10 f.
 —theory of Rajputs as descendants of Gujars of—refuted 10f.
 —theory of Guhilots of—83.
 —wrong interpretation of sapādalaksha by 92.
 Bharadvāja 56ff, 273f.
 Bhāradvāja 14.
 Bharata Dauśyanti 296.
 Bharatas—conclusion from reference to—in Bhāgavata 267.
 —reference to—in Nirukta 268.
 —inference from reference to in Rigveda 269ff.
 —conclusion from reference to—in Vāyu Purāṇa 267f.
 —conclusion from reference to—in Vedic Index Vol. II. 269f.
 —theory of—267ff.
 —wrong view of scholars about 267ff.
 Bharmayaśva 59.
 Bhars 8.
 Bhartripaṭṭa son of Kālabhoja 79f.

Bhaṭṭāraka 75.
 Bhāṭi 25.
 Bhavabhūti 44, 207.
 Bhayānaka 42.
 Bhāgavata Purāṇa 20f.
 Bhīma 70.
 Bhinmāl—capital of Pratiharas according to some 99 f.
 Bhīmadeva—date of—157.
 Bhoja, 108, 118, 346.
 —real facts discussed about the myth of murder of—120f.
 —successor of Guhila 79.
 —successor and son of Sindhurāja—date of accession of—discussed 120f.
 Bhoja II son of Mehendrapāla—date of—106.
 Bhosales not foreigners—reasons of—325f.
 Bhrigu 56ff.
 —origin of—86.
 Bhujabhava 25.
 Bilhana 189.
 Biruds, special names of different kings 110.
 Prahma Gupta 20f.
 Brahma-kshatriya-kulīna 59.
 —meaning of—62f.
 Brahmins formed one caste—examples 175f.
 Brahmins and Kshatriyas—privileges of choosing occupations and special features of 181f.
 Brahmins and Kshatriyas—relation of—260f.
 —why took to agriculture 182.
 —and Vaiśyas evidences of being not given to drinking 184f, 202.
 Buddhism 9, 43, 45f.
 —annihilated by Pūrvamīmāṃsā 1.
 —condition of—247f.
 —decay of—I.
 —overthrown and Hinduism re-established—effects 167f.

Buddhism—result of one of the great defects of—252f.
 —reaction against 139.
 —supplanted 197.
 —two great good results of—adding to happiness 252f.
 —why preferred by foreigners 168.
 Buddhagupta 225.
 Bülher, Dr. 116, 118ff, 122.
 Bull—sacredness of—2.
 Bundelkhand rulers—dates of—and epigraphic evidence thereof 124f.
 Bundi kingdoms 90.
 Bundikpota 16.

C

Castes—condition of—and effects therefrom 28, 249ff.
 —authorities on main number of 177ff.
 —distinction not strict 27, authorities in favour of free intercourse of food in—186f.
 —further ramification of—2f.
 —higher—enforced widowhood in—190.
 —history of development of 28f.
 —intermediate—cannot be traced 177.
 —Matrimonial—history of—179f.
 —Matrimonial and occupational aspects of—179f.
 —not hard bound in ancient times 54, 175f.
 —privileges in occupation of—181f.
 —and social condition of India 175ff
 —and social condition—materials for survey of 175.
 —Vedic history of—misunderstood 27.
 —watertight compartments of—about 300 B.C. 28.

Chand Baradai, the bard—12f. 16, 18ff, 25f, 67f, 91, 117, 125, 131.
—story of fire origin of—imaginary 97.
Chandana 94.
—Chāhmāna king 159.
—successor of Gūvaka II defeated by Rudreṇa 96.
Chandels 8, 25, 55.
—Bhars or Gonds by origin ; arguments in support by Smith 130.
—coins of—and history of coins in general 128.
—examination and reply to arguments of origin of—131ff.
—genealogy and dates of—129.
—of Jajhoti or Bundelhand 124ff.
Chandra 94.
Chandragupta, the Emperor 100, 225.
Chandrarāja, Gūvaka's successor 96.
Chakrāyudha 103, 140.
—last Varmā Emperor 98.
Charles Martel 4, 72ff.
Chaṭa 42.
Chāhmānas or Chauhānas 9, 13f, 15f, 23, 27, 35ff, 50, 53, 55, 69, 90ff.
—available sources of history of—91f.
—compared with Guhilots 95f.
—descendants of Gūvaka, and of Solar race 14, 97.
—examination of arguments of Gujar descent of—35ff.
—history of—very little known 91f.
—original seat of power of—92.
—valorous and chivalrous like Guhilots 90f.
—why second in rank to Guhilots 90f.
Chāhamāna or Anahila—fabulous date of—33f.
Chālukyas of Badāmi 4, 9, 13ff, 16, 23, 27, 33f, 47, 50, 55ff, 55.

Chālukyas—examination of arguments of Gujars descent 33f.
—early history of 321f.
—of Badāmi different from Chālukyas of Anahilapaṭṭaṇa 14.
—of lunar race 14.
—origination story of 86.
—and other families compared with Bhosale, 324ff.
—and others—rule of—not foreign 328.
—theory of origin of—14.
Chālukya—Avanivarman 14.
Chāpas of Vardhamāna—account of—116.
—śaivas 116.
Chāpotkaṭa 23.
Chāvadas of Anhilwād Pāṭaṇ 114ff.
—history of—not much known 114.
—important facts of—116.
—short account supported by Bombay Gazetteer and others 114ff.
Chhand 25.
Chhandaka 23.
Chitod 21.
Chūḍāsama 55.
Clans or families—names of—not to be looked into 134f.
Combinations of kings possible in Mediæval times 227f.
Coining—Art and history of—241f.
Coins—names of—241.
Countries' names not through rulers 34.
Cow—sacredness of—2.
—its slaughter a heinous crime 2.
Crooke—9ff, 14, 74f, 159.
Cunnigham 35, 37, 51f, 68, 329.
—wrong view on Gotras like Mitāksharā of—51f.

D

Dadabhai Nowroji 319.
Dadhishaṭa 25.

- Daṇḍakāraṇya 67.
 Dantidurga 171, 322.
 —discussion and evidences about uprootment by Kṛishṇa of—352f.
 —son of Indrarāja—exploits and territory of 144f.
 —story of death of—145.
 Dasyu and Mlechchha—meaning of—65.
 Dayitavishṇu, father of Gopāla 140.
 Dāhala or Bundelkhand—extent of—40f.
 Dāhima 25.
 Deccan ruling families were Marāṭhās not Kshatriyas—all evidences that—329ff.
 Deccan settlement 321.
 Delhi 36f.
 Deity—favourite—changeable—examples 197.
 Deorā 23.
 Devabhadra 42.
 Devapāla, nephew and successor of Dharmapāla—date of—141
 —Devapāla, successor of Mahipāla—account of—107.
 Devaśakti or Devarāja, brother and successor of Kakutsa—date of—100.
 Devaśravas 271, 274.
 Devavāta 291.
 Devavrāta 271f, 274.
 Dhanakaṭaka 47.
 Dhanapāla poet 120.
 Dhaṅga, successor of Harsha—inscriptions, exploits and extent of Empire of—126ff.
 Dharanīvarāha, subordinate to Mahipāla 116.
 Dharmapāla, son and successor of Gopāla—exploits date and account of 140.
 Dhruvabhāta 116.
 Dhruva Nirūpama, younger brother and successor of Govind II—exploits of—146.
 —defeats Mihira 104f.
 Dhānyapāla 25.
 Dhānyapālaka 23.
 Diḍḍā, queen—some facts of—158.
 Didiot 23.
 Dining—inter 250f.
 Divisions—usual—of countries for administration; their names and examples 230f.
 Divodsāa 60, 269, 273f, 276, 281, 283, 295.
 Doyāmata 23, 25.
 Drāḍa 41.
 Drupada 14, 291.
 Draupadi 24, 44.
 Drinking—generally abstained from 202.
 Droṇa Bhāradvāja 14, 52.
 Druhyus 276ff, 281f, 284ff, 297.
 —progress of—294.
 Durgāvati Rāṇi—inference by Smith from story of—and author's reply to it 133.
 Durlabharāja 93f.
 Durlabha 93.
 —brother and successor of Vighraharāja 97.
- E**
- Economical condition, good as result of political condition 255.
 Elliot 162ff, 168.
 Elorā temple of śiva 153.
 Ekaliṅga Māhātmya 84f.
 Ekabāhu 41.
 Ekapāda 40f.
 Empire never meant annexation but subordination, examples 221.
 English 102.
 Ethnology 8.

F

- Fleet Dr. 148, 150, 352.
 Flesh eating—state of things with regard to—202f.
 Foreign descent theory 7ff.
 —criticised 29ff.
 —loses support 17.
 —refuted 15.
 Foreign domination—external and internal—bad effects of—255.
 —invasions, stopped 256f.
 —rule characteristics of—examples and inference therefrom 319f.

G

- Gājanaka—extent of—fabulous 39, 41.
 Gaṅga King 146.
 Gāṅgeyadeva, son of Kokkaladeva—date of—136.
 Garga—explanation of—in Āṅgī-rasa stock 58f.
 —descent of—58.
 Gaura 23.
 Garua 24f.
 —identical with Gujar 25.
 Gauḍa—Bengal—extent of 39ff.
 —deśa—Thanesar 69.
 Gauḍapāda—commentator on Sāṅkhya Kārika 214.
 Gaurishankar Ojhā 122, 332f, 336, 338ff 345f 348, 350, 352.
 —views of and authorities relied upon by—on Bappā Rāwal—332ff.
 Gautama 56ff.
 Gautamiputra Śatakarni, a śūdra 47.
 Geetoe 6.
 Geholts 4.
 Genealogies not proper to distrust for averages 345f.

- Ghaghada or Rāhapa, successor of Muṇḍrāja—date of—115.
 Ghārwar 8, 55, 124.
 Gibbon 5, 12.
 Gifts and taxes for temples 236ff.
 Gohila 23.
 Gohilaputra 23.
 Gondas 8.
 Gopāla Avanti 102.
 —descendant of Pratihāra Pāla dynasty—and evidence thereof—37f.
 —the elected Emperor, capital and exploits of—139.
 —Kshatriya and a Buddhist—account, exploits and date of—139f.
 Gopāla II son and successor of Rājyapāla 141.
 Gopendra 93.
 Gotra—Bhāradvāja 14.
 Gotras borrowed from Purohitas—theory of—50 ; this theory a misconception 50ff.
 —by descent and not by discipleship, instances 52f.
 —eight—according to Baudhāyana 56.
 —four—according to Mbh. and Pravarādhyās 56.
 —history of—of Solar and Lunar races 56f.
 —mention of—necessary 51.
 —mention of—by Rajputs useless 51.
 —of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishhyas—why the same 54.
 —of Marāṭhā Kshatriya families 331.
 —of Modern Rajputs with Gotras of their Purohitas 55.
 —of the Rajputs 49ff.
 Gotra and Prāvar 56ff.
 —minute examination of—56ff.
 —system—benefit of 49f.

- Gotras—reasons of theory of Vi-
 jñāneśvara about 53.
 Gotra Rishi founder of the family
 examples 87.
 Gotra Rishi and Pravara Rishi,
 latest view of—56
 —relation of and difference bet-
 ween 57.
 —rule in śrauta sūtras and author's
 interpretation of it 50ff.
 —śloka in Mahābhārata on 56.
 —Vasishṭha 14.
 Govind I 144.
 Govind II son and successor of
 Kṛishṇarāja—some facts of—145f.
 Govind III 107, 119, 140.
 —Jagatuṅga, Dhurva Nirūpama's
 son and successor—exploits and
 account of—146f.
 Govind IV 154.
 Govindrāja—successor of Indra.
 III—confusion about him in
 different plates and account and
 date of him 150.
 Grant Als of Yuvarāja Govind II
 145, 171, 230.
 —Amāgācchi of Vigraharāja III
 140.
 —Bhagumrā 105.
 —Balavarman 106.
 —Baroda 145.
 —Bhadān by a śilāhāra king 350.
 —Bhālgur 234.
 —Bhāgalpura 140ff.
 —Copperplate by a Śilāhāra king of
 Thana—political condition des-
 cribed in—349f.
 —Daulpurā of Bhoja—contents of
 the seal there on—108f.
 —Dighwa Dubauli by Mahendra-
 pāla 106, 230.—contents of the
 seal of—108f.
 —Khardā 120, 147ff.—date of and
 —inference from 151.
 of karkarāja dated 812,—176.
 Grant—Kavi 146.
 —Khārepātana 147, 149f.
 —Khalimpurā of Dhanapāla 139f.
 —Mālhwā 234.
 —Navasāri 148f, 152f.
 —Paithan of Govind III 171, 234.
 —Rāadhanpūra 145f.
 —Samangadh 145.—date of and
 inference from 144.
 —Sangali 176.—date of 149f.
 —Sarvanātha Mahīpāla—date of
 and inferences from—141.
 —Vani Diṇḍori 146.
 —Wardhā 144ff, 175.
 Grierson Dr. 12, 172f, 265, 280,
 293, 294.
 —extracts from writings of—on
 Indian languages etc. 133f.
 Gristmada—story of—60.
 Guhādatta 83.
 —distinct from Guhila and identi-
 fied with Guhasena of Valabhī—
 result thereof not satisfying the
 requirements 346f.
 —name—how used for Bappā 347f.
 Guhasena 75.
 Guhila 55, 346ff.
 —son of Bappā 79.
 Guhilots 8, 23f, 26, 50, 55, 69ff.
 83, 90.
 —are they foreigners' 83ff.
 —Kings—comparative genealogy of
 —81f.
 —line—virtues of—77.
 —story of—70f.
 —theory of—some extracts from
 —83.
 Gujars—8, 10f, 17, 25, 27, 29ff.
 —characters and profession of—10.
 —not foreigners 31.
 —Prākṛit for Gaurs 25.
 Gujarāti Language 33f.
 Gujarātra 40f.
 Guṇādhyā 279.
 Guptas 3.

Gupta Empire 9.
 Gurjars 9, 83.¹
 —of Bhinmāl 69.
 Gūvaka 94.
 —compared with Bappā 95f.
 —first great king of Chauhāns of Sambhar according to Harsha stone Inscription 92f.
 Gūvaka II son of Chandrarāja 94, 96.

H

Hāḍas of Bundikoṭa 16.
 Hāeala plates 106.
 Haihaya Keyurvarsha 14.
 —Sahasrārjuna—Aryan 30.
 —Record 50.
 Haihayas not Mlechchhas 30.
 —origin and territory of—134.
 Hamira 70.
 Hammira Kāvya—story of origin of Chauhāns and Pushkara lake in 14, 97.
 Harbilas Śarad 92.
 Hariśchandra 96, 272.
 Harivaṁśa 30.
 Hariyāla 41.
 Harsha 1, 29, 101, 124, 148, 154, 182.
 —Bāla, son and successor of Muḡhatuṅga 136.
 —son and successor of Rāhila—account of—125.
 —Śiva, family deity of 95.
 Harshacharita 29, 44f, 103, 135.
 Harsha—Empire of 138.
 Hāritaṭa 23, 25.
 Hāritas 59.
 Hārita 73, 96.
 Hindu India, beginning of—1f.
 Hindus, against amalgamation 31.
 —firm belief in Metempsychosis 201
 Hinduism—condition of—248f.
 —prominent feature of—2.
 —and tolerance 109.

Hieun Tsang 4, 28, 37, 39, 45f, 47, 107, 117, 124f 157, 171, 206, 210f, 229, 248, 329.
 Hoerule Dr. 265, 295.
 Homer 22, 80.
 Hūla 23, 26.
 —not Hūṇa 26.
 Hume 71.
 Huṇas 4, 6, 9f, 26, 29f, 35f, 68f, 82f
 —not Kshatriyas 26.
 —mentioned as foreigners 30.
 —not included in 36 families. 30.

I

Ibbetson 7.
 Ibn Haukal—extracts from writings of—166.
 —statement about dress by—187.
 Ibn Khurdabda—information of India by 164.
 —examination of the extract from work of—on caste : and its identification 178f.
 Idār 72, 75.
 Idols—famous—of India 199.
 Idol worship of Aryans and non-Aryans 198f.
 Idolatry why permitted in Hinduism and its significance 198f.
 Ikshvāku 274f, 289.
 Illiad 22.
 Ināma villages—privileges of owners of—234f.
 India—Mediæval—resemblance and difference of—with holy Roman Empire 227.
 —old and new—divisions of and different kingdoms in 136;
 —other kingdoms in—from 800-1000 A.D. 157ff.
 —why enslaved by foreign domination 222.
 Indians—dress of—187;
 —food of 184ff.

- Indians—how asserted right of choosing a king 222f.
 —not flesh eaters—some exceptions 185f.
 —noble character towards foreigners of—191f.
 —ornaments—of 187f.
 Indra II—story of marriage of—144.
 Indra III—captured Kanauj 106.
 Indrachandra 159.
 Indrarāja or Indrāyudha 101.
 Indrarāja of Kanauj 140.
 Indrarāja III,—successor of Akā-lavarsha—some facts of—149.
 Inscriptions—Achaleśvara 77, 81, 84ff.
 —Achalagadh 82.
 —Bappa's legend and interpretation there of 73.
 —of Aśoka 329.
 —Ātapurā 78ff, 82f, 86, 154, 301, 332f, 336, 342, 345f, 348.—examination of verse in 85ff.
 —Bānapurā—Genealogy given in—348.
 —Bharut Torana 51.
 —Copperplate of Benares 135.
 —Benares and Bhillauri 105.
 —Benares and Assam 107.
 —Benares of Dhanaga—examination of contents of—124f.
 —Bhāgalpurā mentioning standing army 224.
 —Bijolia 50, 91ff.; translation and interpretation of beginning verse of—93.
 —Bilhauri-stone 14, 135f, 238.
 —Buchakalā 103f.
 —of chahādadeva of Ranthambhor 92.
 —chātsu 334, 336; —Examination of Guhila Vamśa in—345.
 —Chitoregadh 77, 81, 84ff 384.
 —Daulatpurā and others—Date of 112.
 Inscriptions —Dharaṇīvarāha
 —Date count of 116.
 —Ekalinga 74, 84.
 —Ghātiālā—inference from account of 111; reason of non-mention of Kanauj Sovereign 111.
 —Gawaliar Bhoja 13.
 —Valabha Swāmi 235.
 —Bhoja Praśasti—relating to Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj 304f.
 —Haihayas of Chedi 14.
 —Harsha stone 13, 91ff, 159. interpretation of expression in by Keilhorn and author —95.
 —relating to chāhamānas 302f.
 —Kalachūri Haihaya 52.
 —Kānheri—date of and inference from 147.
 —Khājurāho 126ff, 350f.
 —must be verified 84.
 —Navasāri—Chālukya 73.
 —Naravāhana, 80, 82, 86f, 177, 333f, 346.
 —Nasika cave of Gautamī Putra Śatakarni 47, 329.
 —Nilagunḍa—date of and inference, from—147, 155.
 —Nityavarsha 322.
 —Pāla and Rāshtrakūṭa 102.
 —Pātanārāyaṇa 50.
 —Pratāpagadh 350, 352.
 —Pratihāras 29.
 —Pratihāra—published by Gaurishankar—discussion of genealogy therein 350f.
 —Pehewā—Date of—159.
 —Rai Sāgara 340. genealogy of, —kings in—348.
 —at Rajor 31, 108.
 —reliability of—71.
 —Śāgaratala—of Bhoja 98, 103f.
 —extract about Vatsarāja and its meaning 100ff; 4 verses in praise of Nāgabhaṭa 103.
 —Śiyādoni 106, 110, 235ff, 241.

Inscriptions —some—in original
301f.

—Sundarahill Chāchigdeva 92.

Itihāsa and Purāṇa, tradition of
Kshatriyas 261f.

Itsing—chinese traveller 218.

J

Jabulistāna 35, 37.

Jackson 38.

Jagannātha records 160.

Jagattuṅga, son of Akālavarsha—
account of—149.

Jahahuti 41,

Jain work—translation of and in-
ference from a verse stating con-
quest of Kanauj 101.

Jainism—condition of—248.

—growth of—in different parts 203.

—not yet prominent 197.

Jaipur 24.

Jamadagni 56ff.

Jammuval 55.

Janamejaya 19.

Jarāsandha 100.

Jayachand 68.

Jayachandra 158.

Jayapāla 108.

—Date of—157.

Jayarāja 93.

Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti 125.

Jayāpīḍa of Kakoṭa dynasty 158.

Jadeja 55.

Jādhava 23ff.

Jālandhara 40f.

—or Kaṅgrakoṭa kingdom of Tri-
garta—history of—158f.

Jejjaka name—derivation and date
of—125.

Jhalā 22, 25, 55.

Jñāneśvara 330.

Jogarāja, son of Vanarāja—date
of—115.

Johnson 11.

Juzur—kingdom of—32.

K

Kabul kingdoms, history, names of
kings and dates of 157.

Kachchhamaṇḍala 40.

Kachchhavāhṭas 24f, 55.

Kakkal—successor of Khoṭṭiga—
account and exploits of—151.

Kakustha or Kakkuka, nephew
and successor of Nāgabhaṭa—
Date of 100.

Kakutsa 23, 25.

Kalachūris of Chedi 134ff.

—branch of Haihayas—extent and
date of 134f.

—genealogy of—137.

—not new branch but old one, 137.

—pure Kshatriyas and Śaivas 137.

Kalasha 23.

Kalhana 22, 159.

Kali age myth—effect and reasons
of—43, 46f.

—interpretation of—47.

—later than 7th century, 47f.

Kaliṅga 103.

Kālabhoja 80.

—and Khommāṇa foot-note on
82.

—Śīla's suecessor 79.

Kālachchhuraka 23.

Kālahayanjaya 41.

Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa 312.

Kamalu—date of—157.

Kamāsha 23, 25.

Kāmboja or Kabul 34, 40, 42.

Kāmbojas 30.

Kāmarūpa or Assam—extent of
40f.

Kanauj 13, 98ff.

—Empire—contest for—102.

Kanuj Empire—decaying—compa-
red with Mughal Empire 102.

Kandāhara—history of kingdom
of 158.

Kāntipura 41.

- Kaṇva 59, 284ff.
 —Śaśakarna 284.
 —Triśoka 284.
 Kānyakubja, or Kanauj—extent of 39, 41.
 Karka I 144.
 Karkarāja nephew of Khoṭṭiga 120.
 Karnāṭa 36f, 40, 42.
 Karaṭṭapāla 23, 25.
 Kashmir 40f.
 —history of different dynasties in 158.
 Kāśvapa 56ff.
 Kausalyā Rājaputri 44.
 Kāthi 25.
 Kātyāyana Laugāksha—sūtra from 62.
 Kavinīsa 23ff.
 Keyūrvarsha, brother and successor of Bāla Harsha—some facts of—136.
 Kayyāṭa 312, 314.
 Kāyastha caste, one not divided 177.
 Khārvars 8.
 Khazar 36.
 Khizars—character and profession of—10.
 Khemarāja successor of Vairisimīha—date of—115.
 Khommāṇa son of Mahāyaka 79f.
 Khommāṇa Rāsā 79.
 —validity of—80.
 Khoṭṭiga—date and account of 120
 —successor of Kṛishṇa III—account of—150.
 Khumāna 70.
 Khusrū Parveiz 35.
 Keilhorn, 128, 131, 134f, 140f, 354.
 Kingdoms—numerous—reasons of 226.
 —struggle for supremacy in Kings of—222.
 Kingly families non drinkers 202.
 Kingly—Families ruling in Deccan; were they foreigners? its Examination 319f
 —power—idea of and result and effect therefrom 220f.
 Kirāta 42, 104.
 Kokkaladeva of Chedi 105.
 —date of—discussed 135.
 —relations with other then living kings of 135f.
 Kokkaladeva II son of Yuvarāja 136.
 Koṅkana 40f.
 —laghu 40f.
 Kośala 40, 42.
 —kingdom 161.
 —Videhas—history of—293.
 Koṭapāla 23, 25.
 Koṭa kingdom 90.
 Kṛishṇa 286f.
 —settles in Dwāraka 64.
 Kṛishṇarāja, first king—date account and capital of—119.
 —paternal uncle and successor of Dantidurga—exploits of—145.
 Kṛishṇarāja II Rāshṭrakūṭa 135.
 Kṛishṇasāja III successor of Amoghavarsha III—exploits and account of—given by Wardhā grant 150.
 Kshatriya families—reasons of fanciful origins of—56.
 Kshatriyas formed one caste—no minor distinctions 176.
 —generally temperate drinkers 202.
 —Gotrochchāra forgotten 176.
 —Kula of—taking place of Gotra—its reasons 176f.
 —learning of 181f.
 —occupation of arms of—shared by others 183f.
 —Pravara Rishis in Āngirasa and Bhṛigu stock 58ff.
 —residing in Deccan in 1st century 47.

shatriyas—turning brahmins in Vedic times and vice versa ; instances 58ff.
 Kumārapālacharita 22, 131.
 Kumārila 260ff, 316, 329. ३३
 —achievements of—206f.
 —birth place and country of 207ff.
 —Date of—207.
 —how learned Buddhism and his death 208f.
 —important facts of date, birth-place etc. of—211.
 —inference about date and political situation from political observation of—210f.
 —an interesting remark of—211.
 —not Dakṣiṇāya 209.
 —of Northern central India 209f.
 Kuru 42, 290.
 Kurukshetra 67.
 Kushāṇas 9, 68f.
 Kuvalāśva of Ayodhya 65.

L

Lachhamana younger son of Vākpati, founder of Nadal line 96.
 Land—measurement of 240.
 Language Bengali 173.
 —Eastern Hindi 74.
 —Kanarese 173.
 —Kiriya and other minor dialects 168f.
 —Māgadhī 3.
 —Mahārāshṭrī 3, 34.
 —Marāṭhī 174.
 —origin of—171.
 —Sanskrit—chief stock of others 170.
 —Telagu 173.
 —Western Hindi 174.
 Languages—different—time and reasons of origin of 167f.

—non Aryans at the time of Kumārila and inference therefrom 208f.
 —Prākṛit—once spoken languages and their period 169f.
 Laṅkā 42.
 Lakulīśa—śiva cult of 96.
 Lakshmaṇa son of Keyurvarsha—some facts of—136.
 Lalliya—date of—157.
 Lāṭṭalura, capital of Rāshtrakūṭas, identification and inference 323.
 Lāṭa southern Gujarat 33, 40f.
 Legal writers and Kaliage myth 48
 Lele 123.
 Liṅgabhava 41.
 Lohara dynasty of Kashmir 158.
 Lohapura or Lahore—extent of—40f.
 Lunar race settlements 64.
 —five--races—their individual progress as evidenced in the Vedas 286ff.
 Lunar Kshatriyas—Rigvedic references to—their colonisation and analogy from American history and conclusion therefrom 276f.

M

Macdonell 293, 295, 297.
 —Vedic Index of—260.
 Māchipura 41.
 Madras Presidency—history of kingdoms in—161.
 Mādhavagupta of Magadha 139.
 Mādhyamikas 69.
 Maga 28.
 Magadha 40, 42.
 Mahābhārata 9, 27, 37, 39, 44f, 60, 64ff.
 —Mīmāṃsa in Hindi 18, 21.
 Mahadaji Scindia 327.
 Mahālakshmi, mother of Allāṭa 80.

- Mahārāja Vākapati, son of Chanda-
 na 96.
 Mahārāshṭra 40.
 —Mahomedan invasions repelled
 from 152f.
 Mahāyaka son of Simha 79f.
 Mahendra 41, 108, 346.
 Mahendra II 346.
 Mahendrapāla, son of Mihira 105f.
 Mahendrapāla II may be identified
 with Devapāla 351f.
 Mahīdeva, means a king and not
 Brahmin 85ff.
 Mahīpāla 107, 116, 119.
 —brother and successor of Bhoja II
 106.
 —son of Mahendrapāla—date and
 extent of Empire of—106.
 —son and successor of Vigrahapāla
 II—account of—141.
 Mahmud of Gazni 32, 80f, 108, 159.
 —invasions of and effect thereof
 141.
 Mahodaya *alias* Kanauj 104.
 Maitrakas of Valabhī 4, 83.
 Makayana 23.
 Mālavas 68, 104.
 Mālawa 40f.
 Malaya 41.
 Malhārarao Holkar 327.
 Mālkhed—identified with Mānya-
 khetā—some observation of 354.
 Māndhātā 58.
 Mandor, 25. capital town of Prati-
 hāras according to Vaidya C.V.99.
 Manikrai 96.
 Manu 27.
 Manubhava 25.
 Marāṭhās 102.
 —blending of Aryans and Nāga
 Vamśa 326.
 Marāṭhās—not of lower civilisation
 and capacities 327.
 Marāṭha Kshatriyas were ruling fa-
 milies in Deccan 318ff.
 Marriages Anuloma—of Kshatriyas
 and Vaiśyas 195.
 —Anuloma how treated in different
 Smṛitis 193ff.
 —condition of—249f.
 —early—misconception about 188f
 —early—when came into vogue
 and why 189f.
 Maru desert—two references in
 Mbh. 65.
 Maṭa 23, 25.
 Mathandeva 108.
 Matsya 104.
 Medapāṭa or Mewad 48 f.
 Megasthenes 28, 178f.
 Mention with foreigners does not
 make the first a foreigner 29f.
 Mer 83,
 Merutuṅga—fictitious story of—
 like Prithvirāja and Ghori 120f.
 Mewad 4, 18, 26, 36.
 Mexician Aztecs 298.
 Mihira Bhoja 135, 148.
 Mihira, *alias* Bhoja, successor of
 Rāmachandra—date and extent
 of Empire of—104.
 Military officers different from civil
 ones 236.
 Mitāksharā 53.
 —Gotra dictum of—wrong 53, 56.
 —pravara rule of—useless 62.
 —Śrauta sūtra rule misinterpreted
 in—50f.
 Mitra distinguishing epithet of
 Nagar brahmins 83.
 —not Ma 84.
 Mitraya 60.
 Mohanlāla Pāṇḍya 23ff.
 Moris of Chitod 73.
 Mudgala—descent of—59.
 Mugdhatuṅga, son and successor
 of Kokkala 136.
 Mularāja chālukya 107.
 Mulrāja Salonki, seized the kingdom
 of Chāvaḍās 115f.

Mulasthānapur 40, 42,
Multan 36.
—Sun temple of—fear^s of idol^l being
broken by Moslems and author's
view on it 197f.
Muṇḍarāja or Bhūyada, successor
of Khemrāja 115.

N

Nadol 22.
Nāga 346.
Nāgabhaṭṭa son of Vatsarāja 140.
Nāgabhaṭṭa—capital of, not deter-
mined, 100.
—conquest of Kanauj Empire by—
103.
Nāgabhaṭṭa, first Pratihāra king—
how came to power 98f.
—probable date of accession and
period of rule and conquests of—
100, 104.
Nāgabhaṭṭa II 108.
Nāgaḍā 72f.
Nāgars 83.
Nāgari Prachārīṇi Granthamālā 18.
Nāgas—history and civilisation of—
326.
Nāgojibhaṭṭa's Udyota, 312, 314ff,
Nahararai 99.
Nahusha 27.
Nānāsaheb Peshwā 74.
Nanda 21.
Nannuka first Chandella king—
date of—125.
Nārasimha Chālukya 106.
Naravāhana, son of Allatṭa 80.
Nārāyaṇapāla, successor of Mahi-
pāla 141.
Nārāyaṇapāladeva, son and suc-
cessor of Vighrahapāla 141.
Nationality only prevents foreign
domination—examples 226.
Navasāhasṅka charita 119.
Nepāl—extent of—39, 41.
—kingdoms—history of 160.

Nesfield 7.
Nilapura 41.
Nikumbhavara 23.
Nivṛita 41.
Nohalādevi 14.

O

Occupation of selling certain pro-
visions 184.
Odiyāna or Orissa—extent of—40f.
Officers—translation of and in-
ference from list of—in Bhālg-
inscription 231ff.
Origin legends fictitious 97.
—stories myths 86f, 131.
Orissa kingdoms—history of—160.

P

Padhihara 25.
Paiśāchī 3.
Pakshabāhu 42.
Pālas of Bengal 138ff, 354.
—dates of—cannot be ciphered 140.
—extent of rule and exploits of—142.
—Genealogy and probable dates of—
143.
—rise of—as in documents 138f.
—were Rajputs, Buddhists in name
and Hindu in character 142.
Pāla suffix—meaning of—139.
Pallavas of Kāñchi 4, 47, 51.
Pampa, kanarese poet 106.
Pāmbipur 41.
Pāñchāla—North 37.
Pāñchālas—history of—as in the
Vedas 290ff.
Pandit S. P. 207.
Pāṇḍu 42.
Pāṇḍuvishaya 41.
Pāṇḍya Mohnalal 18ff.
—Shyāmaldāsa 15.
Paṇḍu 42.

- Pāṇini—Sūtra of—different Bhāṣhas on, 312f.
 —meaning of sūtra of—consisting the word Rājaputra 44f.
 Panipat 18.
 Pargitar 58, 259ff, 278f 287.
 —conclusion from the study of Purāṇas by 259f.
 Parjhārs 8.
 Paramāras 9, 13, 16, 23, 27, 34f, 50, 52f, 55, 68f, 117ff.
 —date of—117.
 —examination of arguments of Gujar and foreign descent of—34f.
 —Genealogy of—123; discussed from various sources 118f.
 —history of—unknown at Tod's time and represented by minor chiefs to-day; their names 117
 —and Pratāpagadh Inscriptions; inference therefrom 352.
 —origin of—15.
 Parāśara Smṛiti 43f.
 —contradicts Kaliage myth 47f.
 —śloka allowing Brahmins and Kshatriyas to become agriculturists 182f.
 —śloka requesting taxes for temples and Brahmins in 238.
 Parvagupta of Divir Dynasty 158.
 Pāradaś 30.
 Parihāra, 9, 13, 16, 23, 25.
 Pariyātra 41.
 Patañjali's Mahābhāṣhya 312f.
 Pātaka 23.
 Pāṭaliputra 100f.
 Pāyagunde Mahādeva-chhāyā on Ud-yota of—312ff.
 Pijavana 274.
 Political condition in India 220ff, 229
 Poros 292.
 Prabandhas—fictitious account of—
 114
 Prabanda Chintāmapī 39, 114, 119.
 —list of kings in Pātan 116.
 Prākandha-Kośa 35.
 Praśasti of Hemādri 324.
 —Nāgpur 118.
 —Udepur 118.
 Pratāpa 70.
 Pratāpavardhana 29.
 Pratihāras of Kanauja 8, 23, 25, 27, 31ff, 50, 69, 98ff.
 —chief events from foundation of 108f.
 —capital of; its situation 99.
 —descendants of Lakshmaṇa 13.
 —explanation of arguments appearing to show—as Gujars 31f.
 —of Ghatiala inscription 111ff.
 —Imperial line of Kanauja—Genealogy of 113.
 —minor dynasty of—calling Gurjar Pratihāras for distinction; not Gujars themselves 31ff.
 —names of—Arynas 31.
 —never call themselves Gujars in inscriptions 31.
 —neither Gujars nor foreigners 98.
 —not insignificant power in 9th century 98.
 —peculiarity of Grants of—109f.
 —form of writing of grants similar to that of Harsha grants 108f.
 —origin 32f 86 of 98f.
 —power of —declining 106f.
 —represented as Sūrya-vamśis 31.
 —of Solar race 13.
 —why called Gujars 105.
 Pratiloma marriages checked 27f.
 Pravar matter made clear by some Sūtras 61f.
 —and Pravara Rishi 57.
 —Rishis—reasons of—being 3 or 5; 57.
 —a special provision for Kshatriyas 61.
 —system uncertain affair 54.
 Pṛithu 60.
 Pṛithvirāja, 12ff, 18ff, 25, 80, 90, 91, 99, 136.

Prithvirāja Rāsa, 12ff, 18ff, 25f, 85, 93, 96.

—additions in, unseparable—19.

—authenticity of questioned—18.

—authority and popularity of—like Mahābhārata 19.

—compared with Mahābhārata 18f.

—conscious attempt in—to imitate Mahābhārata 19.

—dates of—not wrong 20ff.

—nucleus by Chand 21; authentic and ancient 18f.

—points of similarity with Mbh. 19f.

—verses in—misinterpreted; author's interpretation 22f.

—kings 36 in—unhistorical 91.

Prithvirāja Vijaya 14, 35.

Prosperity period of India—factors which led to, 247ff.

Pulakeśin 116, 154, 329f.

Pulakeśin II, 148.

Pulastya 42.

Puṅgala 40, 42.

Punjab—some other kingdoms in, 159.

Purāṇas, not historical authorities; its reasons 262;

Purāṇic age—historical facts misinterpreted in—278ff.

—Gods 2.

—statements—regarding Rajputs valueless, interpolations 43.

Puru 270, 278.

—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa interpretation of—Macdonnell's and author's views thereon 270.

Purus 270, 276ff, 282ff, 297.

—progress of—288f.

Purukutsa 58f, 271, 274, 276, 283f, 290, 296, 297f. [277f.

Pururavas—inference from story of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, annihilator of Buddhism 1f.

Pushyabhūti 2.

Pushkarāṇya 67.

Pushkara Tirtha 67.

R

Race—fusion of—after settlement 27.

Rādhā—Mādhava-Vilāsa—Champā by Jayarāma Pindye 318.

Rāhila, successor of Vijaya—date, account and exploits of 125.

Rahmni kingdom and try for its identification 163f.

Rājapāla 23, 25.

Rājyapāla, successor of Nārāyaṇapāla—account and date of 141.

—successor of Vijayapāla and fall of Kanauj Empire 108.

Rājatarāṅgi 22.

Rājasekhara 31, 35, 188.

—plays Bālabhārata and Pāṇḍava of—106.

—Guru of Mahendrapāla 105f.

Rājendralāla 127.

Rajput applied to illegitimate progeny 43f.

Rajput clans—identification of 25f.

—clans list of—as old as Chand 25.

—clans 36 in number, their history 22f.

—families almost all worshippers of Śiva, their list 203f.

—not new word 43

—word meaning of 43ff.

—word, as old as Pāṇini and Mahābhārata 45.

—word, in Mahābhārata in good sense 44.

—why prominent in 9th century 45f.

Rajputs—chivalry, Heroism, orthodoxy of faith and struggle against foreign faith of 4.

—descendants of Vedic Āryans 7, 69; an evidence of 49f.

—fighting with Turks, Afghans and their independence 5.

- Rajputs founded a Hindu Empire 69.
 —Gaur 69.
 —Gotras of—by descent from times immemorial 53.
 —Gotras and Pravaras of—as in Vedic Sūtras 49f.
 —Indo-Āryans 5.
 —a mixed caste in Pārāśara Smṛiti and Śūdrakamalākara 43f.
 —not pure Kshatriyas according to Purāṇas 43.
 —not ugras 48.
 —prominence in politics of 3f.
 Rajputana—Aryan settlements in 64ff.
 —Gazeteer wrongly omits Gūvaka I 94.
 —historical proofs of immigrants in—before Rāṭhods 68f.
 —inhabited by Ābhirs and others 64ff.
 —not inhabited by Āryans for long 64.
 —order of Aryan Settlements in 66f.
 —settlements through foreign pressure 68.
 —southern Gujarat 31f.
 —very inhospitable 64.
 Rājputra used in the sense of Kshatriya in Mbh 44.
 —denotes high born Kshatriya 44.
 Rajvade, V. K. 155, 320, 323ff 327f.
 —examination of theory of Deccan Marāṭhās of—318ff.
 Rāma, 24, 272, 275, 287, 295.
 Rāmachandra, son of Nāgabhaṭṭa —date of—104.
 Rāmāyaṇa 9, 65f.
 —reference to Maru (Rajputana) and Ābhirs in 66.
 Rāmpur 37f.
 Rapdel 25.
 Rāṇoji Scindia 327.
 Rapson—Prof. 357.
 Rāshtrakūṭa—meaning of —144, 152.
 Rāshtrakūṭas 32, 47, 102, 144ff.
 —condition of Mahārāshṭra before —152f.
 —dates of first kings mentioned in grants of 144.
 —early history of—322ff.
 —extent of Empire of 153f.
 —Genealogy of 156.
 —government, army and religion of—154f.
 —list with dates of kings of—151.
 —and Marāṭhās compared 153f.
 —names of kings of—153.
 —origin of—144.
 —period of suzerainty in Deccan of—151.
 —rise and monumental works of—153.
 —same as Rāshtrikās 323.
 —Social status of—154f.
 —some general remarks about 152ff
 —unlike Chālukyas went to the heart of Empire 154.
 Raṭarājya or Rāshtrakūṭa, extent of 40f.
 Ratnāditya, successor of Yogarāja 115.
 Rāṭhods 8, 23, 50, 55, 90.
 —originally Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan 328.
 —last immigrants historically known 68.
 Ravi 23ff.
 —Śasi, Jādhava not clans but races 24f.
 Rāwal—meaning of 72.
 Religion—one—Vedic religion being held supreme 196f.
 —Vedic—side by side idolatry 201
 Religious condition of India 196ff, 247ff.
 Research—value of—11, 17.

Revenue administration—inference from—as evidenced from Daulatpurā grant of Bhoja 239.
—administration—inference from—as evidenced from Śilahāra grant 239f.
—land tax and other dues paid by villagers 234.
—officers—rights and appointments of—as evidenced from grants 235f
—and pay of officers generally paid in kinds 235.
Rights of descendants of kings religiously respected in India 222.
Riksha 41.
Rishi—meaning of 57.
Risley—Sir, 294.
—observation of—265f.
Rohillas 102.
Romaka 42.
Rosajuta 23ff.
Rudreṇa, Tomara king, 159.

S

Sabaktagin 108.
Sahadeva 291.
Sahya 41.
Saindhava 23, 103.
Samarasi 18, 21, 70.
Samarasimha 81.
Samrāts—history of—100f.
Samudragupta 100.
Saṅga 70.
Saṅjaya 41.
Sapādalaksha 36f, 40, 92.
Sapardalakshāṇa 35, 37.
Sassanian coins 35.
Sati custom 190.
Saurāshṭra 40f.
Sauti 18.
Sāhanapura 41.
Sāmanta—date of—157.

Sāmantadeva 99.
—and Gūvaka I—probable dates of 94f.
Sāmbhar or Sayambhara 37, 40f, 90ff, 281.
—first seat of power of Chauhānas 92.
Sāmrajya and Samrāt—idea of—long since Mbh. 100f.
Sārasvata Maṇḍala—Northern Gujrat 33.
Scythians 10.
Sadāvara 23, 25.
Shahābuddin Ghorī 90.
Shāhu of Sātāra 74.
Shasi of Sind 74.
Shyāmaldāsa 18.
Shyama Sundaradas 18.
Silāra 23.
Simha, son of Bhartripaṭṭa 79.
Simhala 42.
Simharāja 94.
—Vākpatirāja's elder son, 96, 159.
Sind 40.
—history of kingdoms in 157.
Sindha 41.
Sindhurāja, brother and suscessor of Vākpati 118, 121.
Sirohi 90.
Sitā 24.
Skandapurāṇa, 36f, 39f, 92, 199.
—Arbuda Khaṇḍa 68.
—date of—39f.
—list, examination and identification of 39f.
—list of countries and villages in 39ff.
—mountains and rivers in 40f.
Smṛiti law of Anuloma marriage 193ff.
—law predominant—no new legislature and result therefrom 225.
Smṛiti Atri—extract from 308; evidence on interdining of 252.
—Āpastamba—extract from 309.

- Smṛiti Bṛhaspati—extract from 309.
- Dakṣha—extract from 310.
- Gotama—extract from 310.
- Kātyāyana—extract from 309.
- Manu—śloka of treating Anuloma marriage and status of Śūdra Progeny 193.
- Manu and Yājñavalkya—view on Anuloma Brahmin marriage of 194.
- Parāśara and Vyāsa—statement about marriages in 189f.
- Parāśara extract from 309.
- Saṁvarta—extract from 309.
- Śaṅkha—extract from 310.
- Uśanas—extract from 308f.
- Vasishṭha—extract from 311.
- Vishṇu—extract from 308.
- Vyāsa—evidence on interdining of 251; Vyāsa extract from 310.
- Vyāsa—śloka of—on caste—its explanation 179f.
- Vyāsa and Auśanasa views on Anuloma marriages of 194.
- Vyāsa and Parāśara—view on Anuloma Śūdra marriage of—193f.
- Yājñavalkya—view on Anuloma Śūdra marriage of 193. [308ff.
- Smṛities—extracts from important Smith V.—6, 8, 10f, 18, 38, 69, 98ff, 104, 107f, 124f, 128ff.
- wrong view of—about the origin of Chandells 130ff.
- Salonkhi or Chālukya 14.
- Solar and Lunar Races—arguments and conclusion of—resumed 294ff
- kingdoms and peoples of 292f.
- Kshatriyas how descendants of Pravara Rishis? 58f.
- of India in the Vedas 259ff.
- Order of authorities 262ff.
- Rigvedic references to the conflict of—and conclusion therefrom 281ff.
- Race idea—reasons of origin of 298,
- some important facts in the history of 265ff.
- traditions of—through absurd historically important 12.
- Somaka 291.
- Spaniards fighting with Moors 5.
- Sṛiṅjaya 291.
- Strirājya 42.
- State—rights of—234f.
- Sub-castes small due to overthrow of Buddhism 3.
- Sudāsa 269, 271ff, 276, 282f, 290 295,
- Sulaimān merchant—identification and contents of work of—162ff.
- extract of his work on caste 181.
- inference from evidence of—showing political condition 221f.
- inference from statement of—about kings army 222f.
- story of an ascetic of—and statement in general about asceticism of—200.
- Sukṛit Saṅkīrtana 114.
- Sukthankar Dr. 352f.
- Suicide in sacred places 191.
- Spurious work without nucleus not popular 19.
- Surjmal Bhat 16, 25, 91.
- Sūryamukha 41.
- Sussanian 36.
- Suśarman 158.
- Śabaraswāmin 329.
- Śakas 4, 6, 8ff, 28, 30, 68,
- and Yavanas not admitted in Indian caste 28.
- Śaktikumāra, son of Naravāhana 80f.
- Śaṅkara and Kumārila—little historical evidence about and sources thereof 206.
- account of life, works and travels of 213ff.

Śaṅkara—controversy of with Maṇ-
dana Miśra 214.
—date of 218f,
—death of 217.
—doctrines of 212f and result
therefrom 217.
—foundations of 4 Mathas by 215.
—greatness of 215.
—Native place and date of 213.
—Prof. Pathak's internal and ex-
ternal authorities about date of
218.
—views of Vidyāranya and Veṅka-
teśvara on date of—not correct
219.
—why Prachchanna Buddha and
causes of his success 212f.
Śaṅkaradvijaya—inference from
statement of—about Kumārila 207
Śaṅkaragaṇa, son and successor
of Lakshmaṇa 136.
Śarada Harbilas 14, 37.
Śaśāṅka of Kaṇṇasuvārṇa 139.
Śasi 23ff.
Śaśibhava 25.
Śatrughna 272, 274, 287, 295.
Śauraseni 3.
Śāhi, king of Kīra 107.
Śākambhara 36f.
Śākambarī—family of 35.
Śālivāhana 80.
Śātavāhana, Āndhra Emperor 134.
Śīla 345f.
Śīla and Aparājita-foot-note on 82.
—Bhoja's successor 79.
Śilāditya 75.
Śisodias 4.
Śiva cult, revival of 2.
Śivadesha 41.
Śiva worship prominent 116, 203f.
—worship origin and history of—
204.
Śivāji 5, 72f.
—belonged to Northern Rajput
family of Śisodias 324f.

Śivālik hills 35ff, 40.
Śiyaka or Śrī Harsha, son of Vairi-
simha—exploits of 119.
—date of 118ff.
Śrauta Sūtras 54, 60.
—dictum of 58.
Śrīchandra 93.
Śrīvallabha, son of Kṛishṇa 101.
Śuchibhava 25.
Śuchivarman 81.
Sūdrakamalākara 44, 48, 312.
—refutation of Varṇa dictum in
215.
Sūdras, agriculture occupation of
183.
—and others drinkers 212.
Suktimān 41.
Sunahotra 58.
Sunahśepa 272.

T

Tafik kingdom—account and iden-
tification of—mentioned by Su-
laiman 163.
Tailapāla 120, 151.
Takkāṇa 35, 37.
Tāka 23.
Takshaśilā 292f.
Tantrapāla 159.
Tāntric worship—disappearance of
2
Tapas and sannyāsa 199f.
Tapasvis origin and growth of 200.
Taura 25, 55.
Taxes—system of 230.
Temples of favourite deities—
custom of building of 197f.
Thānesar 29.
Tod, Col. 7, 13, 16, 22ff, 50, 70f,
73ff, 78ff, 90, 98f, 117, 159, 338f
341.
Tod's Annual 9.
—Rājastān 14.
Tomara 40, 42

Tod's Kingdoms at Delhi—history of 159.
 Town—general administration of 236.
 Traditions—reliability of—of Brahmins and Kshatriyas 260ff.
 Transubstantiation—doctrine of 12
 Trasadasyu 58f, 271, 274, 276, 283f, 290, 296.
 Trilochanapāla—date of 157.
 Trīksha 59.
 Trītsus 269.
 Tṛṅga Rāshtrakūṭa 141.
 Turushka 104.
 —in Sāgaratala—explanation of 112f
 Turvaśas 276ff, 281ff, 297f.
 —progress of 288.

U

Udayana 21.
 Udepur 24.
 —Museum Library 23.
 —Praśasti 15, 50.
 U. P. and Oudh under Kanauj Emperors 160.
 Upanishad Chhāndogya 287. statement in 26f.
 Uttanka legends in Mbh 65, 67.

V

Vadhryaśva 295.
 Vadhvaryaśva 60.
 Vāghila 55.
 Vāguri 41.
 Vaidya—points of difference of— from Pargitar 260ff.
 Vairisimha, successor of Ratnāditya 115.
 —Vajraṭa, successor of Kṛishṇarāja 119.
 —date of—118f.
 Vaiśampāyana 18f.

Vaiśyas formed one caste, no minor distinctions 177.
 —non-drinkers 202.
 —originally agriculturists; left it 182.
 Vajradāman, a Kachhavāha Chief 108.
 Vākpati chauhāna 159.
 —*alias* Munja—date of 118f.
 —son and successor of Śīyaka—account and exploits of 120.
 Vākpatirāja 93f.
 Valabbī 72, 75.
 Vālmikī 272.
 Vaṁśa Bhāskara 16, 25, 91.
 Vanrāja, ancestors, birth, foundation of Empire at Anhilwāḍa and Date of 114f.
 Vāpyaṭa, grandfather of Gopāla 140.
 Varāha Mihira 34, 39.
 Vararuchi 34.
 Vardhamāna 40, 42.
 Vardhanas 3.
 Varendeka 42.
 Varendu 36, 40f.
 Varma of Kanauj 4.
 Varna dictum—date of—316f.
 'Varnas Brahmins and Śūdras only'—origin and examination of the dictum namely—312ff.
 Varnas—historical comment on 313f
 Vasistha 12f, 15f, 52, 56ff, 269ff.
 —born of Urvaśi 86.
 Vāsudeva Vāhman—legends of 35.
 —sussanian king 37.
 Vatsa (Allahabad) 104.
 Vatsarāja, son of Devaśakti—date and conquest of Kanauj of—100ff
 Vāyu Purāṇa 58f.
 Vedic literature 261.
 Velankar, Prof. H. D. 349.
 Velākulas—interpretation of 40.
 Vena 60.
 Veṅgi kingdom 161. [3.
 Vernaculars, modern, beginning of

Vidarbha or Berar, 40, 42, 103.

Vigraha 93.

Vigrahapāla I, nephew and successor of Devapāla—date and account of 141.

Vigrahapāla II, successor of Gopāla II, 141.

Vigrahapāla III, made Amagachhi grant 141

Vigraharāja, son of Simharāja 94, 96f.

Vijaya, successor of Nannuka—date of 125.

Yijñāneśvara 51ff, 62, 316, 330.

—theory of Kshatriya gotras of—a misconception 87, 325.

Vikramārka—date of 116.

Vikrama 20f.

—śaka 20f.

Villagers—description of—in different grants, 233f.

Vinayāditya 154, 182.

Vindhya 41.

Vindhyaśakti 161.

Viprakulānandana, well applied to Bappā 347.

Virāṭa 42.

Viśāladeva 20f.

Vishṇuvardhana 59.

Vishṇu worship, prominent in Hinduism 2.

Viśvāmitra 15, 56ff, 271ff 296.

Vithikā, meaning of 237.

Vyāsa 18f, 29.

Vyāghramukha, Chāpa family king ruling at Bhinmāl 99f.

W

Walid Khalif 79.

Wars—good result of 257f.

—international—effect of 256ff.

—occasional, lead to progress 225.

West Coast kingdoms 161.

William the conqueror 328.

Words—good and bad meanings of—; latter later growth 43.

Y

Yadus 276ff, 281ff, 297f.

—settlement and progress of 286ff.

Yadu Vamśa separate from Chandra Vamśa 24.

Yādavas 16, 286f.

—early history of 324.

Yājñavalkya 28.

—smṛiti 50.

Yamakoti 42.

Yaśaskaradeva 158.

Yaśovarman, son of Harsha 139, 154, 207.

—exploits and date of 125f.

—Chandel 107.

Yāsana 42.

Yantika 23, 25.

Yavanas 4, 30.

Yayāti 270, 277ff, 287f, 297f.

Yudhishtira 20.

—śaka 20f.

Yue-chi 6, 8.

Yuvarāja II, brother and successor of Śaṅkaragaṇa and contemporary of Muṣija 136.

Yuvanāśva 58f.

E R R A T A

(*Mistakes of comma, long or short a, i, u and single letters
have been omitted.*)

<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>
Shyamaldas Pandya	Kaviraj Syamaldas	15	27
the seasons	the six seasons	20	11
संकरत्वात्सवर्णानां	संकरात्सर्ववर्णानां	27	31
these	there	36	39
precedes	follows	45	5
dictum)-चक्षते	dictum..चक्षते)	56	15,16
the	their	68	15
contemporaries ?	contemporaries ;	82	26
and Sāmantadeva	Sāmantadeva and	94	20
by	renown by	100	9
703	705	101	26
Rāshtrakūtas	Chālukyas	121	34
813	831	125	1
this	the	141	10
856 934	836 914	149	20
hold	held	153	32
regal	regna	163	10
Pampas	Pampa's	173	13
through.. Bhili)	though.. Bhili	174	9—11
sacrifice	sacrifice"	183	7
India	Indians	191	14
the mankind	mankind	200	20
merits	merit	201	37
in Gujarat..into the	into Gujarat..in the	203	35
time"	time	208	30
Kumārila"	Kumārila	209	13
union	unison	212	6
389	3889	218	9
languages	language	226	21
शोडशिका	षोडशिका	238	11
it is	they are	250	28
that Viśvāmitra	Viśvāmitra	272	16

<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>
Purāṇa's	Purāṇas	279	29
शुभ्रे	शुभ्रे	280	16
forded	forded it	282	24
पूरम्	पूरम्	283	36
कात्व	काण्व	284	27
Ghora	Ghaurā	285	34, 38
Hindus	Aryans	288	25
Brahmanas	the Brāhmanas	292	17
द्विजः....मत्स्योक्तेश्च	द्विजाः....मात्स्योक्तेश्च	315	9, 13
Kshatriya	Kshatriyas	316	34
निमग्न—	निमग्नां	322	30
to	or	327	23
relies	relies	332	27
दाबिरे-	दागिरे-	333	43
Bhāsha	Bhāskara	334	14
विद्वेषिणं	विद्वेषिणं	335	42
तनय	तनयं	„	43
Śhivāditya	Śivāditya	341	8
Inscription	Inscriptions	345	3
recurring	seeuring	345	44
epithets	epithet	347	21
Shitipāla	Kshitipāla	351	1
cupression	suppression	353	7
Krisna	Krishna	„	17
Smagachi	Amagachhi	354	3
capaital	a capital	„	43

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C.V. Vaidya

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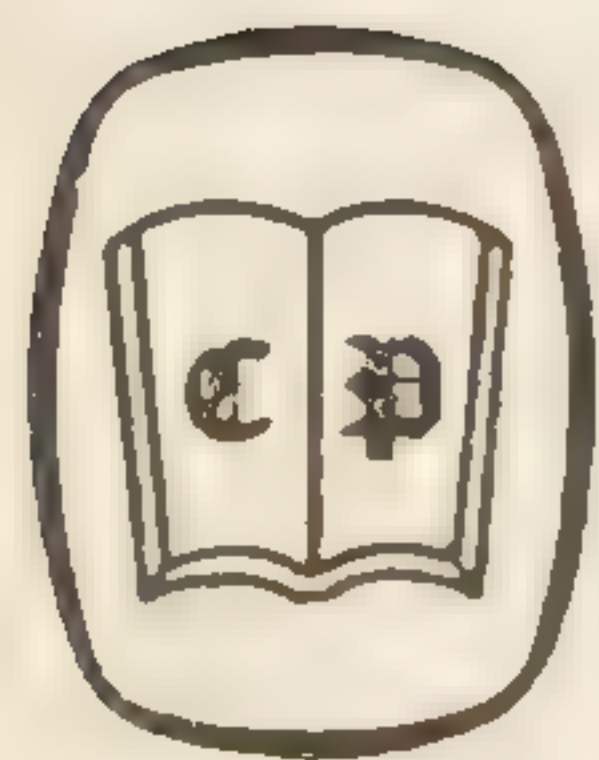
HISTORY OF MEDIAEVAL HINDU INDIA

VOL. III

DOWNFALL OF HINDU INDIA

Set of Three Volumes

C. V. VAIDYA



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PREFACE.

By the grace of God this third volume of the History of Mediæval Hindu India as I had projected it several years back is ready and I place it before the indulgent reader under the second name of 'The Downfall of Hindu India.' Indeed the idea of writing this history was originally suggested to me by Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, as Mediæval Hindu empire in its decline and fall struck me as greatly resembling the Roman empire. It fell before the Turks* like the other and its fall closed with the taking of Kanauj on the Ganges as the latter's did with the storming of Constantinople on the Bosphorus. The Grecian capital became, moreover, the seat of the Turkish Mahomedan empire in Europe as Delhi became the seat of Turco-Afghan :Mahomedan empire in India. The Greeks or Eastern Romans had declined in martial virtues and the same may be said of the Hindus generally, though the Rajputs, unlike the Greeks, even then maintained their high reputation for valour and love of independence and still maintain their semi-independence in the sands and hills of Rajputana. Prithviraj and Jaichand strike us, unlike the last Grecian emperors, as redoubtable warriors who have immortalised their names in Indian history by their tragic but heroic end on the battlefield. Yet for various reasons, the generality of the people in Hindu India had become meek and accepted dependence without a tough national struggle.

This volume thus brings down the history of India to about 1200 A. D., when the whole of Northern India practically fell before the Mahomedans. The fall of Hindu India began in the very beginning of the sub-period treated of in this volume, as Kabul and the Panjab fell before Mahmud from about 1000 to 1009 A.D. In the first book (vi) in this volume is given

* Although Shihabuddin was an Afghan, his army contained more Turks than Afghans; and the Rajputs always called their enemies by the name of Turukdā or the bad Turk.

the history of Mahmud's invasions of India, a history which has been reconstructed, so to speak, from original authorities, Mahomedan and Hindu. The common supposition that Jaipal of Lahore was a different king from the king of the same name of Kabul has been found, on a careful consideration of the available evidence, to be mistaken and, as has been shown, the Hindu kingdom of the Shahis of Kabul extending from the Paropamisus to the Sutlej, fell before Mahmud. We have tried to explain at the end of this book why the sturdy Hindus of the Panjab fell before the Mahomedan Turks of Ghazni. Thus in the beginning of this sub-period, the Panjab was lost to Hindu India in addition to Sind, which was lost in 712. A. D.

For two centuries more, Hindu kingdoms flourished in the rest of India under Rajput kings, and in these kingdoms powerful kings ruled from time to time like Bhoja of Malwa, Jayasinha of Gujarat, Govindachandra of Kanauj and Vikrama of Kalyan. Yet Northern India fell before Shihabuddin Ghorî about 1200 A.D., even though there were such warrior kings as Prithviraj and Jaichand to defend the independence of Hindu kingdoms. The causes of this catastrophe, different as they are from those which led to the downfall of the Panjab, have been discussed at the end of Book vii and they will be found at least interesting and suggestive.

But most interesting will be found Book viii in this volume in which is taken a general survey of the whole condition of India in this sub-period, which practically led to the demoralization and weakness of the Hindus as a people. It will be seen how caste became infinitely subdivided in this sub-period, how religious schism increased by the rise of new sects, how the doctrine of Ahimsā again became predominant and led to the adoption of vegetarianism by most people and how bigotry increased and manifested itself in the rise of Āgamas, Upasmṛitis and Upapurāṇas. This is the most interesting portion of this volume and the views which I have expressed therein may at least be carefully considered by my Hindu readers.

The history of Hindu kingdoms in this sub-period given in Book vii is based chiefly on inscriptions which have been

published upto this time by the labours of able researchers, both European and Indian, to whom I am wholly indebted for being able to synthetically put the facts recorded therein into consistent coherent history. Although I have, now and then, differed from these scholars on certain points and have criticised their views, I must record here my extreme gratefulness to them and duly recognise their services to the cause of pre-Mahomedan history of India. The authorities relied on have been quoted in the body of the book, instead of being given in foot-notes as the usual practice is, in order that the reader may have the authority before him at once and in large type. The history of some kingdoms has already been formulated by Bhandarkar, Fleet and other scholars and that part of this history is taken mainly from them. But the history of other kingdoms, notably that of the Imperial Gāhadavālas of Kanauj has been, for the first time I think, put together in this volume and certain difficult problems, such as the identity of the Gāhadavālas with the Rathods, have been solved in it.

This volume closes this work, though Hindu kingdoms lived on for a hundred years more in southern India. But they were ready to fall, for causes recorded in this volume, at the slightest push, as we actually find that they toppled down at once at the onslaught of Allauddin and his general Malik Kafur about 1300 A. D. Mahārāshtra (Deogiri), Telingana (Warangal) and Karnāṭaka (Dvāra-Samudra) fell successively in one expedition which Malik-Kafur led upto Cape Comorin. South India rallied once more under Vijayanagar and it fell finally in 1565 A.D. at the battle of Talikot before the combined Mahomedan kings of the Deccan. In one sense Hindu India fell finally at this date and Vijayanagar may be looked upon as the Constantinople of India, though while Constantinople still lives, Vijayanagar has been blotted out of existence. This later history of Hindu India, commencing from the downfall of Deogiri and ending with the catastrophe which overtook Vijayanagar, requires a separate volume, no doubt, written with the view-point taken in this history; but this is a work which I may leave to other hands.

A Political map of India of circa 1100 A. D. has been added and will be found interesting. But more interesting will be found the three sketches of the battle-field of Chhachha where finally was lost the independence of the Panjab, of Kot-Kangra and of the old Delhi of Prithviraj, which we have prepared after personally visiting these places.

An Index has been affixed as usual and a chronological table has been added.

POONA CITY,
January 25th 1926.

C. V. VAIDYA.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

It would be advisable to give here the Bibliography for this volume and indeed for this whole history. It is based principally on inscriptions published in (1) *Indian Antiquary*, (2) *Epigraphia Indica*, (3) *Journals of the B. B. R. A. S.* and (4) *Journals A. S. J. Bengal* and (5) the volumes of *Corp. Ins. Ind.* In consulting these, one is assisted by Keilhorn's lists of Northern and Southern Inscriptions published in *E. I. Vols. V and VIII*. These lists are arranged in chronological order in groups according to the different kingly families to which they belong, and give references to the books where they are published. (6) The District Gazetteers of the several provinces contain valuable information under 'history' and 'people'. (7) For Mahomedan accounts, *Elliot Vols. I and II* and translations of *Al-Beruni's India*, *Yamini* and *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* were consulted. (8) *Harshacharita*, *Skanda Purāna* *Hiuen Tsang's Travels* and *Prithvirāj Rāsā* supplied useful information.

CONTENTS.

BOOK VI.

INVASIONS OF MAHMUD.

Chapter	Page.
I Political Geography of India (c. 1030) (from Al-Beruni).	... 1
Note--Geography of India from Rājaśekhara	... 8
II (A) The Samanides of Bokhara	... 10
(B) Founding of the Kingdom of Ghazni	... 13
III Jaipal, King of Hindustan. Note--Mohyal Brahmins	16-22
IV Sabuktagin and Jaipal	... 23
V Mahmud and Jaipal	... 30
VI Expedition to Bhatia. Note--Bhatia	...34-38
VII Expedition against Multan	... 39
VIII (A) Final fight of the combined Hindus	... 43
Note--Site of the confederate battle	... 49
(B) The Raid on Nagarkot	... 50
Note--Kangra, its fort and temples	... 52
IX Subjugation of the Panjab	... 56
X Battle of Nazin and Annexation of the Panjab	... 59
Note 1--The fort of Nandana	... 63
„ 2--The Shahi kings, their revised dates & coins.	64
XI Expedition to Thanesar	... 66
XII The sack of Mathura	... 70
XIII The fall of Kanauj	... 76
XIV Expedition against Kalanjar	... 85
Note--Sir V. Smith on the expedition	... 86
XV Expedition to Somnath. Note--Somnath	...87-91
XVI Idolatry of the Hindus	... 93
XVII Death of Mahmud and his Character	... 97
Note--Was Mahmud or Shivaji a bandit ?	... 106
XVIII Downfall of the Panjab and Kabul--Apparent causes.	111
XIX Downfall of the Panjab--Probable causes	... 118
Note--Mahābhārata on the laxity of religious feeling in the Panjab	... 131

XX	The successors of Mahmud	...	132
	Note 1—Coins of the Ghaznavi kings	...	143
	„ 2—Spelling & meaning of some Mahomedan names		144

BOOK VII.

THE THIRD SET OF HINDU KINGDOMS.

Chapter		Page.
I	Chāhamānas of Sambhar and Ajmer	... 145
II	Guhilots of Mewad	... 151
III	Paramāras of Dhar—Bhoja	... 156
IV	Paramāras of Dhar—Later kings	... 169
V	Chandellas of Bundelkhand	... 179
	Note—Khajuraho and Mahoba	... 186
VI	Kalachūri Haihayas of Ohedi	... 187
	Note—Tiwari, capital of the Kalachūris	... 193
VII	Chaulukyas of Anhilwad	... 194
VIII	Gāhadvālas of Kanauj	... 210
	Note 1—Rathods and Gaharwars	... 217
	„ 2—Do the Rathods or Gah. belong to the Deccan?	222
IX	Pālas of Bengal	... 224
X	Senas of Lakhnauti	... 231
	Note—Chronology of the Senas	... 238
XI	Śilāhāras of Thana	... 241
	Note 1—Hanjamana-Nagara	... 251
	„ 2—Elephanta Caves of Ghārāpuri	... 252
XII	(1) Later Chālukayas of Kalyan	... 253
	(2) Kalachūris of Kalyan	... 263
XIII	Eastern Gangas of Trikalina and Orissa	... 265
XIV	Cholas of Tanjore	... 273
XV	Important Feudatory Kingdoms of Southern India—Part I	... 281
	(1) Yādavas of Deogiri 281 (2) Kākatīyas of Waran- gal 282 (3) Hoyasalas of Halebid 283 (4) Pāndyas of Maḍura 284 (5) Keralas of Travancore 285.	

XVI	Imp. Feud. Kingdoms of Southern India—Part II	287
	(1) Sindas of Yelburg 287 (2) Rattas of Saundatti 288 (3) Kadambas of Hangal 289 (4) Kadambas of Goa 290 (5) Śilāhāras of Karhad 293 Genealogies of these lines 296.	
XVII	Important Kingly Families of Northern India ...	297
	(1) Kalachūris of Ratanpur 297 (2) Gautamas of Argal 298 (3) Sengārs of Jagmanpur 299 (4) Yādavas 299 (5) Rathods of Badaun 300 (6) Paramāras of Abu 301 (7) Chauhans of Nadul 302 (8) Bhātis of Jeissalmer 302 (9) Tomaras of Delhi 303 (10) Kachhapaghātas of Gwalior 304 Note—Haraprasad Shastri's wrong view about the origin of the Kachhapaghātas ...	307
XVIII	Himālayan Kingdoms ...	309
	(1) Kashmir 309 (2) Nepal 312 (3) Champā 312 (4) Nurpur 313 (5) Mandi and Suket 315 (6) Kishtawar 317 (7) Ballāpur 318 (8) Kot kangra 319.	
XIX	Rai Pithaura the last Hindu Emperor ...	321
	Note 1—Rasa dates in Prithviraja's life ...	326
	„ 2 Old Delhi of Prithviraj ...	327
XX	Shihabuddin Ghori and his conflict with Prithviraj ...	329
	Note 1—Mahammad Ghori and Prithviraj ...	336
	„ 2—Mahomedan tactics at the last battle ...	337
	„ 3—Rāsā account of the last battle ...	338
XXI	Fall of Ajmer and Kanauj ...	339
	(1) Ajmer and Delhi 339 (2) Kanauj and Benaras 342 (3) Minor operations 344.	
	Note—Kutub Minar ...	346
XXII	The fall of other Rajput Kingdoms in Northern India ...	349
	(1) Anhilwad 350 (2) Kalanjar 357 (3) Lakhnauti 352 (4) Ranathambhor and Mandawar 356 (5) Gwalior 357 (6) Bhelsa and Ujjain 358 (7) Nagda capital of Mewad 359	
XXIII	Downfall of Northern India—Principal causes ...	360
XXIV	Downfall of Northern India—Subsidiary causes ...	365

BOOK VIII.

GENERAL SURVEY.

I	Ramification of Caste	...	373
	(1) Brahmins 375, Note—Marco Polo on Lad Brahmins 382 (2) Rajputs 383, Note—36 Ruling Rajput Families 388 (3) Kāyasthas and Vaiśyas 391 (4) Śūdras and Untouchables 392		
II	Change in marriage and other customs	...	395
III	Religious Disunion	...	401
	(1) Mahomedanism 401 (2) Jainism 403 (3) New Vaishṇavism 413 (4) New or Vīrśaivism 417 Note—Rice on Vīrśaivas and their apostles 422 (5) Vithoba of Pandharpur 426 Note 1—Different views on Moksha	...	428
	„ 2—Religious toleration in some parts	...	429
IV	The Changed aspect of Hinduism	...	431
	(1) Vedas 432 (2) Vedic sacrifices (3) Occasional sacrifices 434 (4) Idol-worship 435 (5) Āgamas and Tantras 439 (6) Extension of Purāṇas 442 (7) Upasmṛitis and Upapurāṇas 443 (8) Kali- varjas 444 (9) Prohibition of reconversion 445 Note—Fasts and Festivals from Al-Beruni	...	445
V	Political condition	...	447
	Note—Shivaji's Aṣṭapradīānas	...	455
VI	Administration	...	457
	(1) The Executive and Revenue administration 458 (2) Judicial 465 (B) Popular Assem- blies in South India 468 (3) Military 469 (4) Source of Honour 470		
VII	Language and Literature	...	471
APPENDIX			
I	Some Criticisms answered	...	475
	(1) Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on Agnikulas 475 (2) P. Gaurishankar on Gotras of Rajputs 476		
II	Some inscriptions in the original	...	479
III	Kalivarjas as given in Nirṇayasindhu	...	488
INDEX, Chronological Table and Map			... 489

BOOK VI.

INVASIONS OF MAHMUD

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA, (ABOUT 1030 A. D.)
from Al-Beruni.

We have a detailed and authentic account of India in the 'India' of this famous writer which is invaluable for the history of the sub-period (1000-1200) treated of in this volume. It is as important for this period as that of Hiuen Tsang was for the first sub-period (600-800). For both Al-Beruni and Hiuen Tsang are foreigners and both had studied Sanskrit, the language of the wise men of India. Both had a critical acumen worthy of a historian. And Al-Beruni is in one respect the better of the two, as he shows an unbiassed mind. Mahomedan though he was, he did not look down with contempt upon the Indians, their religion and their philosophy, their science and their art. Like Hiuen Tsang he obtained knowledge about India and its science and philosophy on the spot, studying them under Indian Pandits at Multan and Peshawar, and collected and carefully sifted information obtainable from Hindu and Moslem travellers. He was a native of Khwarism and when Mahmud of Ghazni conquered that country, he brought him to Ghazni among the prisoners of that kingdom. Beruni was a learned man already, being a mathematician especially. He had studied astronomy including astrology as it was known to the Arabs from Greek sources, and he particularly studied Hindu astronomy and astrology which were equally advanced, if not more, at that time. We will chiefly rely upon his work 'India' in taking a general survey of the condition of India in this volume. But we here begin with describing India as it

was divided politically at this time, from the chapter on the geography of India in this work (chap. 18, Vol. I p. 196 and following-Sachau). Al-Beruni had probably Indian works of geography also before him, perhaps among them a work of Rājaśekhara, court poet at Kanauj, for guidance which we will notice in a note. Al-Beruni gives distances also as ascertained from travellers; but these distances, though often correct, cannot be relied upon as they are given in 'farsakhs,' a measure (which is said to be nearly four English miles) not altogether free from doubt. With these introductory remarks we proceed to give the information recorded by Al-Beruni in the chapter above noted. Al-Beruni wrote about 1030 A. D. when Mahmud was just dead.

India to the Arab writers was always divided into Sind and Hind. Sind already conquered and turned into a Mahomedan kingdom was separate from Hind. The chief part of Hind was the middle land (Madhyadeśa as the Hindus called it), the country round Kanauj, which was not only the centre of Hind, geographically but politically also. "It was the capital and city of residence of the greatest king of India." We have shown in Vol. I that the Pratihāra imperial family still ruled in Kanauj at the beginning of the eleventh century. Kanauj was the imperial capital of India from the days of Harsha and naturally became the centre of Hindu civilization, learning and art. Nearly four centuries of imperial importance had made Kanauj the centre of attraction for wealth, wisdom and valour. Naturally the geography of India is given by Al-Beruni by taking Kanauj as the centre. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā* indeed states that distances should be measured and directions given in reference to Kanauj, a remark borne out by Al-Beruni's description. Antarvedi or the land between the Ganges and the Jumna was the central land of India and the natural starting point of description with the Āchāryas or ancient writers. But Kanauj was in the middle of Antarvedi and being the capital of the central empire and the place where Rājasékshara resided, he gives the opinion:—"The territory between the Ganges and the Jumna to the east of Vinasāna and west of Prayāga is Antarvedi and with reference to it the directions should be given according to the Āchāryas. But

Yāyāvara thinks that even in Antarvedi they should be given with reference to the city of Mahodaya."*

Al-Beruni begins by remarking that if you have to go to Sind you march from Sijistan, but in going to Hind you go via Kabul. In the mountains on the frontier of India "there are tribes of Hindus, or people akin to them, which are rebellious and savage races." It seems clear that they had not yet been converted to Mahomedanism. Coming to Hind and its capital Kanauj he says that it was situated on the west of the Ganges. "But the town is now deserted (owing to Mahmud's invasion) and Bari is the present capital east of the Ganges, distant about 4 days' journey (50 miles)". This town has not yet been identified. Starting from Kanauj and going south, you come to Jajjamau and other places and lastly to the Prayāga tree at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. This (Pipala) tree of Prayāga from which devout Hindus wishing to end their lives threw themselves into the river was still famous, still doing its duty (at present we have a stem of the tree shown in the fort of Allabad). From Prayāga, Al-Beruni takes us southwards to the sea-coast and at once mentions the Jaur (Chola) king who was then in possession of Daraur (Dravida), Kanji (Kānchi), Malaya and Kunk which is the last of Jaur's possessions in this direction. The power of the Cholas was undoubtedly supreme at this time in the territory comprised at present in the Madras presidency and represented then by three or four countries.

Then Al-Beruni mentions cities eastwards of Bari, viz:—Ayodhyā and Benares, Pātaliputra and Mungiri (Mudgagiri) or Monghyr capital of the Pālas of Bengal who were still supreme), Janpa (Champā), Dugampur (?) and Gāngāsāgara where the Ganges falls into the ocean.

Going east via Bari (North-east) you come to Bihat and Tilwat (where people are black and flat-nosed like the Turks) and to Kamrup (Assam), and in the opposite direction (West) Nepal, beyond Bhūteśvara and the highest mountain.

* गंगायमुनयोर्विनशनप्रयागयोरंतरमंतर्वेदी । तदपेक्षया दिशो विभजेतेत्याचार्याः । तत्रापि महोदयमवधीकृत्येति यायावरीयः ।

Going south-west from Kanauj you come to Jajāhūti capital of which is Khajuraha and which has the two hill forts Kalanjar and Gwalior. This is a correct description of the kingdom of Bundelkhand ruled by Chandella kings. Then southwards Dahāla (southern part of Bundelkhand) capital Tiauri (Tewari or Tripur) "of which Gāngeya is king now". This is also a correct description of the Chedi kingdom of the Haihayas and it seems that their great king Gāngeya was still alive. Al-Beruni mentions two great kings only of middle India viz. Gāngeya and Bhoja.

Again south (-west) from Kanauj "Asi, Sahanya, Jandrā, Rājauri and Bazan the capital of Gujarat". This town defies identification though Gujarat is recognised, from inscriptions, to be the country round modern Jaipur. The country was certainly part of what is modern Marwad, and Bazan, according to our view, may be Bhinmal which was once capital of Gujarat or Kuchalo of Hiuen Tsang. For Al-Beruni states that the town was in ruins and the people had gone to another place called Jadura. "Moslems called the town Naraina" which also may be explained by the fact that there was a temple of the sun (Nārāyaṇa) at Bhinmāl. Bhinmāl and Srīmāla are one and Srimali Brahmins and Baniyas are still well-known sub-castes. Al-Beruni adds that Mathura was as distant from Bazan as Kanauj was from Mathura. Probably he refers here to the Sambhar kingdom of the Chauhans. Al-Beruni does not mention Ajmer which was not yet founded nor made capital by the Chauhans.

From Mathura, Al-Beruni takes us southward to Ujjain via two or three towns not recognisable. But Bhāilsân (Bhailla-svāmin), or modern Bhelsa is mentioned and the important statement made that Bhaillasvāmin was the name of the idol there and the town was named after the idol. Bhailla-svāmin is mentioned in inscriptions (vide Vol. II p. 127) and this statement of Al-Beruni gives us for the first time the reason of the name of the town. Then again the word Svāmin shows that it was an idol of Vishṇu and we further remember that there was a famous temple near Bhelsa of Vishṇu on whose Garudastambha an inscription of a Yavana Buddhist king, as

old as the first century B. C. has been found. In Sanskrit literature the name of the town, however, is Vidiśā.

From Bazan southwards you come to Mewad the capital of which is Jattaraur (Chitod). From thence you go to Dhar the capital of Malwa. Ujjain is east of Dhar, 7 farsakhs and Bhaillasvāmin is east of Ujjain 10 farsakhs. This is a correct description of Malwa with its important towns.

From Dhar south (-east) are given certain towns upto Mandagir on the Godavari as also Nemāvar on the Nerbudda, and south "Marāthadeśa and Kunkan the capital of which is Thana on the sea-coast". The name Marāthadeśa had come into use by this time even with foreigners and in Konkan was the northern Śilāhāra kingdom at this time, their capital being Thana. Its fame had reached even Kashmir as we shall see later on.

From Bazan southwest was Anhilvāra with Somnath on the sea-coast and south of Anhilvāra, Lārdeśa capital Bihruj and Rihanjur on the sea-coast. From Bazan west was Multan and Bhāti and southwest, Aror fifteen farsakhs from Bhāti, a town between two arms of the Sindh river, Bahmanwah, Al-Mansura and Loharani at the mouth of the Indus. These were towns in Sind which was under the Arabs.

Al-Beruni reverts to Kanauj and says N. N. W. of it are Shirsharaha and Pinjaur on the mountains, and opposite in the plain, the city of Thanesar, Dahamāla, capital of Jālandhar at the foot of the mountain, Ballāwar, westward Ladda, fortress Rājagiri, thence marching northward, Kashmir.

Again west (N. W.) Diyāmau, Kuti, Ānār, Meerut, Panipat, "between the two the Jumna flows", Kawital and Sunnām. Then going northwest we come to Adittahaur, Jajjanir, Mandahukur, capital of Lauhawar on the Ravi, Chandraha, the Bias and Jailam, Wahind capital of Kandhar west of the river Indus, Purshawar, Dunpur, Kabul and Ghazni.

Al-Beruni further describes Kashmir and says that there are no horses or elephants in Kashmir; people ride in palanquins. No one is admitted to Kashmir now except Jews. Even formerly accredited persons alone were admitted. He mentions Baramula on the Jhelum which, he says, rises in the same place

as the Ganges where snow never melts. The Jhelum comes into Kashmir, the capital being on both sides of it, then gets into a swamp and through it into the gorge which is guarded.

The Sindh rises in the Kulārjak mountain where you reach through Gilgit where live the Bhatta Turks. Their king is called Bhatta Shah. (This shows that these Turks were Hindus still and Gilgit according to Sir Grierson still shows traces of Vedic civilization and language). Lahur and Rājagiri are south of it (Kashmir). "These are the strongest places I have seen. This is the northern boundary of India. On the western frontier live the Afgan tribes".

"The southern boundary of India is the ocean. After Munha small and great (mouths of the Indus) on the seacoast, come Cutch noted for Bawarij (pirates) and Somnath. The cities on the coast are Tawalleshar, Loharani, Kachha, Bároi, Somnāth, Kambayat, Asawil, Bihroj, Sandan, Sopara, Tana, thence to Lārān, city of which is Jimur, then to Vallabha, Kanji, Darvad and then Sarandib (Ceylon). Al-Beruni finally mentions Rameshwar on the junction of the western and eastern oceans with its ridge. He also mentions the Div islands "which appear and disappear (a phenomenon doubted by many)."

Al-Beruni states that there is no rain at Multan but near the mountains the rains last four months from Āshādha. In the mountains the rainy season extends over two and a half months from Śrāvaṇa. Beyond the mountains there is again no rain. In Kashmir snow falls in Māgha and there are some showers in Chaitra. Al-Beruni gives Hindu months which are immoveable through the seasons and not the Mahomedan months naturally enough and he is thoroughly conversant with Hindu astronomy.

Unfortunately Al-Beruni mentions no kingdoms nor kings, nor does he make any reference to the political events of which he has personal knowledge certainly. He does not mention any of Mahmud's expeditions. He does not tell us that Kanauj was abandoned owing to its being captured and plundered, nor does he say when he mentions Somnath that the place had recently been carried and the temple and the idol of Somnath broken by Mahmud. One would have thought that such statements could not have been avoided by any writer who is

almost an eye-witness of the events. However, certain it is that he does not mention any political events. This silence may be of set purpose and therefore cannot be construed either for or against the truth of these events. We, however, think that his description affords us a complete and a good picture of the political condition of the country. There was the big Kanauj empire of the Pratihāras still in existence; east of it was the Pāla kingdom of Monghyr. Nepal and Kamarupa, Bhutan and Tirhut are also mentioned. In the south Cholas are alone mentioned and they were undoubtedly supreme in the Madras presidency at this time. The Chandella kingdom of Kalanjar and the Chedi kingdom of Tripura are mentioned, as also Chitor and Dhar, capitals of Mewad and Malwa. Naharwala, Lāta and Konkan kingdoms are well alluded to. Kachha and Sind are there. Bazan is, according to our view, a town of the Chauhan kingdom of Sambhar or Marwad. North of Kanauj and north-west are mentioned Meerut and Panipat, Thanesar and Kabithal. Properly enough, there is no mention here of Delhi. Delhi was an insignificant place in 1030 A. D. and the Tomaras there were petty kings. Lahore on the Ravi was the capital of a kingdom or a province and Jalandhar and Rajauri were separate kingdoms. Kashmir was of course a powerful kingdom at this time and is well described. Then we have Wahind, capital of Kandhar, on the west of the Indus and finally Kabul and Ghazni. This is a correct description of the political divisions of India obtaining at this time. We miss the country of Mahārāshtra and Kranāṭa, but they are, we think, alluded to by the words Marāthadeśa to the south of the Nerbudda and Vallabha occurring later on.

NOTE

GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA AS GIVEN BY RĀJASEKHARA.

Rājasekhara the well-known poet-laureate and also Gura of Mahipāla (910-940 A.D.) of the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj has given in his *Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā* a detailed geography of India and it is very probable that this work or the work *Bhuvanakośa* of the same author to which it refers was before Al-Beruni when he wrote his *India* a hundred years later. One may wonder why geography of India is introduced in a work on poetics. But the occasion is taken to give this information in warning poets not to make geographical mistakes as they offend the sense of the hearer or reader; for instance he should not describe Kānchī as situate in the east of India or even give a wrong complexion to the various peoples inhabiting this country. (It is allowable, we suppose, to make historical mistakes and to mention Krishna, as Kalidāsa does in *Raghu VIII.* in a speech of the companion of Indumatī who married at a Svayamvara Aja, ancestor of Rāma, for ordinary people are not expected to be so conversant with ancient history). Whatever the propriety, this geographical chapter in *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* is important for the history of this period, as the *Skanda Purāṇa* geographical chapter was important for the history of the last period (Vol. II p. 41) or the *Varāha Mihira* geography was important for the first period (Vol. I. p. 143). Of course we must note that Indian authors are not as scrupulous as Al-Beruni, as they introduce names of countries which are traditional though these countries may not exist in their time. With these remarks we give below the geography of India sketched by Rājasekhara in his work *Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā* chapter 17.

"He who conquers Bharata Khanda from the Himalayas to the southern sea is called a Samrāt while he who conquers the country from Kumārīpura to Bindusara (lake) is called Chakravartin.

There are seven mountain ranges, Malaya and others. The country between the eastern and western seas and the Himalaya and Vinddhya mountains is called Āryāvarta (this definition extends the usual limit and includes Bengal); from here good conduct (religiously considered) proceeds.

In this the country to the east of Benares is called the eastern country. The peoples therein are Anga, Kalinga, Kośala, Tosala, Utkala, Magadha, Mudgara, Vidaha, Nepāla, Paundra, Frāggyotisha, Tāmralipta, Malada, Malla, Vartaka, Sumha, Brahmottara &c. The big rivers (Nada) are Śoṇa and Lauhitya and lesser rivers (Nadis) are Gayā, Karatoyā, Kapiśā &c. The products are Lavali, Granthaparnika, Aguru, Drāksha, Kastūri and others.

To the south of Māhishmati is the Dakṣiṇāpatha (or southern path). The people are Mahārāshtra, Māhishaka, Āśmaka, Vidarbha, Kuṭtala, Krathakaisika, Sūrpāraka, Kānchī, Keralā, Kāvera, Murala, Vanavāsaka, Sinhala, Choḍa, Dandaka, Pāndya, Pallava, Ganga, Nāsikya, Konkṇa, Kollagiri, Vallara &c. The rivers are Narmadā, Tāpī, Payoshṇī, Godavari,

Kaverī, Bhaimarathi, Veṇā, Vanjarā, Tungabhadra, Tāmraparṇī, Utpalāvatī, Rāvāṇa-gangā and others. Products are Chandana and pearls.

“To the west of the Devasabhā river is the western country. The people are Devasabha, Surāshṭra, Dāseraka, Travaṇa Bhrigukachha, Kaohaha, Ānarta, Arbuda, Brahmaratha, and Yavana. Sarasvatī, Prabhāvatī, Vārtagnī, Mahī, Hundirā and others are the rivers. The products are Karīra, Pīṭu, Guggula, Kharjūra, and Karabha (camels).

“ Beyond Prithūdaka is the Uttarāpatha or the northern path, where the peoples Śaka, Kekaya, Vokkara, Hūṇa, Vapāyuja, Kāmboja, Bāhika, Palhava, Limpāka, Kulūta, Kīra, Tangaṇa, Tushāra, Turushka, Hārahūṇa, Hūhūka, Sahuda, Hansamārga, Ramatha, Karakantha and others live. The rivers are Gangā, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Śatadru, Chandrabhāgā, Yamunā, Airāvati, Vitastā, Vipāśā Kuhu and Devikā &c. The products are Sarala, Devadāru, Rudrāksha, Kunkuma (saffron), Chamara, Ajina, Sauvīra, Śrotonjana, Saindhava and horses.

“ Within these four countries is the middle country ” Strangely enough Rājāśekhara gives no information about this part, remarking that the peoples, the rivers and mountains and products of the middle country are well-known. Thus the most valuable information is withheld from future ages.

“ The country between the Ganges and the Jumna and from Vinaśana to Prayāga is called Antarvedī. The ancient authors declare that the directions should be given in reference to this land. But I, Yāyāvariya, opine that directions should be given measured from Mahodaya (Kanauj). ”

“ The complexions of the people are dark in the eastern country, black in the southern, whitish (Pāndu) in the western and white in the northern. In poetical descriptions there is not much difference between the dark and the black complexions and the fair and the white. But the speciality is that in the eastern country the complexion of Rājput women and others may be fair or white ; so also in the southern ”.

These remarks about the complexion of the people are very interesting. They show clearly that predominant people in the east and south were Dravidians of black complexion while those on the west and north were Āryans of fair complexion. But even in the east and the south, the higher classes, Rajputs and Brahmins, may be described as of a fair or even white complexion.

It is curious that in the north Kashmir and Kabul, the two most important Aryan peoples, are not mentioned, almost all those mentioned being Mlechchha people of mixed Aryan and Turanian races. The Yavanas are mentioned in the west and they are the Arabs of Sind. Kabul had not yet been conquered by the Turks in the beginning of the 10th century when Rājāśekhara wrote and Kabul probably had not yet extended its sway over the Panjab. But one expects that Kashmir should be mentioned as also Trigarta and Jālandhara. All the Panjab rivers even the Kubhā are mentioned and among the products saffron and salt peculiar to Kashmir and the Panjab are mentioned.

CHAPTER II.

(A) THE SAMANIDES OF BOKHARA.

In order that one may understand correctly the power and the civilization of the Turkish kingdom of Ghazni, one must go back to the Samanide empire at Bokhara under which the kings of Ghazni rose and grew. Combining the history given by Utbi and others, a writer has given a short account of this empire in J. R. A. S. Bengal XV Part I from which we take the leading facts in the following summary. The founder was a converted Persian Zoroastrian king of Bokhara whose name was Asad (825 A. D.). His son Ahmad acquired the sovereignty of Samarcand, Bokhara and Ferghana. His son was Nasr whose son Ismail was the first great king of the Samanides and came to the throne in 903 A. D. He encouraged science and literature and raised Bokhara to eminence. The kings were called Amirs a title which was taken up by aspiring noblemen later on like Sabuktagin and from them it came to India in the form of Hammir. Historians have given each Amir from Ismail a distinctive epithet and this first illustrious king is called Amir Māzi. His son was Ahmad who is called Amir Shahid as he was killed in a religious war and his son was Nasr II who is styled Amir Sa'id (August). It was in the time of this king that a brave and ambitious brazier by name Yakub-i-lais collected turbulent spirits and made raids on India, first taking Herat in 301 H. (912 A. D.). India, it must be remembered, then included almost the whole of modern Afghanistan which was then divided into Zabulistan and Kabulistan or Zabul and Kabul. Kabul in the north was governed by the Brahmin dynasty founded by Lalliya or Kallar (Vol. I p. 201) and Zabul in the south was governed by Rajput or Kshatriya kings probably Bhattis. Yakub-i-lais not only took Zabul but also Kabul and it appears that the citadel of Kabul from that day, remained in the possession of Mahomedans.

The Brahmin kings of Kabul regained possession of the town. But it seems that they from this time removed their capital to Wahind on the west bank of the Indus. Of this we shall speak again later on. Yakub-i-lais is said to have laid

the foundations of the city of Ghazni by building a fort there. He conquered Zabulistan and drove away the Rajputs and these appear to have crossed the Indus and settled in the Panjab. This part of modern Afghan territory is known by the name of the land of Rabbuts, which is a misreading for Rajputs in Persian, in the Mahomedan histories of that period (see Raverty's Afghanistan). Yakub-i-lais was not able to supplant the Samanide power nor to found a kingly line but appeared and disappeared like a comet.

Nasr II was succeeded by Nuh who is called Amir-i-Hamid (laudable) in 334 H. (942 A. D.). In his reign Turkish slaves began to acquire power in the kingdom. These Turkish slaves were kept as guards by the Samanide kings. Turks from beyond the frontier (Jaxartes) were entertained in the army also. They were often bought as slaves when young and being bold and courageous were often given military commands. The employment of foreigners as guards has throughout eastern history led to the destruction of the power of the employer. The Turks thus supplanted the Persians at Bokhara and founded a kingdom at Ghazni. Ghazni in its turn was supplanted by the Afghans, the Afghans by the Moguls, the Moguls by the Marathas and the Marathas at Poona by the English. A nation or a kingly dynasty which entrusts the protection of its country to an army of foreigners, however small, must naturally enough be overtaken by this fate.

It would interest the reader to recount here how a just but strict minister of Nuh met his death at the hands of disaffected noblemen. Indeed ministers under Mahomedan governments usually ended their lives in strange fashions. There were two cedar trees at the palace gate and they were forcibly bent down and tied to the two legs of this obnoxious servant of the state and then were let go, hoisting up the unfortunate man and tearing him into two pieces. The historian remarks pithily "The fame of being too just was as dangerous at Bokhara as at Athens".

Nuh was succeeded by Abdul Malik styled Amir-i-Rashid (orthodox) in 343 H and he was followed by Mansur called Amir Sadid (steadfast) in 350 H. Powerful Turkish officers began to form independent principalities and Alptagin who was first Hajib or doorkeeper to the king Abdul Malik estab-

lished such an independent principality at Ghazni. His slave was Sabuktagin who was also in the beginning Hajib or doorkeeper to the Samanide king at Bokhara.

Mansur was succeeded by Nuh II who reigned from 986 to 1008 A. D. The daring and intrepid Sabuktagin, known for his justice also, was already elected king at Ghazni by Turkish officers there after the death of Alptagin in place of his incapable son. The power of Sabuktagin was acknowledged by Nuh who sought his aid when Ilek Khan the Turkish ruler of Kashgar invaded Bokhara and Sabuktagin went in person to relieve his master with a large army and 300 elephants obtained from Indian kings as we shall presently relate. In the battle fought Mahmud son of Sabuktagin was present and received his first lesson in fighting. The battle was won and Sabuktagin was awarded the title of Nasir-ud-doula or supporter of the realm and Mahmud was given the title Saif-ud-doula or sword of the realm.

But the days of the Samanide empire were numbered. Turks who were in service and Turks who were invaders brought the kingdom soon to an end. The final stages of the catastrophe are interesting. Nuh was succeeded by Mansur who was blinded by his own officers who raised Abdul Malik an infant to the throne of Bokhara. But Ilek Khan the Turk invaded Bokhara and capturing it imprisoned every Samanide claimant. One claimant Muntasir, however, escaped from custody in the dress of a female. He made gallant efforts to regain power; but being unfortunate like Dara Shikoh was opposed by the officers of even Mahmud. He had to fly from place to place till at last he took refuge in an Arab camp. The chief of the Arab camp fell upon him at night and killed him. Mahmud of Ghazni had so much respect for his once superior lord that he seized the perpetrator and put him to a cruel death.

The civilization of the Samanides and their empire was inherited by the Turkish kingdom at Ghazni. The empire was extensive and included Khorasan and Mawar-ul-nahar and other territories such as Sistan, Karman, Jurjan, Ray, and Tabaristan. The duration of its rule from Ismail was one hundred and two years and sixteen days as given by Utbi in *Tarikh-i-Yamini* (Utbi gives the names of the kings and their periods of rule by days even), i. e. from 903 to 1005 A. D. Mahmud con-

quered and annexed many of their provinces especially Khorasan and Khwarism which were the centres of the civilization of this modern Persian empire. The Persian language was cultivated by the learned of these provinces which were to Persia what the provinces of Antarvedi and Kashmir in Mediæval and Deccan in modern history were to India and learned men from these two provinces always came to the court of the kings of Ghazni and even to that of the Mahomedan kings at Delhi. Persian was the ordinary language of official business at Ghazni and Delhi and Arabic was used for religious and select state records. The form of administration and names of officers were naturally borrowed from Bokhara. Curiously enough this presents an aspect much like Mediæval Hindu India where Sanskrit was the language of state documents, Prakrit the language of the learned and a mixed jargon the language of the common people. We find in Ghazni also three languages being used, Arabic for religion, Persian for literary discourse and Turki for slaves and the army. Even Mahmud speaks in Turki to his servants (see Baihaki) whenever he has something private to say.

(B) FOUNDING OF THE KINGDOM OF GHAZNI.

The Turkish kingdom at Ghazni which later under Mahmud became so powerful as to engulf not only Khorasan and Khwarism in the west but the whole of the Panjab in the east was first founded, as stated above, by Alptagin, a Turkish general under Mansur king of Bokhara. The history of Mahmud resembles so completely the history of Shivaji that the similarity extends back even to the history of his father and grandfather. Like Maloji, the acquirer of the original Jaghir the centre of Bhosla power, Alptagin was the founder of the small principality of Ghazni. He was first the Hajib of Amir Abdul Malik, father of Mansur and subsequently governor of Khorasan. Having opposed the accession of Mansur, he had to leave the kingdom and he went towards India and seized Ghazni and established his rule there. His slave was Sabuktagin who filled the same position as his master at Bokhara and he gave him his daughter in marriage, Sabuktagin naturally acknowledged the sovereignty of Mansur though Ghazni was his separate acquisition in the same way as Shahaji acknowledged

the suzerainty of the Bijapur Darbar though his Jaghir of Poona and Supa was his own acquisition from the Nizamshahi now no more. Sabuktagin acquired great power and influence in the court of Bokhara in consequence of his efficient army composed of Turks, Afghans and others which he maintained in the same way as Shahaji whose army was always a valuable asset of the Bijapur Darbar. And Sabuktagin fought the battles of the Samanides against their enemies as Shahaji did those of Bijapur. Extensive additional territories were assigned to Sabuktagin as to Shahaji. Indeed they were both almost kings though nominally sardars of the suzerain power at Bokhara or Bijapur. Both laid the foundations and evolved the necessary ingredients of an independent kingdom, though they never aspired to independence in their own life and left that glory to their sons Mahmud and Shivaji.

The ordinary title of Sabuktagin was Amir and he was invested with the further title of Nasiruddoula for his services in repelling the Turkish invasion by Nuh. Utbi, the historian of Mahmud, usually calls him Nasiruddin and gives instances of his great justice and strict discipline. Seeing some poultry in the hands of a Turkish soldier, he enquired how he had got it and when told that he had purchased it he called the alleged seller, a villager, who replied "A Turk never pays". The enraged king ordered the soldier's ears to be bored and the birds to be suspended from them and the soldier was paraded through the army, the birds flapping violently against the head of the guilty Turk. By such strict discipline Sabuktagin kept the turbulent Turks in control and advanced the prosperity of the country he ruled:

It is natural that popular belief should invest such a man and father of Mahmud with illustrious pedigree. It was believed that though a slave of Alptagin he belonged to a Turkish family of chieftains who were descended from a daughter of Yezdgird the last emperor of the Persians. High pedigree is also assigned to Shahaji whose descent from the Udaipur Sisodia Rajput family was believed in even in his days. The story of Sabuktagin being descended from Yezdgird is said to have been told by Mahmud himself (Tabakat-i-Nasiri). It is not necessary that great men must have illustrious lineage, but popular sentiment is not

satisfied unless an illustrious origin whether real or imaginary is assigned to the great men of the nation. Whatever the truth of the story, we may note the similarity of Shahaji and Sabuktagin in this respect also.

Popular belief also assigns divine greatness to the birth of Mahmud as to the birth of Shivaji, Mahmud being as great a favourite, religiously considered, with the Mahomedans, as Shivaji is with the Hindus. It is related that Sabuktagin once while hunting seized a buck and taking it up on horseback turned homewards. Seeing the mother of the buck following him to a great distance, he was moved with compassion for the affliction of the mother and set down the buck to the delight of the female deer. Mahomet appeared to him in a dream and applauded his act of kindness and promised him a kingdom. It is also stated that when Mahmud was born, Sabuktagin had a dream, presaging the birth of the great king, in which he saw a tremendous tree grow suddenly from the fireplace in his house. As he was telling his dream, news came of Mahmud's birth which fell on the same day as the day of the birth of the great prophet and Sabuktagin said "I name the child Mahmud". Such stories about heroes naturally arise after they have achieved their greatness. A third story relates that, on the day Mahmud was born, the idol temple at Wahind fell in the same way as at the birth of the great prophet the fire temple in the palace of the Persian kings was destroyed by an earthquake. This presaged the relentless war which Mahmud was to wage against the idolatry of the Hindus. Mahmud was born on the 10th of Mohurrum in 361 H corresponding to 2nd October 971 (Tabakat-i-Nasiri and Elliot p. 69) but Firishta has given the 9th of Mohurrum 357 H (note ditto). This makes a difference of nearly four years. Sabuktagin ruled from 977 to 997 A. D. He extended his dominions in the south by conquering Kandahar and Bust the capital of Zabulistan and he tried to extend the same towards the east where the kingdoms of India lay. His immediate neighbour on that side was Jaipal described variously as king of Hindustan, of Kabul and of Lahore. We must determine who this king was, as even so late as Sir Vincent Smith different views have been entertained on this subject.

CHAPTER III.

JAIPAL KING OF HINDUSTAN.

Who was Jaipal king of Hindustan? He is evidently the king of Kabul belonging to the Brahmin dynasty founded by Lalliya and described in the previous volumes. (Vol. II. p. 157 and Vol. I. p. 201). But this obvious identification has not been accepted by the now almost authoritative Early History of India which states even in the third edition (1914) as follows "In those days a large kingdom comprising the upper valley of the Indus and most of the Panjab to the north of Sind extending westward to the mountain and eastward to the Hakra river was governed by a king named Jaipal whose capital was Bathinda (Bhatinda) situated s. s. w. of Lahore and westward from Patiala". This, though not expressly, clearly distinguishes this Jaipal from the Brahmin Jaipal king of Kabul. In the foot-note here (p. 382) Smith remarks that this summary statement has been given by him from Raverty, "differing as it does from current accounts". He gives greater details in his article on the Chandellas in I. A. XXXVII (1908) where he refers for Bathinda to a note in Raverty's translation of Tabakat-i-Nasiri and further observes in a note there that Miss Duff in her 'chronology' is wrong when she identifies this Jaipal with the Jaipal of Wahind. He further states in a note on p. 383 E. H. I. that "Elliot mixes up the dynasty of Bathinda commonly called the Shahis of Ohind with that of Kabul and so renders the whole story unintelligible". But after giving due consideration to the arguments advanced by Raverty in the aforementioned note and the whole evidence on this subject, it appears to us that Sir Vincent Smith is mistaken in setting up a distinct kingdom for this Jaipal and that the earlier view of Miss Duff and Elliot is correct. We proceed to examine this question at length.

In the first place the reason why Raverty was led to suggest this new theory appears to be that Wamand was read in Nasiri for Wahind where the statement is made that "On

the day Mahmud was born, an idol-temple in Wamand in Pershaur on the Indus fell." Raverty supposed that this temple was to the east of the Indus and he made an attempt to read the name Wamand in several ways. It may be noted that in Persian and probably even in Arabic writing, the absence of dots defeats the correct pronunciation of Indian names; as b, p, t, n as also v, and d, and h, ch and j are often not to be distinguished. And Col. Raverty finally fixed upon Bathinda as the proper pronunciation of the name and took hint for this from a Persian history of the Rajas of Jammu written by a Hindu author, wherein was found the statement that Jaipal's capital and place of residence was Bathinda. Now no reference is given to this history, nor is its date mentioned and it is possible that even here Bathinda is a misreading, or miswriting in the Persian copy, of an original Wahind. Nay more, since the Jammu chronicler appears to be a modern writer and not a contemporary of Mahmud, he must have taken this statement from some previous Persian history and himself read Bathinda wrongly for Ohind or Wahind. It is to be wondered how Col. Raverty was misled by this Jammu chronicle and it is still more to be wondered how Sir Vincent Smith was misled by this note of Col. Raverty. We proceed to give in detail the arguments which arise against this view.

In the first place Al-Beruni, a contemporary of Mahmud and a well-informed writer, does not mention in his geography of India this capital of Jaipal. We have specially given this geographical chapter from Al-Beruni's 'India' in order that the reader may have a correct idea of the political divisions of India existing at the time of Mahmud. Al-Beruni mentions distinctly Wahind as the capital of Kandhar which is equivalent to Gāndhāra and places it on the west of the Indus and then gives Peshawar, Kabul, and Ghazni. He mentions Mandahukur as capital of Lohawar east of the Ravi. This town has not been identified but it can not be equated with Bathinda as it is not on the Ravi and on the east of it. (Perhaps this is a wrong translation for Lohawar capital of Mandahukur). It seems probable that the Brahmin kings of Kabul were at this time masters of the whole of the Panjab. The extent of

the kingdom of Jaipal as given by Smith from Mahomedan historians is of course correct. From the mountains to the west of the Indus it extended over the Panjab to the river Ghaggar or Hakra of the Mahomedans. But the kingdom of Wahind and Kabul cannot be separated from this kingdom for these were one and the same kingdom.

Al-Idrisi again writing some years after Al-Beruni distinctly states that Atrasa on the Ganges was a frontier fortress of the Kanauj kingdom the limits of which extend *as far as Kabul and Lohawar*. He distinctly makes Kabul and Lohawar one kingdom conterminous with the kingdom of Kanauj. The state of political divisions in India in the beginning of the eleventh century clearly shows that there was no separate kingdom of the Panjab. The same thing appears from the statements of Al-Masudi who wrote about 953 A. D. that the Indus comes from the uplands of Sind, Kanauj, Kashmir, Kandhar and Tavan. Only four kingdoms are here mentioned; Kandhar being the kingdom of Gāndhāra of which Pershawar (Peshawar formerly Purushapur) was the ancient capital. Lastly even in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* the idol temple is said to be in Wamand or Wahind in *Pershaur* which plainly means "In the province of Peshawar."

Historical considerations as well as geographical point to the same conclusion. First the names of the three kings mentioned are identical and come in the same order. Jaipal was succeeded by Ānandapāla and he by Trilochanpāla both in the kingdom of Kabul and in this supposed kingdom of Bathinda. In his article in I. A. XXXVII Smith gives the name of the last king as Brāhmaṇapāla but this is again a misreading for Trilochanapāla t being mistaken for b and ch being mistaken for h. Any person conversant with Persian orthography can see how Brāhmaṇapāla may be read for an original Trilochanapāla. The name is in fact read by some as Tirojanpal. Brahmanapāla is not a name which can be taken to be a Hindu name and is certainly a misreading for Trilochanapāla which was long ago suggested as the proper reading even by noted European scholars. The identity of the three names and their identical order would go far in favour of the two kingdoms being one.

Further, these 'kings of Hindustan' are everywhere described as Brahmin kings and we know that the kings of Kabul were Brahmins. We find Brahmin kings at this time in Kabul only and this also shows that the two kingdoms must be the same. Again the great glory of the Shahi kings of Wahind or Udabhānda described and deplored by Kalhana in the *Rājataranginī* can only be explained by holding that their kingdom extended over nearly the whole of the Panjab. It could not have been confined to Kabul and Wahind only. Lastly when it is stated that Mahmud after conquering Jaipal in the battle fought near Peshawar went and attacked the capital of Jaipal, we are nearly certain that this capital was Wahind in the vicinity of Peshawar on the west of the Indus and could not have been Bhatinda so very distant as to require Mahmud to cross all the rivers of the Panjab and come as far as Patiala on the south of the Sutlej. It is, therefore, almost certain that the capital of Jaipal king of Hindustan was Wahind.

It would be interesting to explain how Jaipal is called king of Hindustan as also of Kabul and often of Lahore. It is clear that before the 10th century the whole country east of the Helmand was Hindustan. Even Ghazni when it was first taken by Yakub-i-lais was in India and so was Kabul (See Vol. I p. 191) and Kandahar which was in the country of Rajputs (Al-Masudi, 953 A. D.). When the Ghazni kingdom was founded, it was bounded east, south and north and even west by Hindustan and Sabuktigin conquered the adjacent parts of India gradually and included them in the kingdom of Ghazni. Jaipal was king to the east and north of Ghazni; this country was still properly called Hindustan, the people being still Hindus. The Brahmin dynasty founded by Lalliyas ruled originally in Kabul. When Yakub-i-lais conquered Kabul and the citadel was taken and retained by the Mahomedans, it appears probable that the Brahmin kings removed their capital to Wahind though they still retained possession of the town of Kabul. The surrounding country was also in their possession. That they did not dislodge the Mahomedans from the citadel of Kabul seems strange; but the fact of its being in the hands of the Mahomedans seems certain from its being clearly mentioned in Mahomedan writings. Possibly the Brahmin dynasty

for a time acknowledged the supremacy of the Mahomedans (See Vol. I p. 193). One Kabul Shah even offered to assist his suzerain Mahomedan king of Ghazni against the invading Turks (See ditto). Whatever the reason, a Mahomedan garrison remained in the citadel of Kabul and the Brahmin kings of Kabul must have found it convenient to shift to Wahind or Udabhānda on the west bank of the Indus.

But they retained possession of the town of Kabul and always respected it as their original capital. Writers have stated that every king of this family had to be crowned in Kabul; "otherwise the people would not acknowledge him king" (Vol. I p. 201). The Brahmin kings though they resided in Wahind went to Kabul for their coronation. Such action can well be conceived when we remember that in modern history the Peshwas residing in Poona had to go to Satara and be invested with the robe of Peshwa or minister at the hands of the titular king. The Brahmin kings of Kabul were similarly originally commanders-in-chief (or Sphalapati) of the Kshatriya kings of Kabul and people would insist on their assuming their dignity in Kabul. The above remark of the Mahomedan writers becomes easily understandable when we remember that Kabul was the original capital and Wahind the new capital of these Brahmin Shahi kings.

The kings of Kabul and Wahind appear to have extended their dominion to the Panjab some time in the 10th century and not before. We know that Lalliya the founder was conquered by a Kashmirian king and Kabul itself was held in subjection for a time by Kashmir. In the Panjab then ruled some Tekka king and Kashmir kings and even the kings of Kanauj and Multan held territories in the Panjab adjacent to their kingdoms. But in the 10th century the evidence of Al-Masudi* and Al-Idrisi show that the Kabul or Gāndhāra kings held the Panjab as far as Lahore so that their territory was conterminous with that of Kanauj. Lahore was their capital in the Panjab. Who founded this city does not appear. It was called Lohapura and popular tradition says it was founded by Lava son of Rāma, (Lahore Gazetteer); but historically speak-

* Translation by Aloys Sprenger Vol. I, has the following sentence 'the Hindu nation extends from the mountain of Khorasan to that of Tibet.'

ing, as Hiuen Tsang does not mention it, we may safely hold that the city was founded or at least it came to importance in the days of these Brahmin kings who are thus described variously as kings of Hindustan, of Kabul, of Wahind and of Lahore. Lahore is written usually in early Mahomedan writings as Lohāwur, or even Lohur which in Sanskrit would be Lohapura.

Rao Bahadur Dayaram Sahani has noted in the annual report for 1917 (p. 20) three inscriptions belonging to these kings described by him properly enough as kings of Kabul and the Panjab, now lying in the Lahore museum. The first belongs to Bhīma described in the inscription as king of kings, Bhīmadeva with the mace son of Kalaka (ma) lavarman. The other two short inscriptions belong to Jayapāladeva who is described as son of Bhīmadeva. Rao Bahadur Sahani thinks that the title varman given to Kamala makes it certain that he was a Kshatriya and not a Brahmin "as Al-Beruni and those that follow him believe". But it is impossible to ignore the statement of such a critical and contemporaneous writer as Al-Beruni. There is no reason why he should wrongly describe these kings as Brahmins. The name-ending suffix whether varman, gupta or dāsa is again not conclusive as to caste as we find all these three originally applicable to Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras* respectively, taken by Brahmins. But further the dynasty of Kamalu was for all practical purposes Kshatriya and it is no wonder if Kamala who was actually a king is called Kamalavarman. It may, therefore we think, still be believed that these kings were Brahmins by caste though their marriage relations were made with Kshatriya ruling families. Chandanadāsa Vaiśya, Nārayanadas Brahmin and Bhagwāndas Rajput are other instances.

* It may be mentioned that Mahīdāsa Aitareya the author of the Aitareya Rigveda Brahmana is treated in legend a son of a Brahmin from a Śūdra woman but even then according to caste rules then obtaining he would be a Brahmin like Vyāsa. Sudāsa similarly of the Vedas is wrongly treated from name ending by some as a Śūdra king. But Sudāsa is a Kshatriya name in both the solar and lunar genealogies. Vishnugupta author of the Panchatantra was a Brahmin.

NOTE—MOHYAL BRAHMINS.

The Mohyals who are a subsect of the Sārasvata Brahmins and who are found all over the Panjab, the North-Western Frontier Province and even Afghanistan claim with justice and propriety that Jaipal and Ānandapāla were Mohyal Brahmins. The Mohyal Brahmins throughout Mahomedan, Sikh and British times have undoubtedly distinguished themselves as great generals and soldiers. Indeed these Brahmins hold that begging or trading is prohibited to them. They believe that they are descended from Aśvatthāmā and other Brahmin heroes of the Mahābhārata. Whatever this may be, it is probable that this Brahmin subcaste became Kshatriya or military caste and attained to fame in the days of the Shahi Brahmin kings of Kabul. Indeed their case is similar to the case, in later times, of the Chitpawan Brahmins. From the days of Balaji Vishwanath, first Peshwa, the Chitpawans became a military caste and in the time of the Peshwas they were employed both as military and civil officers. Under the British they are employed only in civil services naturally enough.

The Mohyals are divided into seven exogamous families; Datta, Vaid, Bāli, Chhibbar, Mohan, Bamwal and Lawa. Jaipal is said by Mohyals to be a Datta with Bhāradvāja gotra. It may be mentioned that Rambhuj Datta Chowdhari of Amritsar was a Mohyal Datta and the revenue minister to the late Amir of Afghanistan, Dewan Narayandas of Bhera now aged 90, is a Mohyal Chhibbar. It is not necessary here to mention the noted Mohyal commanders who distinguished themselves in Mahomedan, Sikh and British times.

CHAPTER IV

SABUKTAGIN AND JAIPAL.

The history of the conflicts of Turks and Hindus and especially of the invasions of India by Mahmud has been written in detail by Mahomedan historians from Al-Utbi a contemporary of Mahmud to Firishta who lived about 1500 A. D. in the Deccan and by European writers from gifted Gibbon down to Elliot, Elphinstone &c. and Lane-Poole and Smith, as also by noted German and French writers. Dr. Vincent Smith further has brought to bear upon this history his extensive knowledge of Indian epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Yet the history requires to be sifted and reconsidered from the Indian point of view and in the light of modern Indian research. It requires to be examined in the crucible of historical probabilities and tested by the fire of historical criticism. It is no doubt impossible to add many new facts but it is possible to reject some absurd stories and ideas. We shall try to do this in the succeeding chapters, as far as can be done by bringing to bear upon this history the light derived from modern Indian research and by looking at it from the view-point of the Hindus. It may be pointed out that even contemporary historians like Utbi who are more to be relied upon than any later writers have to be subjected to the usual criticism ; much more so later writers like Firishta.

Sabuktagin having established himself in the principality of Ghazni naturally tried to extend his dominion. This small principality was like a drop of oil on the surface of the expanse of Hindu waters. But the oil expanded on all sides till it spread, in the days of his son, over the whole expanse of Afghanistan and the Panjab. Sabuktagin first conquered Kandahar and Bust, capital of the Rajput country, as stated before. He also conquered and annexed Al-Rukhaj or Arachosia of the Greeks which was called "White India" by the Parthians (Vol. I. p. 191). Conquering Kasdar the capital and its king he made him a tributary using the coin and name of Sabukta-

gin (Utbi p. 33). Having thus secured his rear, Sabuktagin aspired to conquer east and north and naturally came into conflict with Jaipal king of Kabul and Wahind.

It is needless to enquire who was the aggressor, for the law among kings and even nations or peoples not only in ancient times but even in the twentieth century was and is the law of the brute, viz. that the strong should despoil and even destroy the weak. Utbi simply says "Having completed the conquest of Kasdār, Sabuktagin directed his thoughts towards the conquest of the infidels". "To the desire of conquest was added the zeal of the true believer". "With sincere fervour and pure design of pleasing God he undertook the hardship of that sacred war and possessed himself of many castles and strongholds of those far lands". "By these fortified places and territories he augmented the boundaries of his kingdom". "But when Jaipal king of Hindustan marked these things and saw the line of his frontier continually diminishing and the losses caused every moment in his states, that grievance rendered him inconsolable" (Utbi. p. 34). He, therefore, attempted to muster his full force to oppose Sabuktagin. Utbi relates that a strong force composed of many allies entered into the territory of Sabuktagin who advanced from Ghazni to meet it. There was a terrible conflict lasting for many days. "Eventually Mahmud suggested to his father that in the region where the encampment of the accursed lay, the water of a spring was clean and bright, but whenever any impure thing was thrown into it, furious winds arose and a bitter cold succeeded. Nasiruddin, therefore, commanded that they should cast some wine flasks into the fountain. Immediately a grey mist spread over the land, extreme cold came and the soldiers of Jaipal could not endure their sufferings. He therefore sued for peace and on his threatening that all the Rajputs would die the death of despair on their swords, peace was granted on condition that a large sum of money was given and a number of elephants, as also certain fortresses in the country of Jaipal were handed over to the Moslems. Thereupon Jaipal retired but eventually when in his country he refused to hand over the fortresses and imprisoned the men who had come to take possession. Sabuktagin who had marched back to Ghazni

again set out with his army and plundered Jaipal's territory, massacred the inhabitants and carried away the children and cattle as booty" (Utbi. p. 39). He made the territory of Lamghan entirely stript and bare and destroying the temples built mosques in their place.

"When Jaipal witnessed the destruction of his kingdom and the consequences of his treacherous infraction of the treaty he found himself powerless to do anything. He, therefore, despatched letters to the various princes of India imploring aid". "An innumerable army assembled and advanced. The Amir, whose forces were comparatively few, ordered that successive attacks by cohorts of his horsemen should be made and in this way they forced their onward march and terrified the infidels. Then they made one simultaneous charge and made some prisoners while the rest fled throwing away their weapons and incumbrances". "The judgment of God is upon those who stray away from Him and this judgment cannot be evaded". "The Hindus did not invade again and this territory was entirely annexed to the land of Islam and the inhabitants brought beneath the wings of his prosperous care". "And whenever he needed, a thousand horsemen attended his stirrup".

Such is the account given by Utbi of the conflicts between the Amir Sabuktagin and Jaipal. They were two in number and until the end of his reign Sabuktagin does not appear to have had any further conflicts with Jaipal worth mentioning, his attention being engaged towards the west in succouring his overlord Mansur bin Nuh, the Samani king, in increasing his influence at his court and in acquiring provinces, so to speak, in Jaghir. Mahmud is said to have assisted his father in both these conflicts as also in his activities in the west in the Samani empire.

Subsequent Mahomedan historians have added to this account many more details which may be neglected; but this account itself requires to be subjected to the test of probability and historical criticism. Utbi has not given the dates of these events and Utbi's dates are often faulty (Elliot II). Sabuktagin ruled from 977 to 997 A. D. and these events may be taken to have happened about 980 to 985 A. D. If the date of Mahmud's birth be taken as October 971, he would be too young to take

part in these wars but if it be taken four years earlier, he would be then from 14 to 17 years of age and a young prince of this age in the east is considered fit, and is allowed, to take part in actual fighting. But he can not be taken to be able to give counsel to his father or to insist on continuing hostilities to the bitter end, as later Mahomedan historians represent. Then again, the supernatural element in the account has to be given up and we may believe that the intense cold and mist or snowfall which came to discomfit the Hindus in the first battle was a natural phenomenon and was not caused by any supernatural agency. The story of the water of the fountain in the Hindu camp being defiled may, however, be believed in as the Rajputs of those days, at least the reigning kings, abstained from wine, as even Arab writers testify (See Vol. II p. 185). Especially Jaipal being a Brahmin must certainly have abstained from wine. The spoiling again of the water from which the enemy drinks is a measure which is often resorted to in war. It is advocated even in the *Mahābhārata*. It was practised in ancient western fights and was resorted to even in the last European War. Handicapped for want of pure water to drink and harassed by the intense cold of the inclement adventitious weather to which the soldiers of the plains of Northern India were not accustomed, this confederacy of Indian princes failed to achieve its object. But it was not defeated and the Rajputs were ready to sell their lives dearly if necessary. It seems probable that the negotiations for peace at this first battle must have ended in honourable terms of peace, viz: the payment of an indemnity and the present of a number of elephants. And the allies must have returned home.

This view is further supported by Indian epigraphic evidence (as already stated in Vol. II p. 127) which shows that the Chandella king Dhanga who appears to have taken part in this confederacy of Indian princes is declared to be "the equal of Hammira". This battle was most probably a drawn one and the Indian allies returned in consequence of inclement weather. The battle may be taken to have been fought in 980 A. D. Dhanga began his reign about 950 and ruled long till about 1000 A. D. and died when he was above a hundred years old.

When Firishta and other later historians write that kings of Delhi, Ajmer, Kanauj and Kalanjar took part in this war, they certainly exaggerate and bring kings of later renown into the affair. We know and have seen that Delhi was insignificant in 980 A. D.; it is not even mentioned by Al-Beruni in his geographical chapter on India. And Ajmer had not even been founded; and the Chauhan kings of Sambhar were not so strong as to send a contingent. Bhoja of Malwa came later still, i. e. in 1010 A. D. to the throne. Al-Utbi has not given the names of the countries in India whose kings took part in this general endeavour. And Indian epigraphic evidence speaks of Dhanga only. Kanauj or the imperial Hindu kingdom of Northern India might have taken part in the confederacy. From the Chamba Gazetteer we find that its king Sāhilarman took part in this religious war.

Utbi's account of the second battle seems to be of more doubtful credibility. In the first place the first defeat of the Hindus was only nominal and the delivery of fortresses in Jaipal's territory was a condition too exacting. Secondly, if it had been agreed upon, Jaipal was not the man treacherously to break it as soon as he was safe within his own country. The Brahmin kings of Kabul, like in fact the Rajput kings of the whole of India at this time, were men of honour. Even Al-Beruni praises this high character; Mahomedan though he was, he was a truthful observer of the Hindus and their character and he gives a very flattering description of the probity and goodness of these kings of Kabul "In all their grandeur" he remarks (Vol. II Sachau p. 10) " they never slackened their ardent desire for doing what was good and right; they are men of noble sentiment and noble bearing." Thirdly, it is not possible that kings of different countries in India would again combine so soon after their first attempt had failed. Lastly, if the combined army was so vast as to number about one lakh of men and included several hundreds of elephants, the tactics of Sabuktagin in attacking them incessantly with bodies of 500 horsemen could not have succeeded and the Hindus could not have been so signally defeated. Sir Vincent Smith mentions here the fact that Alexander had adopted the same tactics in his battle with Porus. But Alexander's cavalry was disciplined and Sabuktagin's cavalry could not have been a disciplined

force in the sense that Alexander's cavalry was. The Rajputs too were not less known for their cavalry and it is impossible to believe that in such a vast force there was no cavalry with the Hindus. The Pratihāras of Kanauj were, even according to Arab writers, known for their numerous and efficient cavalry. And the Kanauj monarch, the foremost king and emperor in Middle India contiguous to the kingdom of Jaipal, must have been one of the allies assembled to assist Jaipal and he is actually mentioned as taking part. The probability is that this account of the second battle is an exaggerated one containing a repetition of the story of the assembling of allies with a vast force. It seems that Sabuktagin must again have invaded the territory of Jaipal after some time on one pretext or another or on no pretext whatever for reasons stated in the beginning. And Jaipal must have opposed him with such force as he could muster from his own kingdom and he was signally defeated. He lost much of his territory upto the Indus but not the whole of Gāndhāra. He may have lost the southern part of it including Bannu, for he still appears to be ruling in Parshawar and Wahind as we shall presently see.

Sabuktagin appears to have thoroughly incorporated the conquered territory with his own kingdom, by forcible conversion of the people to Mahomedanism. Elliot thinks that both the battles may have been fought in the valley of Lamghan or Jalalabad (II. p. 436). And Lamghan south and north of Kabul river must have been lost to Jaipal. The story of the conversion of the Aspahdad of Kabul, incidently related by Al-Beruni, must have belonged to this period and not to the time of Alptagin as is supposed by some (Elliot II p. 420), as it appears that Jaipal was long called king of Kabul also.

After this affair, according to Utbi, Sabuktagin's attention was absorbed by his affairs in the Samani empire, and this was feasible as his eastern frontier up to the mountain range to the west of the Indus was now safe. Mansur died about this time and he was succeeded by his son Nuh who called upon his services in crushing certain rebellions in his provinces and Sabuktagin gladly and loyally gave this assistance and quelled the rebellions. He was rewarded with the governorship of Khorasan and Sabuktagin appointed Mahmud to that post.

Mahmud was here attacked by a rebel, Abu Ali, and in the fierce battle fought with him Mahmud distinguished himself by his personal bravery. In this battle Hindu soldiers and elephants were used by Mahmud. As we shall have to explain elsewhere, Hindu soldiers had no objection to fight for anyone who paid them. But the chief thing to be pointed out here is that Mahmud could use elephants with great advantage and the cavalry of the enemy could not do any thing against them. "The war elephants seized the horsemen with their trunks and broke their backs beneath their feet until innumerable people perished on that battle-field". (Utbi p. 162).

Eventually Sabuktagin became so powerful in the Samani empire by means of his powerful and disciplined army that he could make and unmake viziers at Bokhara the capital of the Samani kings, as Shahaji could make and unmake kings in Nizamshahi and even kept the Samani emperor Nuh in fear of himself as Shahaji was feared at Bijapur. Sabuktagin usually resided at Balkh and not at Ghazni latterly and eventually died there. He intended to return to Ghazni but that was not to be. He left the Ghazni kingdom to his son Ismail by will, probably thinking that Mahmud would be satisfied with his governorship of Khorasan at the capital of which viz: Nishapur he resided. This was again something like what happened to Shivaji. Shahaji left his own acquisitions at Bangalore to his other son and left Shivaji to remain content with the Poona Jaghir. Apparently Mahmud and Shivaji, though more capable, were less favourite with their fathers than their brothers. However in both cases the more capable son asserted himself and eventually became the master of the whole estate. It is needless to relate at length how Mahmud laid claim to Ghazni and the treasure amassed there and being opposed advanced on Ghazni, fought a battle with Ismail before its walls, defeated him and eventually took him prisoner. In this battle "black masses of elephants fought on the side of Ismail but to no avail". Elephants were useful within certain limits and Sabuktagin like other Mahomedan kings kept elephants and used them in fighting. Naturally these were at this time in the hands of Ismail whose incapacity, however, prevented him from using them with effect. By this battle Mahmud became the master of the Ghaznavide kingdom in 997 A. D.

CHAPTER V.

MAHMUD AND JAIPAL.

After coming to the throne, Mahmud's attention was for a time directed towards the west. From the Samani emperor Nuh, he requested investiture with his father's dignities and Nuh confirmed him in the government of Balkh, Herat, Bost and Sarmadh. As to the governorship of Nishapur (Khorasan) and the generalship of the army the new emperor Mansur, Nuh's son, thought they might remain with Bektuzun a loyal and capable servant of the state who had meanwhile been entrusted with them. But Mahmud would not tolerate this and moved with his army against Bektuzun; but when Mansur himself advanced against him, he was loyal enough not to attack his master and retired to a safe distance. But the Samani kingdom was now nearing its end and certain unscrupulous officers seized the young emperor Mansur and put out the eyes of that young and handsome prince. Mahmud in rage moved against these rebellious officers who fled with the new king whom they had raised to the throne in place of Mansur. Mahmud refused allegiance to this puppet and declared himself independent king of Khorasan and Ghazni. The Khalif Kadir Billa of Baghdad acknowledged him as sovereign ruler and sent him a robe of investiture and conferred upon him the title Yaminud-daulat-va-Aminulmillat (right hand of the empire and guardian of religion). Mahmud received the messenger with great honour and the title assumed by him as independent king was not Amir which he and his father used already but Sultan a title never used before him by any Mahomedan king. This title after him became general and Amir came down to signify a subordinate Sardar. Utbi records that Mahmud ruled justly and wisely in Khorasan and secured happiness to the people. As to the Samani capital Bokhara, as already stated, it was subsequently seized by Ilek Khan the Turkish king of Kashgar who imprisoned and eventually probably put to death all the representatives of the Samani dynasty which thus came to an end in the beginning of the reign of Mahmud. This was just

like what happened at Bijapur. Shivaji proclaimed himself king by his Rajyābhisheka or religious ceremony of coronation at the hands of Gāgābhata who gave him the new title of Chhatrapati, as the Mahomedan religious head at Baghdad gave the necessary religious sanction to the assumption of independence by Mahmud and gave him the new title of Sultan. And Shivaji's overlord, the Bijapur Sultan, was soon overthrown after this by Aurangzeb, the Ilekhan of India, who removed the last claimant of Bijapur to Delhi and annexed the remaining territory of Bijapur to the Mogul empire. The actions of destiny working through human nature which is the same every where must necessarily be usually similar.

These events happened between 997 and 1000 A. D. (the Samani kingdom ending five years later in 1005 A. D.) and Mahmud became the master of a large portion of the Samani kingdom including Khōrasan. He was engaged in conquering Sistan, another province of the Samani kingdom when news reached him that Jaipal was arming himself; probably Mahmud's generals had attacked Jaipal's dominions and he was preparing for a conflict. With the suddenness of resolve and celerity of movement which distinguished this great vanquisher as also Shivaji, Mahmud moved from the west and entered the territory of Jaipal at the head of 15,000 cavalry. For such sudden movements, cavalry is best suited and we find both Mahmud and Shivaji using cavalry on such occasions. "Persawar (Peshawar) was in the midst of the land of Hindustan" (Utbi p. 280) which means that Jaipal was still master of this part west of the Indus, with his capital at Wahind. It appears that Jaipal's preparations were not complete. He delayed the commencement of the battle in order that those men of his army who were coming up should arrive (Utbi p. 81). But the Sultan saw his opportunity and at once attacked Jaipal. The battle was bloody and by mid-day 5000 of the infidels were cut in half by the sword. And Jaipal with all his family and children and several officers was taken prisoner. "The booty in ornaments was incalculable. So many necklaces were found on the necks of the princely prisoners and of the wounded and the slain, set with rubies and pearls and diamonds, that the army of Islam obtained

unlimited riches". The rage of Hindu kings and nobles for ornaments has been marked even by Arab travellers (See Vol. II, p. 187); but it is strange that Jaipal and his Sardars and even soldiers should have gone to the battle-field, bedecked as if for a marriage procession. It seems probable that they were not prepared for battle and were attacked when encamped. "Thousands of children and young people and girls were obtained from that country and all those provinces of India which were on the side of Khorasan (i. e. on the west of the Indus) submitted to the Sultan." This victory took place on the 8th of Mohorrum in the year 392 H. (1001 A. D.) and "the news of it spread to the most distant horizon." (Utbi p. 283).

Such was the memorable battle fought on the plains of Peshawar in 1001 A. D. which put an end to the dominion of the Hindus to the west of the Indus and even their future existence there. For the Sultan finished his victory by pushing on to Wahind the capital of Jaipal and conquered and captured that place. This place could not be Bhatinda as is supposed by some as the latter would be too distant from Peshawar, being on the south of the Sutlej. Mahmud could not have traversed the whole of the Panjab with his limited force as stated already and as pointed out long ago by Elliot (II p. 438). The whole country to the west of the Indus, or on the side of Khorasan in the words of Utbi, was annexed and not only brought under Mahomedan rule but entirely "purified from filthy ungodliness" by the forcible conversion of the people. "The soldiers of India in the hills and castles of these frontiers who stirred up violence and wickedness were made the food of swords and the subject of justice". The frontier tribes gave trouble to Mahmud as they do now and he punished them severely. Their conversion and the conversion of the people to the west of the Indus generally belongs to this period. Mahmud thus not only knew how to annex provinces but also knew how to cement his annexations by forcible conversion, a subject on which we shall have to speak at length later on.

With regard to Jaipal and his family, Mahmud is said to have ordered their detention in a fortress in Khorasan. Whether Jaipal was taken to such a distant place or not, it appears that Mahmud soon released him, taking from him 50 elephants

as ransom and his son as hostage and dismissed him to his kingdom which now lay to the east of the Indus. Instead of returning to it, Jaipal, feeling deeply the ignominy of his capture and imprisonment and being perhaps very old, thought himself unfit to rule and burnt himself on a pyre as many Hindus, even kings, in those days did. Utbi says that a letter was received by his son who was a hostage with Mahmud announcing this self-immolation and this son who was Ānandapāla himself, the successor of Jaipal, Mahmud set at liberty and allowed peacefully to go and rule his kingdom. The tragic end of Jaipal and his long life, unfortunate throughout its length, cannot but raise our pity and admiration for his dignified death.

Mahmud after this event consolidated his power in the west by entering into a formal alliance with Ilekhan the Turk who had taken Bokhara by this time. Mahmud obtained the southern provinces of the Samani kingdom, Khorasan and others, while Ilekhan retained Mawarun-nabar the province to the north of the Oxus, with Bokhara the principal city of the Samani kingdom. Mahmud appears to have strengthened this peace with Ilekhan by marrying his daughter to his son. Thus secure in the west of his kingdom, Mahmud was free to devote his attention to Hindustan the riches and idols of which tempted his desire and offended his religious zeal. It need not be supposed, however, that India was the sole or chief subject of thought with Mahmud henceforward. For his activities and his energies required, and found scope in, watching the west as well as the east and are described with equal detail by Utbi. We will, however, properly enough confine our attention now to Mahmud's doings in reference to India. It is sometimes represented that Mahmud made a vow to make every year a religious expedition to India. This is, however, not only not correct in fact but is also an afterthought of Mahmud's later chroniclers and Utbi mentions no such vow.

CHAPTER VI.

EXPEDITION TO BHATIA.

Later Mahomedan historians have counted these expeditions as twelve and this number has become traditional even with European historians. That they were more than twelve cannot be doubted and Elliot enumerates seventeen expeditions in a detailed note in an appendix to his second volume. It is not necessary to discuss here the question of the number of these expeditions which is more academic than important and we will describe these expeditions in detail without numbering them. The next expedition which Mahmud undertook was against Bhatia. Unfortunately the exact position of Bhatia cannot yet be fixed as historians differ most materially on this subject and as we find no arguments strong enough to decide in favour of any particular place. We will first give the description of this expedition as per Utbi (p. 322-24). “ When the Sultan concluded the settlement of the affairs of Sistan, he determined on executing his design for the conquest of Bahatia. He passed over the Sihun (Indus) and the province of Multan and encamped before Bahatia. The city had walls which could be reached only by eagles and the watchman on it, if he liked, might give kisses on the lips of the planet Venus (!!!). It had a moat like the girdling sea with a deep and wide abyss. The king relying on his mighty heroes came out of the city and gave engagement. For three days the Sultan fought and on the fourth when the sun arrived in the middle of the ocean of the sky, the cry of ‘ God is great ’ rose to the heavens and the Moslems made a charge which wiped out the blackness of those infidels. Most of the enemy fled into the fortress, but the champions of religion seized upon the passage to the fort. Young men of the army filled up the moat and widened the passage. Bijairai escaped by a rope from the fortress into a fissure of the mountain and sought refuge in a wood, where he was pursued ; but he drew his khanjar and killed himself with it. As for his army the greater part passed through the sword. A hundred and sixty elephants were captured. The Sultan

made that place a station in order that the country might be cleansed from the odiousness of idolatry. And he drew the people under the bond of Islam, arranged the construction of mosques and appointed Imams. During his return many misfortunes befell the army, men and baggage were destroyed, many suffered from disgrace and fear; but the precious life of the Sultan was saved. Abul-Fath Bosti, Mahmud's confidante, gave him excellent counsel and refused his consent to such aims and enterprizes but the Sultan did not accept his advice".

We have given this long description from the pen of Utbi both to show his poetical manner of description and the difficulties which consequently arise. Utbi was not an eye-witness of these events and he, a secretary of Mahmud, wrote from information. It is first difficult to understand why this expedition to such a distant place was resolved upon. Utbi assigns no reason. Subsequent historians have stated that Bijairai was a subordinate of Jaipal and did not pay his quota of the tribute to be paid to Mahmud. But that was no reason for Mahmud to attack Bijairai. Moreover it does not appear that any tribute was promised to be paid by Jaipal when he was released by Mahmud. Nor was Ānandapāla allowed to depart on condition of payment of tribute. In fact Mahmud had despoiled a large portion of Jaipal's territory and that was sufficient compensation. The cause of this war was, therefore, some thing else than this and Utbi gives no clue. The Bhatia king was perhaps a powerful independent king to the southwest of Multan who laid claim to territory on the western side of the Indus and incited the people there. The Bhattis were originally masters of Zabulistan as we have already seen. The surmise that Jaipal, Ānandapāla and others were not Brahmins but were Bhattis is not correct according to our view. Though the name-ending changed here from deva to pāla in the Brahmin Shahi line, it does not indicate a change of dynasty for deva is as much taken by Kshatriya kings as pāla and the Shahi king though Brahmins were practically Kshatriyas, marrying Kshatriya princesses and giving daughters to Kshatriya princes. In fine, it does not appear that Mahmud determined to march against Bhatia because the king of the place was an offending relation of Jaipal.

Whatever the reason which induced Mahmud to undertake this difficult and distant expedition, he executed it with his usual vigour and completeness. Bijairai (Vijayarāja) also appears to have fought bravely and refused to become a prisoner and killed himself before the same disgrace as befell Jaipal could overtake him. The fighting inhabitants of Bhatia probably mostly died on the battle-field and the others accepted Islam. No mention is made of persons taken into captivity, or of any plunder. This expedition, therefore, does not appear to have been undertaken for the sake of plunder or the destruction of any famous idol. The place and the people were in dangerous proximity to the territory of Ghazni on the west bank of the Indus and hence probably its complete subjugation and conversion.

Where was this place? That it was an important place there is no doubt; for Al-Beruni mentions Bhatia in his geography as a place further than Multan which was to the west of Bazan. Now Multan itself is not to the west of Bazan exactly, but a little to the north-west and Bhatia may be to the south-west of Multan and not to the north-west of it. Thus it cannot be Bahawalpur which has further no mountain near it. But it may be mentioned that the description of the fort or city of Bhatia shows that it was not in the immediate vicinity of a mountain. For a mountain fort cannot have a deep moat round it, though it may have a wall reaching the heavens. Plainly Utbi writes poetically and without personal knowledge, Mahmud is said to have passed the territory of Multan and therefore he must have come to the south-west of Multan. He is described as crossing the Indus only and not any other river; so that this town may have been to the south-west of Multan between the Indus and the Sutlej which agrees with its situation given by Al-Beruni. Firishta, when stating that Bijairai took shelter in the wood on the bank of the Indus, may be right, if we take this Bhatia as situated between the Sutlej and the Indus.

Elliot, however, is for correcting the reading and instead of Bahatia would read Bhera and place it in the north-west (?) of Multan, somewhere under the Salt Range on the left bank of the Jhelum (p. 440). He would look upon the Pālas of Wahind, Jaipāl and Ānandapāla as Bhattis and relations of Bijairai.

But this guess is not correct as stated above and is also not necessary. Elliot, no doubt, rightly observes that for this expedition Mahmud came via Bannu through Kurram valley, crossed the Indus and came to Bhatia by the border of Multan without entering it. As we shall presently see, Mahmud did not like to create difficulties by entering foreign and also hostile territory viz. that of Ānandapāla or of Multan and he took the most circuitous road. But this does not fix the position of Bhatia to the north-west of Multan, for in that case Mahmud would not have had to even go along the border of Multan territory. The difficulty created by Utbi's statement that Bijairai took refuge in a mountain-wood would be removed by looking upon it as an hyperbolical description and by holding that there were only hills in the neighbourhood of Bhatia. In any case no modern town can be fixed upon as representing this Bhatia and we must leave it unidentified, simply stating that it was a town well-known in the days of Al-Beruni south-west of Multan and between the Indus and the Sutlej.

NOTE.—BHATIA.

(1) The Bahawalpur Gazetteer looks upon Bhatinda as Bhatia (p. 32) and states "In 1004 A. D. Mahmud was engaged in the reduction of Bhatinda whose governor Raja Bijai Rai had revolted against the suzerain Ānandapāla and had molested Mahmud's deputies," "In the next campaign Mahmud advanced on Multan by way of Bhatinda." Both these statements do not seem to be probable from what Utbi has stated about the march of Mahmud. (2) The Imperial Gazetteer under Bhatnair (Hanumāngarh) Bikaner states that it is believed that that was the place Mahmud attacked in 1004 A. D. but adds that this is doubtful. (3) The Bikaner Gazetteer makes the same remark and adds that the fort was taken by Timur from a Bhati chief named Raja Dulchand and was described as an extremely strong and fortified place "renowned throughout Hindustan" (p. 397). (4) The Jaisalmer Gazetteer gives the ancient tradition of the Bhatias as follows:—"They were descended from Jadu and after the dispersion of the Yādavas from Mathurā they went beyond the Indus and a king named Gaj founded the city of Gazni. They were subsequently defeated by a Khorasan chief and they recrossed the Indus and settled in the Panjab. They regained Ghazni but in the time of Baland, they were driven out of Ghazni. Baland's son Bhati conquered many of the neighbouring chiefs. He was succeeded by his son Mangalrao, whose fortune was not equal to that of his father; and who on being attacked by the king of Ghazni abandoned his kingdom and fled across the Sutlej and found refuge in the Indian desert which has been ever since the home of his descendants." This tradition supports to some extent the existence of a town of Bhatias somewhere between the Indus and the Sutlej which was destroyed by the Turks and the Bhatias then crossed the Sutlej and entering the desert settled in Jaisalmere.

CHAPTER VII.

EXPEDITION AGAINST MULTAN.

Knowing that Mahmud was engaged in a distant war, Ilek Khan's army invaded Mahmud's territory in the west and he himself taking the aid of Kadir Khan of Chin crossed the Jihun (Oxus). Mahmud getting information returned like lightning to Ghazni and proceeded to Balkh. A terrible battle was fought with Ilek Khan who was signally defeated and he fled beyond the Oxus. In this battle, Utbi records, Mahmud's army was composed of Turks, Khiljis, Afghans and Hindus and there were five hundred elephants which Mahmud posted in the centre and Mahmud himself rode a furious elephant, attacked the personal guard of Ilek Khan of five hundred select Turks and killed many of them by his own elephant. This shows that materials which, with incapable leaders, were of little avail could be used with effect by a capable commander. The same Hindu soldiers and elephants who could not secure victory to Jaipal were used by Mahmud with conspicuous efficiency against his own Turks.

Mahmud returning to Ghazni resolved upon capturing Multan and driving away the heretic Mahomedan governor there. Multan was at this time an independent state, Mahomedan Sind being divided into two kingdoms, Multan in the north and Mansura in the south. The king of Multan was a Mahomedan but he belonged to the Karmatian sect. This sect was founded by one Abdulla bin Maimun, a Persian. He preached that the seventh Imam was the last Imam. He denied resurrection and believed in incarnation. This sect was driven out of Persia and coming to India found many adherents here. (Indeed these two doctrines were perhaps taken from Hindu philosophy). There were esoteric doctrines also such as the sacredness of the numbers 7 and 12, stages of initiation, mystical interpretations and so on which are always catching with religious simple minds, especially in India. The governor and many people in Multan were Karmatians and Mahmud who was a staunch Mahomedan properly resolved

to wipe out this heresy from India. Indeed it appears that the father of the governor of Multan had been driven out of Khorasan by Sabuktagin.

Mahmud knew the difficulties and dangers of the direct route to Multan. While returning from Bhatia, as stated before, his army was harassed, his baggage was lost and even his life was in danger, how and where the discreet Utbi does not even mention much less describe. He was a court historian; he poetically describes at length Mahmud's victories but is very succinct in describing his reverses. Possibly the people in the country of Bhatia, exasperated at the tragic fate of their king and their capital, rose against Mahmud and harassed him as he returned. More probably still, the troublesome tribesmen who inhabited the valleys and mountain gorges on the frontier of the present N. W. Frontier Province, attacked Mahmud. Whatever the exact nature of the difficulties, Mahmud this time preferred a less troublesome though circuitous route to Multan and requested permission from Ānandapāla the king of the Panjab to pass through his territory. This proves that Ānandapāla was king in the Panjab at least and was an independent king. But he refused permission as the governor of Multan was his ally. It is said that the governor had even assisted Jaipal in his great battle with Sabuktagin. Mahmud, however, would not have a refusal and resolved first to attack Ānandapāla and then Multan. Ānandapāla was defeated and pursued till he fled into Kashmir. The place where this battle was fought is described as situate in the province of Peshawar by Elliot but Peshawar was already in the possession of Mahmud. It must have been some place in the Panjab on the east of the Indus. Utbi does not give the place at all. He simply says "So the king commanded his army to plunder and destroy and burn the villages and cities". "And they cast Ānandapāla from one strait into another until they expelled him into the province of Kashmir". "When Abdul Futah saw the fate of Ānandapāla he packed up his treasures and sent them on backs of camels to Serendib (Ceylon) and fled."

Mahmud entered Multan and finding the citizens involved in heresy fined them a heavy sum. "The account of this stand for religion passed to all cities and even went to Egypt

and the main source of infidelity and heresy in these parts was cut off." (Utbi p. 328-329). It appears that along with Karmatian heresy, there was also the schism about the Khilafat. While some followed the Khalifa of Baghdad as the true Khalifa, others followed the Khalifa of Egypt whose name was read in the Khutba. Mahmud was of course the champion of the Khalifas of Baghdad and had even declined to accept a robe of honour sent by the Khalifa of Egypt.

By what route Mahmud went and returned from Multan is not clearly stated by Utbi. But it seems possible that he did not go via Bhatinda as stated by some later historians; and Elliot properly holds that he must have gone by the road of Bhera *i. e.* from the north (Elliot II p. 432). In what year this expedition was undertaken is also not clear. Some historians place it after the defeat of Ilekhan while others place it before that event. Elliot inclines to the latter view, following Utbi. But Utbi's dates are not always consecutive and he does not give the year of this event. We have, however, given it before this expedition to Multan in order to fit in the very important account of Ānandapāla's letter given by Al-Beruni (Vol. II p. 10), already quoted in Vol. I of our history (p. 199.) "I learn the Turks have rebelled against you. If you wish, I shall come myself or send my son with a force of 500 horse, 1000 soldiers and 100 elephants. I have been conquered by you and wish that another man should not conquer you." This chivalrous offer could not have been made by Ānandapāla after he had been causelessly attacked and defeated by Mahmud when the latter proceeded through his country to attack Multan. Internationally speaking, Ānandapāla's refusal to allow Mahmud to pass through his territory to attack a friendly state like Multan or even a neutral one was proper and just, as indeed his conduct had generally been even according to Al-Beruni. But strong powers disregard such obstacles; as Germany did when Belgium refused her permission in the recent European War to pass through her territory to attack France and drew the attack of Germany on herself first. And Mahmud acted like Germany and first dealt with and punished Ānandapāla. After this plainly unfair conduct of Mahmud, Ānandapāla could not have written

the above letter. He, in fact, became a stern enemy of Mahmud as Al-Beruni himself tells us; but the cause he assigns is different. "The same prince Ānandapāla cherished opposite feelings when his son was made a prisoner; but this Trilochanapāla was the opposite of his father". i. e. was on friendly terms with the Mahomedans and had love and respect for them. When Trilochanapāla was made a prisoner cannot be determined. He might have fallen into Mahmud's hands even in this expedition against Multan; and subsequently released with honour which may have made him of a different frame of mind. No doubt Al-Beruni, when giving the above substance of Ānandapāla's letter, adds the remark 'that their relations were strained' when the letter was written. But this expression can not cover an actual attack by Mahmud on Ānandapāla and his pursuit from place to place till he fled into Kashmir, and may refer to previous ordinary relations which were never friendly.

Mahmud while returning from Multan does not appear to have seized any territory of Ānandapāla though, as stated before, he had plundered and devastated it. When Mahmud retired beyond the Indus, Ānandapāla must have returned to his territory feeling his defeat bitterly and, as we shall presently relate, resolved to make a desperate effort to crush the power of the Ghaznavide ruler.

CHAPTER VIII

(A) FINAL FIGHT OF THE COMBINED HINDUS.

Ānandapāla called to his aid the several kings of India and Firishta gives a very exaggerated account of this final effort of combined Hindus to crush the growing danger to their religion and independence. But Utbi does not give any such general aspect to this effort. As usual, the truth lies between the two. Marathi Bakhars, we know well, exaggerate incidents as time rolls on, each later Bakhar adding to the marvellous. Indeed this is also true of even the ancient history of India, each later edition of the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata adding to the marvellous element in the story. Mahomedan historians are not an exception and cannot resist the natural temptation to add to the marvellous. Thus Firishta states (Elliot II p. 446) :—

“In the year 399 H (1008 A.D.), Mahmud having collected his forces determined to invade Hindustan and punish Ānandapāla who had shown much insolence during the late invasion of Multan. Ānandapāla invited the aid of other Hindu kings who now considered the expulsion of the Mahomedans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalanjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer entered into a confederacy and collected an army greater than ever had marched against Sabuktagin. Ānandapāla himself took command and advanced against Mahmud. The two armies met on the plains of Peshawar and encamped facing each other. They remained so for 40 days, neither side showing any eagerness to come to action. The troops of the idolators daily increased. The infidel Gakkhars also joined them in great strength. The Hindu females sold their jewels and sent the proceeds from distant parts to supply their husbands with necessaries. Those who were poor contributed from their earnings by *spinning cotton and other labour*”

This is certainly an exaggerated account when we compare it with what the contemporary Utbi states about this

fight. "When the Sultan arrived on the bank of the Wamand Wabal-bin-Abdbal came to confront him with a numerous army. And from morning to evening the fire of battle burnt. And it had nearly happened that the army of the Sultan was worsted and the infidels had obtained the high hand. However, the promise respecting victory to the word of Islam was fulfilled and the Sultan with his own guards made a charge under which the feet of the rebels were unable to stand (Utbi p. 340--41).

The statement of Firishta that ladies contributed to the expenses of the soldiers by selling their ornaments and by receipts from spinning and other labour is simply an exaggeration. The kings of India were rich enough to support their soldiers and contributions from merchants and from rich temples could have been taken if necessary. The coming together again of contingents from several Hindu kingdoms may be believed in, though not mentioned by Utbi, as the force gathered was evidently so large as to make the result of the fight tremble in the balance for a time. Moreover, Indian epigraphic evidence is in support of some kings coming to assist Ānandapāla. But, as before, the names of the states given by Firishta are mentioned from imagination working on the basis of later history. Ujjain does not appear to have taken part though Bhoja was then ruling Malwa and was strong enough to send a contingent. As will be stated in Paramāra history, Bhoja is said in an inscription to have fought with the Turks but is said to have conquered them. Kalanjar certainly took part in this conflict, the king being Ganda, following the example of his father Dhanga who had taken part in the previous combined effort against Sabuktigin. Kanauj of course must have sent a contingent as it was the Imperial power of Northern India. Gwalior was subordinate to Kalanjar and there was a feudatory powerful king belonging to the Kachhapa-ghāta (modern Kachhwaha) clan and a contingent from Gwalior might have taken part though inscriptions yet found do not mention the fact. Delhi and Ajmer were either not yet founded or were not able to take any part in the conflict. Many Panjab chiefs, however, subordinate to Ānandapāla may have joined him. Firishta does not mention Kashmir and the

Rājataranginī also does not allude to any contingent being sent to assist Ānandapāla on this occasion. However, it seems undoubted that a formidable force was collected by Ānandapāla for this heroic effort to protect Hindustan from the new power at Ghazni which threatened to destroy its independence and its religion.

Firishta places this decisive battle in the plain of Peshawar, but Elliot does not think this probable. Utbi has not mentioned the site of the engagement. But as Wahind and the territory to the west of the Indus was already under Mahmud, he might have taken steps to meet the enemy in his own land, like a consummate commander. Utbi mentions the bank of the Wamand (p. 340) but what river it is cannot be determined. He also does not mention whether the river was crossed and if so by whom. The Gazetteer of the Attock district places this battle in the plain of Chhachh lying in that district between Attock and Hazro, and the Rawalpindi Gazetteer reiterates the statement. Both opine that the battle was fought between Mahmud and Ānandapāla Shahi Kabul king who was also master of the Panjab. The king's name as read in Utbi is Wabal-bin-Abdbal, but this is certainly a misreading; the last name is no doubt Ānandapāla; Wabal may have been the name of one of his sons.

The manner and course of the fight described by Firishta so completely resembles the course of the fight between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in 1761 at the battle of Panipat that one might have been tempted to suggest that the description of Firishta was copied from the description of the fight between Sadashiv Bhau and Ahmadshah Abdali. But Firishta wrote more than two hundred years before the latter battle was fought. We are, therefore, simply reminded here of the maxim history repeats itself. On the plain of Chhachh, in 1008 A. D., the Hindu and Moslem armies lay in front of each other in entrenched camps for forty days, being equally balanced, each watching for an opportunity to gain advantage over the other, like two powerful wrestlers in touch with each other yet motionless for a time. The Gakkhars whose number 30,000 seems to be exaggerated, wild, bareheaded, half-civilized men who had come to the assistance of the Hindus, however, began

the fight by rushing the entrenched Ghazni camp and slaying a few thousand Mahomedan soldiers in a few minutes. The two armies now became grappled in conflict and until midday the advantage was with the Hindus as even Utbi admits. The tide, however, turned, by what accident Utbi does not relate, but Firishta states "that the Sultan seeing the fury of the Gakkhars* withdrew himself from the thick of the fight that he might stop the battle for that day. But it so happened that the elephant which Ānandapāla rode became unruly from the effects of naphthā-balls and arrows hurled at him, turned and fled. And the Hindus believing that this was a signal for flight on the part of their general all gave way and fled. Abdulla Tai pursued them and 8000 Hindus were cut to pieces". This account is not given by Utbi but he states another fact which is more important viz. that the Sultan with his own guards made a charge "under which the feet of the infidels could not stand". All this was exactly like what happened in the battle of Panipat between the Marathas and the Afghans. Till noon the tide was in favour of the Marathas, under the execution of the guns of the battalions of Ibrahimkhan and the charge of the Huzurat horse. Suddenly a ball struck Vishvasrao dead on his elephant and the news spreading that the general was dead, the army gave way. At this advantageous moment, Ahmadshah Abdali like Mahmud made a furious attack with a force of Afghans which he had kept in reserve and the Maratha army broke and fled. Probably Ānandapāla like the brave but unfortunate Bhaoosaheb rushed into the thick of the fight on foot and embraced death on the battle-field. For we do not know what became of both after the battle nor do we hear that they were found dead or alive. Such was the momentous battle fought in 1008 A. D. between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, a precursor of the struggle seven and a half centuries later. The Hindus after this battle no doubt continued in strength in the Panjab for a time as after Panipat, but the

* The Gakkhars are now Mahomedans and inhabit chiefly the Rāwalpindi District Raja Jahāndād Khan a Gakkhar chief states that Firishta wrongly gives the name of Gakkhars for Khokkars who really attacked Mahmud. Khokkars are a different wild tribe which is also Mahomedan now.

blow was severe. Indeed both battles put an end to the dream of the Hindus to drive the Mahomedans out of India.

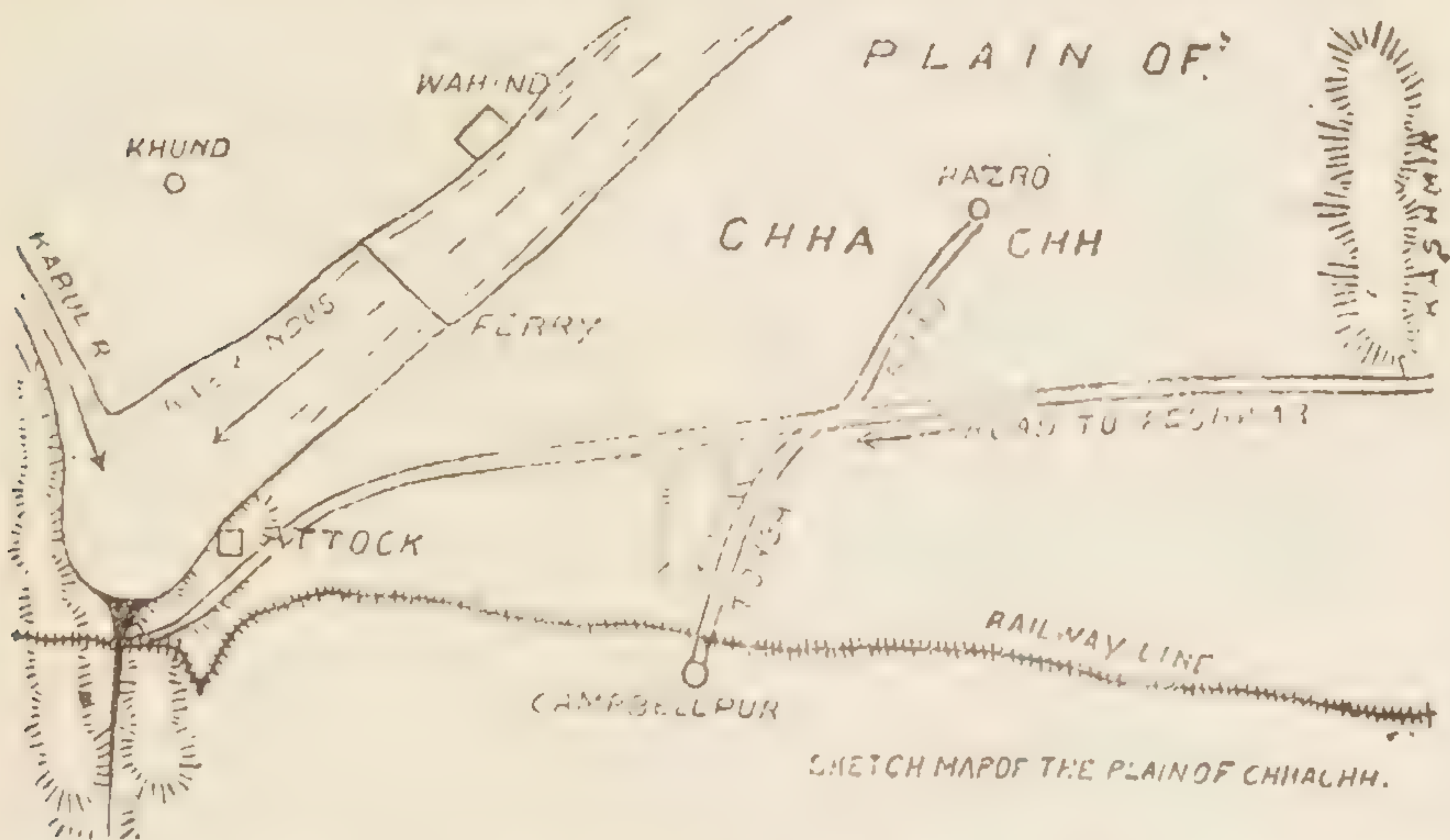
We must pause here a little before proceeding with our narrative and consider the causes of the defeat of the Hindus. As at Panipat, so at Chhachh they were not handicapped for want of sufficient numbers. If at all, they had the advantage of number on their side. They were again not less brave than the Moslems. Here as at Panipat the Hindus fought bravely and even desperately. Thirdly there was no superiority of arms on the side of the Mahomedans in either battle. At Panipat both had artillery and if at all the artillery on the side of the Hindus was more efficient. In the battle near Hazro neither side had any fire-arms. They were not known then. Both used the same weapons viz. swords and lances. And Hindu swords and lances were as sharp and strong, if not sharper and stronger, as those of the Mahomedans. For one thing it may be said fate favoured the Mahomedans at Hazro as at Panipat. Those who deny fate as one of the factors leading to success properly maintain that fate is the cause overspreading every event in this human world. But when fate is said to be favourable or unfavourable, the word is usually used in the sense that certain accidents which are outside the control of man occur to help the winning side and to discomfit the losing one. In the previous fight of the Hindus beyond the Indus with Sabuktagin, we saw that a sudden snow-storm arose to harass the Hindus who being residents of the plains of India were unaccustomed to such cold weather. At this battle the elephant of Ānandapāla under arrows and naptha-balls became unruly and turned and fled. But we must remember that war elephants were always trained to encounter such missiles. Arrows and naptha-balls were not new or strange weapons, for the first time used in this battle. This accident was exactly like the accident which happened at Panipat by which Vishvasrao was killed. At this distance of time we, not at all conversant with the modes of elephant fighting, are tempted to observe that it is indeed strange that in such fights commanders, especially when kings in person assume the command, should ride elephants and become easy targets for naptha-balls, arrows and especially gun bullets.

But when we find that Mahmud himself rode an elephant when he fought with Ilekhan near Balkh, we cannot suppose that Ānandapāla committed a blunder in riding an elephant, though we may hold that Vishvasrao's riding an elephant and exposing himself to bullets was a serious blunder at Panipat. There were no guns in the days of Ānandapāla and the only missiles that could be thrown against him were arrows and naphtha-balls against which his armour and that of the elephant were a sufficient protection.

But the historian cannot but observe that Hindus have always failed to exhibit that grip, that resourcefulness which brave and strong men are expected to exhibit when an adverse accident befalls them. We have already noted this defect in Vol. II (p. 246) and have tried to explain the strange behaviour of Indian armies which, often unbeaten, fly when an accident happens to the commanding king, by the fact that Indian soldiers in consequence of the absence of all feeling of nationality have no sense of patriotic self-interest in the success of the fighting. All the same, we may note this defect in Indian character (Hindu and perhaps even Mahomedan) viz. that Indians do not possess that doggedness of fight under adverse circumstances which distinguishes the western and notably the British soldier. There is no doubt that Mahmud possessed this quality so necessary in a commander. Like Shivaji he never was despondent when fortune seemed unfavourable and fought on stubbornly. Moreover, Mahmud clearly was a great general. Like Ahmadshah Abdali he had a reserve force of resolute and brave body-guards which the Ghaznavide kings and Mahmud particularly, maintained at a high level of efficiency and at great cost. Mahmud himself with this guard led the final attack at the proper moment like Ahmadshah Abdali and gained eventual success in this memorable battle which practically sealed the fate of the Panjab, if not of the whole of India.

NOTE:—THE SITE OF THE CONFEDERATE BATTLE.

As stated above, Firishta places this battle near Peshawar and some native writers even state that it was fought between Peshawar and Jamrud where is a plain extensive enough for a fight between armies numbering at least a lakh on either side. The Attock and Rawalpindi Gazetteers, however, place it in the plain of Chhachh on the east side of the Indus near Hazro. Indeed the geography primer for Attock District now taught in Vernacular schools therein states distinctly that the battle was fought near Hazro. We personally saw this plain and the town of Hazro and we think that this surmise of the Gazetteers may be accepted. On what authority this statement is based cannot be ascertained. Utbi mentions a river Wamand at which the Sultan arrived. As there is no river of this name in Peshawar district, we may read here river (Indus) near Wahind. The similarity between this battle and the battle of Panipat in 1761 A. D. which has been already noticed suggests that Mahmud crossed the river Indus himself as Abdali did the Jumna lower down while Bhausahab was thinking of crossing the Jumna higher up and meeting Abdali in Antarbed. Probably Ānandpāla advanced from the south as far as Hazro and wished to cross the Indus himself at Wahind. The sketch map, given here, of the



position will explain the movements of the armies. Mahmud entrenched himself seeing the superior force or position of the enemy. Why Ānandapāla did not oppose Mahmud's crossing the river may be explained on the supposition that Ānandapāla did not think that Mahmud would cross the Indus; or that he wished to fight with him on the east of the Indus; or that he did not get information in time. As Chacha is known to have opposed Kasim when the latter crossed the Indus in Sind, we have no mention of Ānandapāla opposing Mahmud when he crossed the Indus. Perhaps Mahmud was already to the east of the Indus when Ānandapāla advanced against

and met him. In this case Hazro must have been in the possession of Mahmud. The plain to the south of Hazro is wide enough for such a big battle and there is plenty of water to be found at a depth of 10 to 15 ft, in this plain and there are no holes or drops in the ground so that the plain is like the plain of Panipat suitable for movements of cavalry. Even now it seems that the plain is used for military manœuvres by the British army.

The plain is flanked by the hills of Kashmir and Ānandapāla is said by some writers to have fled into Kashmir after his defeat. The Gakkhars inhabit these valleys and we can see easily how Gakkhars in great number joined Ānandapāla's army in this fight. The shock of the defeat must have been felt throughout the Panjab, as the shock of the defeat at Panipat was felt so far south as the Nerbudda and it was thus easy for Mahmud to march on to Kot Kangra and plunder that place.

It may be added that if we suppose that the battle was fought near Peshawar in Mahmud's territory as it then was, with the Indus before the fugitives, it would have been difficult for Ānandapāla or much of his force to pass beyond the Indus. It is recorded by Utbi and others that only a small number of persons (8000) was slain in the pursuit. The number would have been far greater had the Indus confronted the fugitives.

(B) THE RAID ON NAGARKOT.

Having routed the Hindu confederate army and put it to flight, Mahmud took advantage of this favourable moment to make a sudden raid on Nagarkot which was famed then for its great idol as well as for its immense riches. This was the first expedition undertaken by Mahmud with the set purpose of obtaining immense plunder. Whether Mahmud can be blamed for attacking Hindu temples and cities for mere plunder we will discuss later on. Here it will suffice to remark that like Shivaji, Mahmud must have maintained an efficient intelligence department and obtained accurate information as to where plunder might be obtained, through emissaries who travelled openly or incognito in the Hindu kingdoms of Northern India. Nagarkot was a stronghold in the kingdom of Kangra. There was a famous idol there of what Hindu deity is not stated anywhere; for the Jvālāmukhī temple which is sometimes confounded with this temple was different; (Jvālāmukhi is fifteen miles distant from Nagarkot and there some jets of gas issue from the top of a hill which priests ignite when worshippers come). People from distant parts came to worship the Nagarkot idol as well as Jvālāmukhī and made rich presents. There being a strong fort there, the kings of

India, as Mahomedan historians relate, kept their treasures there. Nagarkot is the modern name but the ancient name was Bhīmnagar; the town was said to be founded by Bhima supposed to be the Mahābhārata hero, but probably by Bhimadeva of the Brahmin Shahi dynasty of Kabul. Utbi gives the name "Fort of Bahim" which would be read easily for Bhim. The account which he gives of this raid is as follows "And *then* he (Mahmud) arrived at the base of the fort of Bahim Bagra (Bhīmnagar). This is a castle in the midst of water high as a mountain.....And the people of India made it a treasury for their great idols, and load upon load of precious goods and jewels had been transported there, for the purpose of obtaining salvation.The Sultan closely surrounded this fortress and they began to fight in defence of the castle with resolute fierceness;.....(eventually).....they capitulated and consented to serve under the banners of the Sultan.....The Sultan found such an amount of jewels and precious stones and rare treasures that fingers could not count and account-books were not equal to catalogue them. The gold and silver was given into the charge of his two chamberlains Altontash and Istargin, while he himself took charge of the jewels and transported the whole on the backs of men and camels. And as far as could be computed, the treasure consisted of 1070 packets of royal dirhams and 700800 marks of gold and silver. And as for robes of silk and cloth, they were so many that the clerks of the state could not arrange them and acknowledged that they had never beheld such beauty of workmanship and delicate excellence. And they found a large house of silver, sixty cubits long and fifty wide, with broad flooring so arranged and so contrived with ropes that the whole could be thrown together or could be separated into divisions, that it could be folded or expanded; with curtains of Grecian brocade and two golden statues and two silver statues. The Sultan then left trustworthy officers to protect the fortress and returned to Ghazni, where he exhibited the jewels, pearls, jacinths, emeralds and other precious stones on a carpet in a serai and chiefs of countries and deputies of provinces and envoys of the king of Turks put the finger of astonishment into their mouths". We have given this description of the spoils as a specimen in order that

the reader may realize the enormous quantity of plunder which Mahmud obtained in his raids and in order that such descriptions may not be repeated. It may also be pointed out that Mahmud like Shivaji kept a detailed account of all the treasures he obtained by plunder and that the same was duly appraised and certain rules must have been observed by which the share of the state was reserved and the rest distributed among the soldiers. We know that Arab expeditions in the beginning of the spread of the new religion were conducted under strict rules of division of plunder between the state or Khalifa and the commander with the soldiers. In short as under Shivaji the plundering was systematic as also the division of the spoil.

“The impassable waters which surrounded Nagarkot” were according to Elliot, “the Bāṇagangā and the Biyāhī rivers. The town of Bhīma was on the spot now called Bhawani (goddess) about a mile from the fort” (Elliot Vol. II p. 445). This raid on Nagarkot must have immediately followed the defeat of the confederate Hindu forces near Hazro as Utbi clearly seems to convey by the introductory words ‘*And then*’; but some historians place it in the following year viz. 1009 A.D.

NOTE—KANGRA, ITS FORT AND TEMPLES.

Kangra is a most fertile plateau in the Himalayas with a snow-clad range at its back and with perennial streams running through it into three or four khuds or rivers. It must have come under Aryan civilization in most ancient times and we have seen that lunar race Rajput kings now called Katoch ruled there from the days of the Mahābhārata. The fort of Kangra which had usually been their strong place for retirement is also an ancient fort and was indeed impregnable in those days when cannon was not known. The fort stands on an eminence at the confluence of two deep khuds or rivers named the Bāṇagangā and the Manūnī, only a narrow strip of land dividing the two deep basins. The steep sides of the fort along the rivers are almost perpendicular rising about 300 feet. In the neck of the narrow strip between the rivers a deep moat has been dug and the entrance to the fort is beyond this artificial chasm. The fort can easily be defended on this narrow neck by a small garrison. There was a famous temple in this fort according to Mahomedan historians which was destroyed by Mahmud. What temple it was we will now try to determine from local information as well as from the Arch. S. R. for 1905 wherein we find much information about Kangra temples which existed before the earthquake of 1905.

The history of the fort is thus given in this report (P. 11): "The fort was taken by the irresistible Mahmud in 1009. In 1337 it was again taken by Muhammad Tughlaq and also in 1351 by his successor Firozshah. It permanently fell into the hands of the Mahomedans when conquered by Jahangir in 1621. When Mogul power declined it was taken back by Raja Samsārchand II in 1786 (or by his father Ghamandchand according to Col. Janakchand member of Council, Jammu and Kashmir, and himself a Katoch). It was handed over, however, to Ranjitsing in 1809. The Sikhs handed it over to the British in 1846 and it was garrisoned by British troops till 1900" At present of course it is in ruins.

"The most important monuments in the fort were the temples of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa and Śītalā; both of them have fallen in the last catastrophe. We may safely assume that they were posterior to the sack of the fort by Mahmud".

"The temple of Ambikā still used for worship is a plain structure and has not been damaged by the earthquake. The features of the construction of the temple indicate that it happened during the Mahomedan occupation".

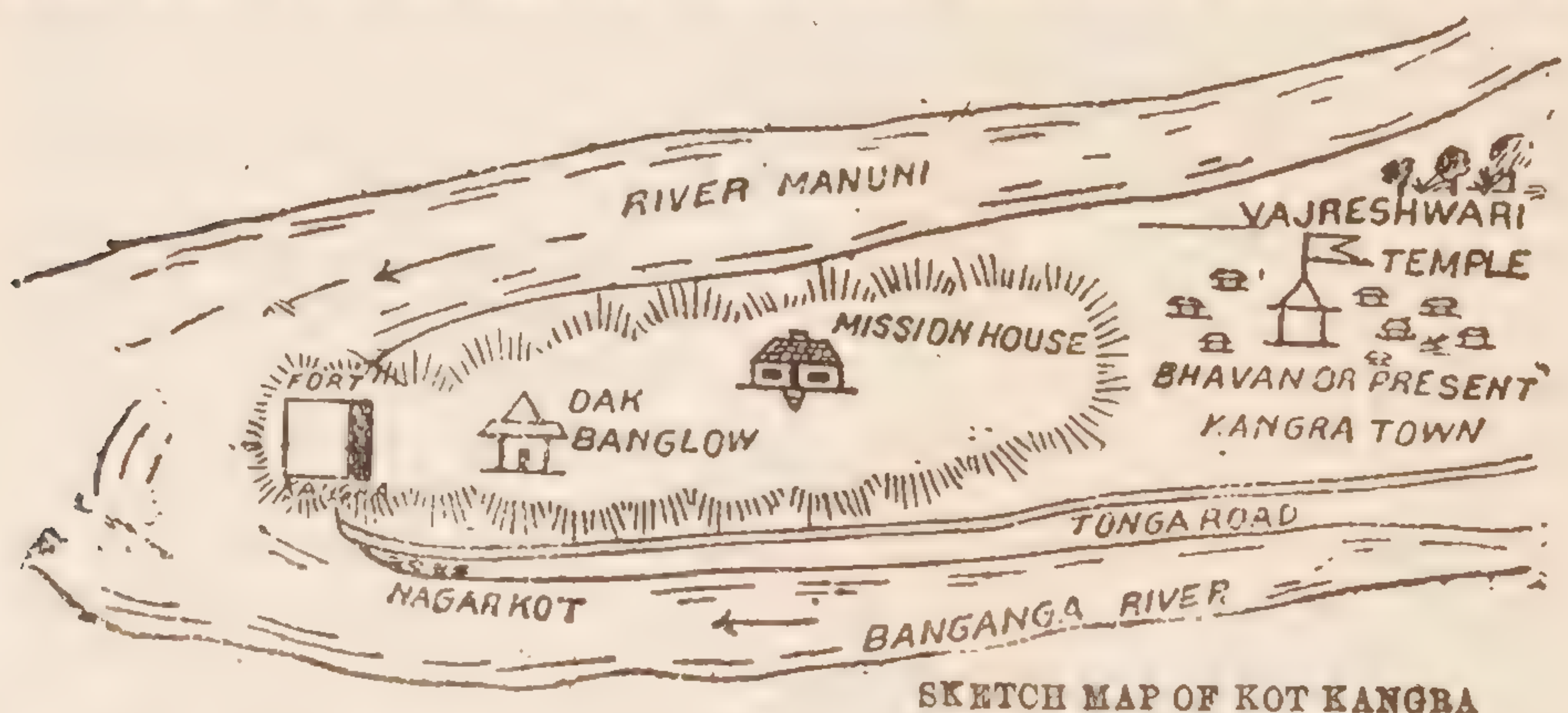
"To the south of the Ambikā temple there are two Jain statues, one a pedestal and the other a seated statue of Ādinātha with a partly obliterated inscription dated according to Cunningham St. 1523 i. e. 1466 A. D. in the reign of Samsārchand I" (p. 15.)

"Plate III shows the temple of Indreśvara in Kangra town. It is ascribed to Rājā Indrachandra and is a Śiva temple. If he is identified with Indrachandra mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Ananta-deva (A. D. 1028-63) it shows that this temple dates from the 11th century. There are two Jain images on both sides of the temple on one of which is the date 30 of Lokakāla. It was supposed to be contemporaneous with the praśasti on the Baijanāth temple and hence as old as 854 A. D. But as the date of the Baijanath inscription has been recently read as 1204 St. the image may be 1154 A. D. old. The four pillared pavilion has been levelled to the ground in the earthquake, but the rest of the building is safe with the two Jain images" (p. 16).

"But the most celebrated sanctuary of Kangra District was the temple of Vajreśvarī in Bhavan, a suburb of Kangra town. From a remote age the spot was sacred but the temple which fell down in the earthquake was not an old one. An inscription preserved in the porch says it was built in the time of Śrī Mahammad (identified by Cunningham with Mahammad Sayyad who ruled at Delhi from 1533 to 1546). At the time of its foundation Raja Samsārchand was the king of Kangra." This temple has now been built again by the Hindu community.

The above information will show to us that neither the Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa and Śītalā temples in the fort nor the Indreśvara temple in the town could be the temple thrown down by Mahmud, as they are all later constructions. The only temples that remain are the Ambikā temple in

the fort and the Vajreśvarī temple in Bhavan. Now the Hindu community in rebuilding this Vajreśvarī temple in Bhavan, in their printed prospectus, state that this temple was destroyed by Mahmud in 1009 and was rebuilt by a Kangra king in 1043. It was again destroyed by Muhammad Tughlaq in 1337, again rebuilt by the Hindus and again thrown down in 1360 by Feroz. It was rebuilt by Samsārchand I in 1440. It was thrown down again by Khawas Khan, general of Sher Shah, in 1540 and rebuilt by Raja Dharamchand in Akbar's days. The present Maharaja of Guler who is indeed a very learned and well informed person and of urbane manners told us that in his opinion the temple thrown down by Mahmud was the Vajreśvarī temple in Bhavan and that there was once a wall round Bhavan. This opinion is also entertained by many persons. But it seems to us that the Vajreśvarī temple was first built in the days of Samsārchand I. We will give our reasons for this view. In all descriptions of Mahomedan writers, Mahmud is said to have taken the fort of Kangra and destroyed a temple there. The Vajreśvarī temple is not in the fort but is in Bhavan a suburb at a distance of about two miles from Kot Kangra or town Nagar Kot. In order that the reader may understand the situation we



give here a sketch of the position of Kot Kangra, Nagar Kot and Bhavan. If there was a wall around Bhavan, it could not have been a strong one and it could not have been as difficult to take it as Kot Kangra. Then again the temple with idol thrown down by Tughlaq appears also to have been in the fort which he took. The Katoch kings retook the fort and rebuilt the temple in the fort which was again taken by Firoj Tughlaq. It appears that after these repeated disasters, the Hindus moved down the temple to Bhavan in the days of Samsārchand I.

It must be mentioned, further, that the idol in the Vajreśvarī temple is not fashioned by the hand but is a svayumbhū idol viz. a natural stone coming out of the earth, having some appearance of a head, at least eyes. This is the only svayambhū idol of Devī which we have seen. The legend is that the deity was discovered by a cultivator who, while ploughing his field, accidentally struck the deity with the iron-head of the plough and brought out blood. This is, of course, the usual story of the discovery of

a swayambhū deity. It seems probable that as at Benares or at Ujjain (Mahākālā) the Mahomedans even under Mahomedan rule allowed the Hindus to have a temple of the same god in the vicinity of the old temple thrown down, so in Kangra the fort remaining in the possession of Mahomedans, the Hindus were allowed to have a temple of the same deity in Bhavan. Samsārachandra the first erected the Vajreśvarī temple in 1440, and the iconoclastic Shershah again threw it down a hundred years later. The tolerant Akbar allowed the temple to be rebuilt by king Dharamchand.

This interesting history, however, shows the strong Hindu spirit of the Katoch Rajas of Kangra and the temple of Dharamchand built about 1600 was standing till it was destroyed by the earthquake of 1905. Strong Hindu sentiment has again caused the temple to be built, the dome of which is being now adorned with gold.

It is necessary, however, to add that the Ambikā temple in the fort is still the place where Katoch Rajputs go to worship. In fact we were told that every Katoch sends his hair cut in the godāna ceremony to be placed before the Ambikādevī in the fort. This fact along with the legend of the discovery of the Vajreśvarī idol, leads us to believe that the famous temple in Kangrā which was thrown down by Mahmud was the Ambikā temple in the fort * or it may have been the original Vajreśvarī temple in the fort. The idol in the present Ambikā temple is also an unfashioned one or swayambhū. In all such cases there are movable idols in the temples also and Utbi actually states that the people of India made the temple a treasury for their great idols.

When Utbi relates that "he (Mahmud) came to the fort of Bahim Bagra " a castle in the midst of water high as a mountain and an inaccessible pit" (p. 341) he refers to this very fort at the confluence of the two rivers. Of course Bahim Bagra has to be read as Bhim Nagar and it is believed that Bhīmashah of Kabul founded the town Bhavan. The further description by Utbi cannot apply to Bhavan and Bhimnagar must be taken to mean the whole place including Nagarkot, Bhavan and Kot Kangra.

* The present building of the temple is according to the A. S. Report later than Mahmud.

CHAPTER IX.

SUBJUGATION OF THE PANJAB.

The Sultan's attention, as stated before, was constantly divided between the east and the west and his far reaching and unceasing activities extended in both directions with equal vigilance. Having settled some disputes and troubles in Kirman and Kohistan in the west and the north, Mahmud again directed his attention to the settlement of the question of the Panjab. He had humbled the king of the Panjab and taken one of the strongholds of that kingdom, Kangrakot. He determined to capture Nardin another strong place on which probably the king relied. And he arrived in the provinces of India, and "began to devastate the land, to punish the infidels, to overturn the idols and to make an example of high and low. And as to the prince of those accursed ones, he sent him prostrate to hell. And when the king of Hind saw these wounds in the nearest and distant parts of his kingdom, he sent his kindred to offer submission" (Utbi p. 361). Such is the succinct account which Utbi gives of this expedition. Although he mentions Nardin as stormed in the heading of this chapter, he does not describe it. From later historians-Elliot thinks that there were two expeditions and not one, as some suggest, and that by Nardin Utbi means to refer to Naharwala the capital of Gujarat. The second expedition was against the fort of Nandan, as will be stated in the next chapter, and is described by Firishta and others. It indeed appears plain, even according to Utbi, that there were two expeditions and the second he describes later on. It is, however, difficult to identify Nardin with Naharwala as Mahmud could not have gone so far south, leaving the Panjab yet unsubjugated. We, therefore, take it that Nardin was some place in the Panjab itself and that Mahmud carried a devastating campaign which compelled the king of India to proffer submission. Who this king was is not mentioned; no doubt one chief is said to have been killed, and it is probable that Anandapāla himself was killed in one of these combats.

His son Trilochanapāla must have offered submission. We have already seen that Al-Beruni has recorded that Ānandapāla had latterly become a deadly enemy of Mahmud but that Trilochanapāla his son was better disposed. We, therefore, take it that Ānandapāla, instead of being killed in the battle of the confederate Hindus, was killed at this time (1009 or 1010) and Trilochanapāla offered terms of submission. Mahmud granted the terms and by these Panjab practically became a subordinate province of the Ghaznavide empire. The terms were as follows: "The king bound himself to tribute and fidelity and appointed sixty yokes (?) of elephants and a payment to be mutually fixed and sent by the nobles of the province and the people to the treasury. And by way of acting as viceroy the king was to keep two thousand men at his court and acknowledge fealty every day and month and year, and the succeeding rulers were to obey and follow the same law. The Sultan was content with these conditions!!! and this secured tax became a fixed source of revenue in the book of the finance court of the Empire. Thus the road for caravans and merchants between the districts of Khorasan and Hind became open". (p. 362).

Such is the normal course of the successive steps in the fall of kingdoms. We are here reminded of the fall of the Maratha kingdom eight centuries later. There was a stubborn struggle in the beginning by the combined Marathas against the English in 1803. The Maratha confederacy was defeated in the battle of Assaye by the greatest general of the English, Wellesley, much as the great Hindu confederacy was defeated by the masterly tactics of Mahmud in 1008 near Hazro. Bajirao, like Trilochanapāla, submitted and consented to maintain a subsidiary force at Poona, of British regiments. This was the opposite of what was stipulated by Ānandapāla's son. He, as the usual fashion then was with subordinate kings, promised to maintain at Ghazni a force of two thousand soldiers for the service of the Ghazni empire at his cost. The British method of compelling subordinate kingdoms to maintain a British force at their capital was more effective and efficient for accomplishing extinction and was tantamount to the imposition of a heavy tribute for the time being. That final extinc-

tion overtook Trilochanapāla soon enough (after about 4 years) as we shall presently see; but in the parallel case of Bajirao, it overtook him after the lapse of 15 years.

This subjugation of the Panjab was necessary in order that Mahmud should securely direct his attention towards the troubles which often arose in the west. And one of these we will specially mention as it has an interest for the Indian reader. In the immediate vicinity of Ghazni towards the west was the small province of Ghor, a mountainous valley inhabited by an unruly tribe which constantly gave trouble to caravans and merchants under the very nose of Mahmud. "The infidelity and the insolence of these inhabitants of Ghor who levied heavy imposts on caravans and travellers on the strength of their appalling cliffs required to be corrected. And the Sultan ordered his army to attack them in their fastness and himself went with his body-guard and cutting his way through the passes, arrived before the stronghold-nest of the king of Ghor. After stubborn fighting, the Sultan ordered his men to turn their backs and to show as if they were yielding. These doomed ones were deluded and the *Hindu* no longer remained firm but fascinated by the desire to plunder came into the open plain. Upon this the Sultan wheeled round and laid them all on the couch of sweet sleep. He took the son of the chief as prisoner and carried away as booty, wealth and arms which chief after chief and infidel after infidel had accumulated" (Utbi p. 364-65). The inhabitants of the valley of Ghor were originally infidels and even Hindus. They were forcibly converted by Mahmud and in the course of about two hundred years, themselves becoming zealous Mahomedans they conquered the Hindus of India. Secondly, we find here Mahmud employing the same tactics in fighting as were employed by Shivaji and the Marathas (called in Marathi Bakhars the *ganīmī kāvā* or enemy deception). Thirdly, like a great ruler Mahmud always bestowed attention upon the safety of roads for the encouragement of commerce. He wished to see that caravans between Khorasan and Hind should safely travel. Mountain tribes in those days as in later times levied heavy imposts on them whenever the central government was weak. And Mahmud exhibited the same vigilance and power as is exhibited by the British Empire at the present day in this respect.

CHAPTER X

BATTLE OF NAZIN AND THE ANNEXATION OF THE PANJAB.

For four years Panjab remained unmolested. Probably Trilochanapāla quietly paid the stipulated tribute without demur, and Mahmud also appears to have been engaged in the west. A terrible famine is described by Utbi as raging in Khorasan and its capital Nishapur. He also mentions troubles with Ilekhan the Turk who must have taken advantage of these difficulties. Utbi also describes the conquest of Garjistan (Georgia) which had belonged to the Samani empire and the Shar of which ("the king of Georgia was called Shar, as the king among Hindus was called Rai, among Turks Khan and among Greeks Cæsar"—Utbi p. 377) defied Mahmud, and Mahmud with his usual swiftness and completeness reduced him to subjection. Mahmud then found time to turn his attention to Hindustan. Human feelings would tempt Mahmud to finally annex the Panjab which had been only subjugated and the same would impel even Trilochanapāla to rebel and throw off the yoke imposed upon him. It is, therefore, probable that some pretext must have been found by one party or the other to begin the conflict again, as in the parallel case noted before viz: the Maratha war of 1818 wherein after the defeat of Bapu Gokhale Bajirao II finally lost his kingdom.

Utbi describes this conflict thus (p. 389-392):—"The Sultan having in 400 H. (1009) reduced Hindustan and built mosques &c. wished to take possession of the remainder of the land of the infidels. Therefore, he summoned his victorious armies and covered them with great honour. When he arrived at those territories, much snow had fallen and hence he returned to Ghazni but returned again in spring. The king of India sat down under the protection of the mountain and took refuge in a pass and posted elephants in its narrowness. He summoned the cavalry and infantry of his kingdom. And a great army of infidels from Hindustan, Sind and all quarters raged like

hornets in heat and heads were cast upon the battle-field like balls. And wherever the elephants came into the engagement, the Moslem army with swords and spears cut their throats and trunks. When the Sultan saw him (his lieutenant Abdulla Tai) in distress, he sent some stars from his special guard and the flame of battle blazed in this way until it was quenched by the water of victory. And at one blast of the good fortune of Mahmud all their affairs were scattered like dust. And they made prizes of their property and elephants. Thus this territory became exalted amongst the extent of Islam and this victory was entered in the register of expeditions".

From this description it may be inferred that Trilochana-pāla made a third attempt to collect the forces of many Hindu states for his final fight with Mahmud; and a stubborn and terrible battle was fought which was gained by the Mahomedans through Mahmud's good fortune and the bravery of his body-guard. This battle was fought in 404 H. or 1014 according to Elliot who quotes Utbi himself for this date though, as above stated, in some copies the year 400 H is given, and other historians also give the same date. The place where this battle was fought is also in dispute. Utbi mentions, in the heading of his chapter, Nardin; others call the place Ninduna. It is suggested by some that the battle was fought near the mountains of Jud and the hill of Bālnāth overhanging the Jhelum. Elliot, however, thinks that the pass referred to by Utbi is the Margalla pass (Elliot II p. 451). Elliot gives the following further account of the battle from a fuller description of it by Nizamuddin Ahmad :—

"In 404 H. the Sultan marched his army against the fort of Ninduna, situated in the mountain of Bālnāth. Puru-Jaipal left veteran troops for its protection while he himself passed into one of the valleys of Kashmir. Having taken the fort by mining and other operations, the Sultan went against Puru-Jaipal but he fled further. The Sultan obtained great spoil and many slaves. Having converted many infidels and spread Islam, the Sultan returned to Ghazni". Elliot thinks that the chief who fought at Ninduna was Bhima son of Jaipal. In fact he refers to Utbi for this name given as Nidar Bhim. We do not find that name in the translation we have used of Utbi.

Possibly there are variations in the available copies of Utbi. But strangely enough Elliot does not go on to explain who Puru Jaipal was. We plainly see here a misreading of the name Trilochanapāla who was the king at this time and that name may easily be read in Persian or Arabic as Puru Jaipal. Jaipal and even Ānandapāla were already dead and Trilochanapāla was on the throne of the Shahis in the Panjab. His son was Bhima and it is probable that Trilochanapāla retired into Kashmir leaving his fearless son (Nidar Bhim) to fight this battle. The battle was lost and the further account of Utbi may be construed as showing that the Panjab or at least its largest part was annexed to the kingdom of Ghazni. As Al-Beruni has stated that Trilochanapāla died after this date, having lived upto 1021, the other account may also be accepted and it may be believed that he and even Bhīma escaped into Kashmir and for about seven years more reigned in the hilly submontane districts of the Panjab at the base of the Himalayas.

But Stein the editor of the Rājataranginī thinks that the important battle fought between Trilochanapāla and Mahmud on the Tauśi river which falls into the Jhelum from the west in the Hazara District which is conterminous with Kashmir and so vividly described by Kalhana in that history of Kashmir was fought at this time (404 H. or 1013). In this battle Trilochanapāla was assisted by a strong contingent from Kashmir under Tunga. Trilochanapāla advised him to fight a cautious battle with the wily Turks by taking the support of the hills. But Mahmud used his usual stratagem, and sent a contingent beyond the Tauśi river which being attacked and defeated by Tunga fled back across the river. Tunga was emboldened and came into the open and joined battle with Mahmud* (Raj. VII 47). The battle was hotly contested, many Kashmir officers fell in battle and Trilochanapāla himself performed

* तुरुष्कसमेरे यावन्न यूयं कृतबुद्धयः । आलस्यविवशास्तावत्तिष्ठतास्मिन्निरेस्तटे ॥

हम्मीरेण तदा सैन्यं जिज्ञासार्थं विसर्जितम् । तौषीपारे ततस्तीर्त्वा मितप्रायैर्वधीद्वलैः ॥

ततस्तेनाहितोत्सेकमपि शाहिः पुनः पुनः । जगादाहवतत्वज्ञः पूर्वा तामेव संविदम् ॥

सर्वाभिसारेणागच्छच्छलाहवविशारदः । प्रातस्ततः स्वयं कोपात्तुरुष्कानीकनायकः ॥

deeds of valour. The cause of the Hindus was, however, destined to be lost and Mahmud was victorious. Trilochanapāla escaped into Kashmir never to return. And Kalhana utters a painful lamentation here over the final destruction of the Shahi kingdom of Kabul which we have already quoted in our first volume. If we reconcile this account with the statement of Al-Beruni that Trilochanapāla ruled till 1021 and Bhima ruled for five years after him, we have either to postpone this battle to 1021 A. D. or to believe that Trilochanapāla lived and ruled till 1021 some other insignificant portion of the hilly submontane part of the Panjab or went to Kanauj and there again fought with Mahmud.

Lastly, it would be interesting to note that the Jhelum Gazetteer identifies Ninduna with Nandana a hill fort in the Salt Range where there are some remains of ancient buildings belonging to Kashmir rule. At page 62 it states that the district was once in the possession of Kashmir and then went under the Shahis of Kabul, "Ānandapāla and Jaipal described by Mahomedan historians as kings of Lahore being really Shahi kings of Kabul". But when the Gazetteer quotes Firishta as placing the capture of Nandana in 1008, it may be noted that this is very probably a mistake, the year 400 being a misprint for 404 H. The conversion of the Rajputs of the Salt Range dates according to the Gazetteer from the days of Shihabuddin Ghori. "Though it may be that Rajputs and Jats and others were forcibly converted by Mahmud, yet they must have returned to Hinduism as soon as his back was turned." But we have to remember that this district remained in the possession of Mahmud and his successors at Ghazni ever since this conquest. The Mahomedan Rajputs of the Salt Range, the Janjuas, are believed to be the most ancient inhabitants of the Panjab being descended from Anu the fifth son of Yayāti and it is even thought that Jaipal of Lahore was himself a Janjua (Jhelum Gazetteer).

Utbi relates that a stone was brought out of the temple the writing on which declared that the building was forty thousand years old. "What a folly" the Sultan observed "when the learned of the world have agreed that the world is itself not more than seven thousand years old!!!" To us in

the twentieth century, both the statement on the stone and its criticism appear equally absurd. Probably this was a very ancient inscription dating from the time of Aśoka and the people in the neighbourhood not knowing its exact date assigned it a fabulous age. Nandana in the Salt Range is undoubtedly an ancient place as its remains indicate.

NOTE 1—THE FORT OF NANDANA.

The Jhelum Gazetteer thus describes this fort (pp. 46-47) "Fourteen miles due east of Choa Saidan Shah, between the villages of Baganwala below and Ara above, the outer Salt Range makes a remarkable dip. There is a steep rocky hill which has absolute command of the route across the range. There are extensive remains here of a temple, a fort and a large village. The temple is in ruins. It is like other temples in the range in the Kashmirian style; but the platform on which it stands is of very great age and older than the temple. In later times a mosque was added close to the temple and is also now in a ruinous state. In its court-yard is a fragment of an inscription of the same period which is now too far gone to be legible. This fort was attacked by Mahmud of Ghazni, a fact which has strangely enough hitherto escaped notice."

It may be added that Bhera which is about twelve miles distant from Nandana might have served as a third capital to Ānandapāla when Wahind was lost. The present town of Bhera is on the east bank of the Jhelum, but we know* that the old town was on the west bank where mounds still show the ancient site and where ancient coins are still found. Bhera even now is, like Poona, a centre of learning, trade and art and the elite of the Panjab lawyers, engineers &c. come from Bhera. They are usually Kshatriyas by caste who have taken to civil professions. Bhera was also a centre of learned Brahmins as also of skilled artizans in wood, metal and cotton. In short Bhera exhibits all the marks of being a capital city, and lying as it does, midway between Lahore and Wahind may have served as a third capital to the Shahi kings.

* The Imperial Gazetteer under Bhera states that the old town was on the west bank of the Jhelum and was plundered by Mahmud as also later by an army of Janghiz. The new town was founded in 1549 A.D. round a mosque which still exists and is now a terminal Railway Station.

NOTE 2—THE SHAHI KINGS WITH REVISED DATES AND THEIR COINS.

We gave the probable dates of Shahi kings in Vol. I. (p. 201) and Vol. II (p. 157) estimated on the usual average of 20 years per reign, going back from 1021 A. D. given by Al-Beruni as the last date of Trilochanapāla's reign, as given here in the margin. It is necessary to revise

<p>Jaipāl 960-980 Ānandapāla 980-1000 Trilochanapāla 1000-1021,</p>	<p>these dates from the detailed information available now in the writings of Utbi and other choriniders. It is certain that Jaipāl ruled till 1001 A. D. He may be taken to have ruled from 960 i. e. for forty years. We know</p>
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that he burnt himself on a pyre both on account of his dishonour as of extreme old age. Wahind was taken possession of by Mahmud; and Ānandapāla must have resided at Bhera the next city in the kingdom which was on the trade route from Wahind viz. Hazro and the Margalla pass and caravans took the fruit of Kabul to Peshawar and Lahore and Multan via Bhera and took back Indian goods, cotton &c., to Kabul. Ānandapāla was killed in the battle of Nardin in 1009 or 1010 A. D. and Trilochanapāla made his submission and accepted terms and ruled without molestation till 1014 A. D. In that year Mahmud again invaded India and was confronted by Trilochanapāla in the Margalla pass. He was defeated and he escaped into Kashmir. His son Nidar Bhim defended Nandana fort and the access to Bhera. He too fled and retired into Kashmir. Bhera was taken by Mahmud and plundered. Trilochanapāla ruled in some hilly part of the Panjab near Kashmir till 1021. On he was immediately pursued in 1014 and was defeated in the battle of the Tausī fought in that year or in 1021. He then again escaped into Kashmir and thence to Kanauj. As stated in a subsequent chapter we, however, do not believe that Trilochanapāla went to Kanauj, his mention there by later historians being a misreading for Rājyapāla. He died as stated by Al-Beruni in 1021 probably in the battle on the Tausī and

<p>Jaipāl 960-1001. Ānandapāla 1001-1009. Trilochanapāla 1009-1021. Bhimapāla last king of the Shahis 1021-1026.</p>	<p>Bhima died five years later. Perhaps he went to Kanauj and died in the battle of the Rabīb described in a subsequent chapter. The amended dates with the name of Bhīma in addition would be as given in the margin. One prince of the family is spoken of as taking refuge with Bhoja of Malwa (Sachau).</p>
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That these kings ruled from Kabul to Lahore is conceded by almost all historians. Sachau the translator of Al-Beruni writes in his preface to the latter's India "When Al-Beruni wrote, the Pāla dynasty which ruled Kabulistan and the Panjab had disappeared from the theatre of history and their dominions were in the firm grasp of Mahmud and his slave officers". This is incontestably proved by the fact that coins of these kings are found all over the Panjab. Thus in the Gazetteer of the Ludhiana

District we read that coins of Sāmantadeva who was king of Kabul and the Panjab are found in the mound of the dilapidated town of Sunet; no coins of Delhi kings or of Mahomedan kings are found, though coins of ancient kings, Kushan and others, are also found which shows that Sunet was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni".

Of the Shahi kings, Sāmanta was a great king whose accession is placed by Thomas in 935 (but this is not certain, Elliot II p. 425) and he appears to have conquered the Panjab as his coins are plentifully found there. Coins of Bhīma are also found though rarely in the Panjab, but they are plentifully found in Kabulistan. We have seen that he founded Bhimanagar below Kot Kangra. He was grandfather of Diddā the notorious queen oppressor of Kashmir. No coins of Jaipal have been, strangely enough, yet found; but coins of Ānandapāla are found in plenty in the Panjab and even in the northern parts of the Gangetic Duab (ditto). No coins have been found of Trilochanapāla or Bhīmapāla who probably did not rule over any part of the Panjab.

These rulers appear to have been Śaivites from their coins which contain a figure of Nandi (Śiva's bull) but Bhīma I seems to have been a Vaishṇava as he is said in the Taranginī to have built a temple of Keshava in Kashmir as already noticed in Vol. I (p. 194). Vaishṇavism appears to have been prevalent at this time in the Panjab as also in Kabulistan.

Elliot mentions that the last king Bhīma wrote a letter to Chandrarai (of Bundelkhand) advising him not to fight with Mahmud; and quotes Utbi as his authority (p. 427) extract from whose work is given at page 48 (Elliot II). As already stated, different copies of the Yamini read differently at certain places especially in giving names. The translation which we have used of the Yamini does not contain this name; and we have taken the advice given to Chandrarai to retire as coming from Rājya-pāla of Kanauj which is more probable as Bhīma could not have come so far south. But if he did, as his father Trilochanapāla is also represented to have done, he must have then been an ally of Mahmud whose subordinate he had become. The mention of his uncle being converted to Mahomedanism which we have in one copy also, seems to refer to one Sevakapāla (nabira nuptra-Jaipal i. e. a daughter's son of Jaipal) who had accepted Islam and who had been appointed by Mahmud governor of Peshawar. Subsequently he revolted and Mahmud attacked him and he was eventually killed.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EXPEDITION TO THANESAR.

We may pause here a little and see how the small kingdom of Ghazni had become an extensive empire by this time. It is sometimes urged that Mahmud merely undertook plundering expeditions without the object of annexing territories and solidifying a powerful state. This appears to be wrong from what we have seen of the expansion of Mahmud's kingdom upto this time. He achieved a conscious expansion of his territory and solidified his state by forcible conversion. In this he was actuated by religious zeal as well as by a correct appreciation of the essentials of a strong state. He first secured Khorasan and other provinces immediately to the west of his kingdom over which even in the days of Samani supremacy Sabuktigin had ruled. He next turned his attention to the east. The provinces of Jalalabad and Kabul (Lamghanat) were already annexed and forcibly converted to Mahomedanism. Mahmud first secured the Bannu district of the present N. W. Frontier province which was an ancient tract of the Hindus and was clearly in possession of the Shahis of Kabul. There are extensive mounds near Bannu which show that this district said to be settled first by Bharata, brother of Rāma (vide Rāmāyaṇa Uttarakāṇḍa), was in the possession of the Kabul Shahis "In these mounds coins are found plentifully not only of Aziḡ and Vāsudeva of Indo-Bactrian period but also of the last Brahmin kingly line of Kabul"; but they contain no coins of any Mahomedan kings showing that the city was destroyed by Mahmud. The old road to Hindustan from Ghazni was via modern Bannu and the Kurrum and it fell into disuse when the Khyber pass was opened (Bannu Gazetteer). This district was, it seems, seized by Mahmud first and the people forcibly converted in order to enable him to pass over to India easily. Mahmud annexed the Peshawar District next, capturing Wahind after the signal defeat of Jaipal in the plain of Peshawar. Wahind was the capital of the Kabul kingdom and was also on the then second route to India, being a little above the

junction of the Kabul river with the Indus. The basins of the two rivers Kramu and Kubhā (Kurrum and Kabul) well-known even in the R̥igveda and situate in the first home of the Vedic Aryans, were thus in the hands of Mahmud and were now Mahomedan lands. Mahmud hereafter extended his kingdom westward by reducing the more distant provinces of the Samani empire and also eastward by first acquiring Multan which was already a Mahomedan state as also by annexing the kingdom of Bhatia which, as shown before, lay to the southwest of Multan and between the Indus and the Jhelum. Finally he annexed the Panjab the remaining province of the Kabul Shahis. He did not, for reasons which we will explain later on, apply to this province the process of forcible conversion though probably even here he appears to have converted many people. Thus the extension of the empire upto this point was by the gradual absorption of *neighbouring* provinces just in the same manner as the British empire gradually extended from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras by the gradual absorption of *neighbouring* provinces. We see Bengal first acquired by the British, then Bihar, then the U. P. and finally the Panjab by defeating the Sikhs. The process was here as with Mahmud the same, viz. first subjection with retention of previous powers as payers of tribute and then total absorption. Having thus extended his rule over the Panjab, Mahmud next turned his attention to the conquest and the plundering of the provinces further east. And the first kingdom which naturally he would attack was the kingdom of Thanesar which was immediately to the south-east of the Panjab.

That there was a kingdom at Thanesar is probable, as Alberuni mentions Thanesar in his geographical chapter. (Strangely enough he mentions Thanesar once between the Jumna and the Ganges and again in the place where it should properly come; probably the first name has to be corrected). There was also a famous deity at Thanesar and there is one even now. Mahomedan later writers name it Jagsom, a word which cannot be reduced to its Sanskrit equivalent. Here was the ancient kingdom of Pratāpavardhana, father of Harsha the last Buddhist emperor of Northern India. Mahmud is said to have undertaken this expedition against Thanesar to take possession

of some celebrated elephants which Utbi calls by the name of Silmān, while later writers call them Moslem, as they bent down, in prayer as it were, like Mahomedans, in jenuflexion. Probably all the motives for Mahmud's expeditions were present viz: desire of obtaining plunder, of breaking a famous idol and of subjugating an adjacent kingdom. Utbi describes this expedition as follows (p. 394-5): "Accordingly the Sultan marched towards Thanesar with an army educated in the chamber of the sacred war and passed a desert so dreadful that a bird would not fly over its atmosphere. But providence granted aid and they came to that place. Before them they found a running stream full of water, lofty mountains and ground full of impracticable stones. The enemy retired into the mountains. The Sultan crossed the river by two fords and attacked the enemy and (by evening) scattered them among the rocks. And as for the stamping elephants which constituted their confidence they left them on the spot. The Sultan's elephants went after them and brought them to the Sultan's halting place. The army shed so much blood that the water of the river became undrinkable."

The above account is simple and indicates that there was a stubborn fight with some chief not mentioned and that the elephants for which Mahmud principally came were secured. There is no mention of an idol being broken, but Utbi in the beginning mentions idol-breaking as one of the objects of Mahmud. The identification of Thanesar becomes doubtful owing to the difficulty of arriving at a stream after marching through a desert which does not fit in with the actual position of Thanesar (Elliot Vol. II 452). But we must remember that Utbi does not write from personal knowledge and is always hyperbolic in his descriptions. There is the river Sarasvatī near Thanesar and the Karnal District Gazetteer, in describing its physical aspects, states that there are hilly tracts to the north of Thanesar from which torrential rivers come such as the Sarasvatī (p. 1). The battle may not have been fought in the immediate vicinity of Thanesar but at some distance. The battle is rightly placed in 1014 A. D., as the Gazetteer also does, a year after the annexation of the Panjab and Mahmud may have come upon Thanesar suddenly through the desert via

Multan. The whole of the Panjab was now under him and he could take any route he liked. He had visited Multan ere this a second time and punished the Mahomedans there for again relapsing into the Karmatian heresy.

The account given by Firishta of this expedition is, we think, wholly imaginary. Firishta places this event in 402 H. (1011 A. D.) and relates that Ānandapāla on learning Mahmud's intention to attack Thanesar and desecrate the famous idol there named Jagsom, although he was subordinate to Mahmud, submitted a respectful protest. But Mahmud refused saying that the followers of the religion of Mahomet exerted themselves in the subversion of idolatry to obtain reward in heaven. The Raja of Delhi thereupon called upon the Hindus of the whole of India to come together to defend the idol of Thanesar. But Mahmud attacked Thanesar before the Hindus could assemble. After capturing Thanesar, Mahmud wished to march on Delhi; his nobles told him that he could not safely do it till he had conquered and annexed the Panjab behind him. All this is pure imagination as Delhi was not then in such a leading position as to appeal to the Hindus of the whole of India. It was, if it had come into existence, an insignificant subordinate kingdom. The expedition again according to Utbi took place after the reduction of the Panjab to the position of an annexed province at the battle of Nazin (Nandana) and when Ānandapāla was already dead. Firishta by ante-dating this event has given this imaginary glowing account. Even Elliot rightly says here, though he restricts his remark to Delhi only, "There is nothing in the Yamini to warrant the reference to Delhi; the existence of which is nowhere alluded to by contemporary writers." (Al-Beruni, as already stated, does not even mention Delhi in his geographical chapter). "The frequent mention by Firishta of Delhi and its Raja in connection with the Ghazni kings does not rest on solid foundation." (p. 454). The fact is that writers coming four or five centuries later cannot ~~divest~~ divest themselves of their surroundings and must bring in Delhi which was so famous in their days.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SACK OF MATHURA.

The last expedition convinced Mahmud that it was possible to extend his raids into Mid-India where the city of Mathura famed for its temples and their riches was situate. He had also a cause of quarrel with the Pratihāra Emperor of Northern India, Rājyapāla, as he had twice assisted the kings of the Panjab in their fights with him. But he took time before he undertook this distant expedition and made due preparations. He wished to secure his rear and there were troubles in his western provinces. Utbi has related them in his history with fullness. He mentions also a change of viziers at Ghazni. The government at Ghazni was an ordered one and Mahmud exercised strict control over the governors of provinces. Khorasan was the centre of learning in those days and learned men from there were appointed to high offices. The language of the learned was Persian, but the new vizier who was himself a poet and a man of learning ordered all documents to be drawn up in Arabic. Ilek Khan king of Turks died about this time and he was succeeded by his brother. While Mahmud was attacking and subduing idolators in Hindustan, the idolators of Chin and Mongolia came down upon the Mahomedan Turks of Kashgar with a force of one hundred thousand men. This was a precursor of those dreadful inroads of the Moguls under Chankhan which devastated Asia two centuries later. Togankhan, brother of Ilek Khan, sent for succour from all Mahomedan states to oppose this formidable invasion and probably Mahmud sent a contingent. A fierce battle was fought and the idolators of Chin like the idolators of Hind were defeated and almost annihilated. Mahmud continued his previous friendly relations with the Turks under Togankhan and cemented them further by marrying a daughter of Ilek Khan to his son Masa'ud, whom he appointed governor of Balkh.

Utbi also describes how Mahmud by his zeal for religion had become renowned and "by his intelligence had even come to be considered a guide in expounding the law" and "watched

that the ordained statutes should be kept pure from the dust of innovation". The Sultan commissioned spies to discover heretics and their places of meetings. They were brought from different places and cities to the court and impaled on trees or stoned. And the venerable Abu Bakar, a religious nobleman, coincided in opinion with the Sultan. Utbi further relates how a certain Tahirti who claimed to be a Sayyad and an emissary from the king and Khalifa of Egypt with letters and robes was proceeding to Ghazni but was stopped by order of Mahmud at Herat and conveyed back to Nishapur, capital of Khorasan and there tried for heresy and finally executed with the consent of Kadir Billah the Khalifa of Baghdad. Mahmud sternly suppressed heresy as well as the schism of Khilafat throughout his extensive dominions and thus acquired fame throughout the Mahomedan world (p. 444). It is no wonder that zealous soldiers collected at Ghazni to take part in his religious wars against infidels which by the destruction of idols and the acquisition of plunder secured advantage in the next as well as in this world.

Having conquered Khwarism which had meantime rebelled and having annexed that land to his other kingdoms, "the Sultan thought he would undertake a third sacred conquest and he arrived at Bost and examined the accounts of collectors. The conquests of Hindu territories so as to become the territory of Islam were overflowing and "the veil of infidelity remained nowhere except in Kashmir". "Nearly twenty thousand men had come from the plains of Mawarannahar (beyond the Oxus) through zeal for Islam. They excited the purpose of the Sultan and he desired to proceed with those troops to Kanauj. This was a country quite unknown to foreign kingdoms."

Utbi thus describes the march to Kanauj and the fight near Mathura. "From the rivers Jihun (Sind) and Jhelum and Chand he went straight to Tibet. And wherever he came, envoys came to meet him, offering submission and allegiance. And when he arrived near Kashmir, Habali son of Shasin, general of the army of Kashmir, joined his service. As he was told that there was no room for any one who had not accepted Islam, he took his position with robbers (skirmishers) and went before the troops. The army passed valley after valley and every

night before the crowing of the cock, the sound of fife and drum arose (vide description of the march of Harsha by Bāṇa Vol. I p. 143). On the 29th of Rajab in 409 H. (1018) they left the Jumna behind and came to the castle of Barm (Baran) in the country of Harun; the king was the greatest of the sovereigns of India but when he saw the army sea, he came down with about 10,000 men and accepted Islam. From hence they came to the fortress of Kaljand who had immense riches, strong cavalry and grand army. He arranged his army, his cavalry and his elephants and waited for the approach of the Sultan in a wood into whose intricacies a ray of the sun could not penetrate and from whose leaves and branches a needle would not reach the ground. The Sultan commanded his advanced guard to force themselves into the midst of the forest. They found a road from the upper castle and when the green sea struck out "Allah Akbar" they stood firm for a time and made charges from their position. At length it became known that all events are in the grasp of destiny and the well-formed scimitar, though its force may be extreme and its edge sharp, is but a vassal to the decree of fate, if it penetrate to the Moslem blood. The despicable ones threw themselves into the river in order that the current might be the means of their preservation, but some came to the sword and some were drowned. Five thousand perished and Kaljand drew his dagger, killed his wife and ripping himself up went to hell. Of their wealth 185 heads of elephants and other plunder came to the Sultan. In the city there was a place of worship of the Indian people, and when he came to that place he saw a city of wonderful fabric and conception, so that one might say this is a building of paradise".

4. From this poetical but concise account of the secretary of Mahmud who was probably in Ghazni, we can determine the course of the expedition by the help of other information. Mahmud marched with an army of about one lakh of men of whom 20,000 were irregular amateur Turkish soldiers from beyond the Oxus. But he kept strict discipline on the march, as a great commander does, rising in the early morning and marching throughout the day. For he had to surprize the enemy by the celerity of his movement. He marched along the foot of the Himalayas in order probably to avoid crossing big rivers lower

down. And on the way, every castle must have submitted to, or been conquered by, such a formidable force. He did not allow Hindus, in the name of submission, to join his army and create a discordant treacherous element and he asked the Kashmir contingent to march ahead. (It is difficult to imagine that Kashmir could have really sent one and we will speak about this later on). Having crossed the Jumna, on the 20th of Rajjab or in December 1018 he marched southwards without crossing the Ganges, through Āntarbed, as Kanauj was on the west bank of the river and as he did not wish to place that river before him as an obstacle in attacking Kanauj. Naturally he was opposed here and there by feudatory Rajput chiefs, but generally they submitted as the king of Baran did. Baran is undoubtedly the modern Bulandshahar; it is an ancient town sometimes identified with the Vāraṇāvata of the Mahābhārata and ancient coins of the second century B. C. of Śaka satraps and Kushans have been found there as also a copper-plate belonging to the Gupta period. There was a feudatory king probably belonging to the Dor Rajput clan and his name was Haradatta (which was read as Harun in Persian). A copper-plate belonging to this line of kings dated 1096 A. D. has been found here, giving the genealogy of this line and in it Haradatta is the 7th king and he submitted to Mahmud (Bulandshahar Gazetteer). Probably his conversion with ten thousand of his followers is an hyperbole of Utbi. Marching southwards, Mahmud was opposed near Mathura by one Kaljand with a considerable force and this Kulachandra fearlessly and stubbornly fought with the vast army of Mahmud. He was most probably a general of, and a feudatory chieftain under, the Pratihāra emperor Rājyapāla of Kanauj.

Mathura the most sacred city of the Hindus, especially the Vaishnavas, was in the heart of the empire of Kanauj and the Pratihāra emperors were often devotees of Vishnu. Mathura had been founded by Śatrughna, a brother of Rāma and it was the birth-place of Śrīkrishṇa. Mathura was sacred to the Buddhists also and during the Hindu period its importance still more increased. The superb temples built there and the immense treasures accumulated therein could not be given up to the idol-breaker and plunderer without a struggle and Rājyapāla

though unwilling to sacrifice himself must have sent a strong force to oppose Mahmud. The battle is said to have been fought in a wood; and the place has been identified with the village of Mahāban on the maps. And there must have been then a great forest surrounding the place; for this is the place where Nanda lived and reared Śrīkrishṇa in a forest, which long remained uncut down to recent times. The place is about six miles from Mathura and Shahajahan is recorded to have killed tigers in the jungle (Mathura Gazetteer). There is a small hill and a fort there and Kulachandra may even have been the hereditary protector of this Mahaban which is also a sacred place. He fought stubbornly with his infantry, cavalry and elephants and Utbi as usual attributes the success of Mahmud to the dictates of fate. Mahmud had no doubt come with an irresistible force, but it may be related to the credit of the Hindus that they did not deliver their sacred city to plunder and devastation without making a frantic effort to save it. Kulachandra in the usual Rajput fashion when unable to avert his fate killed his wife first and himself thereafter. The almost superhuman grandeur of the city of Mathura and the immense booty which Mahmud undoubtedly got in its sack are thus described by Utbi.

“They had built one thousand castles which they had made idol-temples and in the midst of the city they had built a temple higher than all, to delineate the beauty and decoration of which the pens of all writers and the pencils of all painters would be powerless. In the memoir which the Sultan wrote of this journey he thus declares that if any one should undertake to build a fabric like that, he would expend thereon one hundred thousand packets of a thousand dinars and would not complete it in two hundred years with the assistance of the most ingenious masters. And among the mass of idols there were five idols made of pure gold of the height of five cubits; and one had a jacinth arranged on it which the Sultan would have bought in the bazar gladly for fifty thousand dinars; and another had a sapphire of azure water of one solid piece weighing four hundred *miskāls*. From the feet of that idol they got 400, *miskāls* weight of gold. Of silver the idols were so many that they who estimated their weights took a long time in

weighing them. They devastated all that city and the Sultan passed therefrom towards Kanauj, leaving the greater part of his army there."

Such is the account, painful to a Hindu, of the sack of Mathura by Mahmud in the declining days of the Imperial Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. Wealth always has passed from the weak to the strong and one is reminded here of the sack of Rome by Alaric in the declining days of the Roman Empire so graphically described by Gibbon "Eleven hundred and sixty years after the foundation of the Imperial city which had subdued and civilized a considerable part of mankind, it was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia. The recently converted Goth spared the Vatican and many Christians found asylum there; but a cruel slaughter was made of the Romans; gold and jewels were removed and the palaces of Rome were stripped of their splendid furniture. Many a statue was melted for its precious material and many a vase was shivered into fragments by the stroke of a battle-axe. It is not easy to compute the multitude who from a honourable position and prosperous fortune were suddenly reduced to the miserable position of captives. Fugitives from Rome filled the provinces and this awful catastrophe of Rome filled the astonished empire with grief and terror."

CHAPTER XIII

THE FALL OF KANAUJ.

Grief and terror must have seized the Emperor of Northern India and Râjyapâla, like Honorarius the emperor of Rome, fled and was neither in Mathura nor in Kanauj but was already in Bari beyond the Ganges, a place not yet identified. Mahmud must have heard all this through his informers. He, however, took care to take an augury on the Koran and pursued Râjyapâla beyond the Ganges with a small force that he may be tempted to come to a fight. Utbi rightly describes him as the chief of the kings of India and says that all kings bent their necks to him and acknowledged his power and dignity. The name of this king, we now know, was Râjyapâla a word which might be read in Persian as Raja Jaipal or Haipal and Elliot in the absence of the epigraphic evidence we now possess, it is no wonder, identified him with Jaipal, king of Lahore who was already dead; and who perhaps, he thought, was acknowledged king even in Mid-India. Later Mahomedan historians call him by various other names which are all absurd guesses and some have called him Kunvarpâla i. e. heir apparent of Jaipal. On the 8th of Shaban (January 1019, Elliot II p. 457) "Mahmud reached Kanauj where a mountain rose before him and his army passed the Ganges to pursue the fugitive emperor. As the Sultan did not probably come at him, he (returned and) reduced the seven fortresses of Kanauj placed on the margin of the water of the Ganges" (Utbi p. 457). "Nearly 10,000 temples were built in these castles and the lying idolators declared that the fabrics were two or three hundred thousand years old". Kanauj is an ancient town supposed to be ruled by the Vedic king Kuśika father of Viśvâmitra and its sacredness was as great as that of Mathura. It was a flourishing city at this time and its grandeur had begun in the days of Harsha four hundred years before. It was already a vast city in his days as recorded by Hiuen Tsang whose description of it we have quoted in Vol. I (p. 28). The greater number of the people had left the place and the

Sultan took the forts in one day and plundered them. Kanauj appears, however, to have been not as grand as Mathura. The glowing description given by Mahmud is sometimes wrongly transferred to Kanauj but from Utbi it is clear that it belongs in reality to Mathura. Mahmud is not clearly stated to have destroyed the temples here as at Mathura.

“The Sultan thence turned to Manj a fortified place of the Brahmins” and they for a time resisted him but finding resistance unavailable “they threw themselves down from the castle while some killed themselves with darts and the edge of swords”. What place this was has again not been ascertained. It must have been a place lower down on the Ganges and said to be in the present Etawa District. From hence the Sultan came to the fortress of ‘Aster’ held by Jandbal the Violent. “This fortress was situated in the midst of a forest upon an eminence and deep moats were drawn around it”. This place is identified with Asni now a village on the western bank of the Ganges in the Fatehpur district where there is even now a strong fort on the Ganges. Its chief was probably subordinate to Kanauj and likely to give trouble. Having subdued this chief, Mahmud directed his course towards Chandrarâi who was the owner of a very strong fortress.” This was of course the Chandel king, the owner of the almost impregnable fort of Kalanjar, who was an independent king, as even Utbi relates that “he had never owned submission to any one and knew nothing but boasting and pride”. (p. 450.)

Utbi mentions here a quarrel between Jandbal the Violent (perhaps a chief belonging to the ancient Gautama clan which even now inhabits the Fatehpur District—Fatehpur Gazetteer—or a Sengâr chief whose descendants are now on the south of the Jumna and known as the Maharajas of Jagmanpur in the Jalaun District) and Chandrarai, which cannot be well understood and in the midst of this quarrel Mahmud came upon Chandrarai who “depending upon the repelling power of his forts and his numerous army determined to oppose the Sultan. But Haibal advised him not to fight and he retired with his army and treasures into a mountain.” Utbi attributes this advice of Haibal to the treacherous motive of taking possession of the fort (probably Kalpi) of Chandrarai himself when the Sultan

had defeated him ; but " the Sultan without stopping to reduce the fort pursued Chandrarai into his place of retirement for three successive days and killed many men and seized their arms and accoutrements. They took some elephants by force and others came willingly whom they gave the name of Khudādād or God-given. They obtained from the treasure of Chandrarai three thousand packets of gold, silver and jewels and sapphires and so great an abundance of slaves that the price of each did not exceed ten dirhams. The Sultan returned to Ghazni and the renown of his prosperity extended from the east to the west ".

This certainly was the most extended, the most fruitful and the most energetic expedition undertaken by Mahmud in which he came as far south as modern Cawnpore and Kalpi. Later Mahomedan historians and Firishta especially have made many incongruous statements and additions in consequence of their ignorance of the real history of the period and even of the geography of Antarbed. And European historians have been at pains to explain the movements of Mahmud by relying chiefly on Firishta. But as Elliot has pointed out all this arose from following Firishta too implicitly without referring to more original and authentic sources (p. 408). That principal source is the Yamini of Utbi and we have given the above account from it. The real probable course of Mahmud after entering the Antarbed appears to be this:--he moved via Meerut and Baran south as far as Mahâban, then crossed the Jumna and plundered Mathura. He then repassed the Jumna, arrived at Kanauj, crossed the Ganges to frighten Râjyapâla and returning took Kanauj. Going south through Antarbed he defeated a powerful chief and crossing the Jumna again at Kalpi pursued Chandrarai into the mountains but not as far as Kalanjar. He recrossed the Jumna at Kalpi and returned as he had come through the Antarbed. The same course is described in the history of Nizamuddin Ahmad, an extract from which is given by Elliot (Vol. II p. 460-1) in which Nizamuddin makes only a few alterations in what Utbi has stated.

The real difficulty is in determining the names and actions of Hindu chiefs and we have already stated on the basis of epigraphic evidence now available which was not before Elliot that the king of Kanauj was the Pratihâra emperor Râjyapâla

and the Chandrarai was the Chandel king Ganda both of whom had assisted Ānandapāla in his fight with Mahmud. Mahmud would certainly have not returned without giving a lesson to both. The advice which Haibal (Rājyapāla) gave to Chandrarai appears to us to be a friendly advice and both escaped without being reduced to subjection. This must have troubled Mahmud and this is, in our view, the reason why he returned again next year as described by Utbi, Nizamuddin Ahmad and even Firishta.

The year is not given by Utbi and Nizamuddin gives 400 H while Firishta gives it as 412 which Elliot considers most probable. Nizamuddin states that when Mahmud heard that Raja Ganda had killed the Raja of Kanauj for having recognised and submitted to the Sultan, he resolved to invade his territory. But this event must have happened later and Nizamuddin is wrong in assigning this cause for this expedition. For then there was no reason for attacking Kanauj and its chief Haibal and defeating him at the battle of the Rahib as Utbi and Nizamuddin both describe. Further we are not yet told by Utbi that Jaipal (Rājyapāl) had submitted to the Sultan. He had fled to Bari and had not come to any fight with Mahmud. To completely subjugate him the next expedition was undertaken by Mahmud. And it appears that like Shivaji or any astute general, Mahmud did not inform even his army that he was proceeding against Rājyapāla. Utbi says that Mahmud set out with the avowed intention of punishing the Afghan robbers who from their mountain fastnesses troubled caravans. Having done this Mahmud suddenly turned towards Hindustan "passed the desert and left behind fords and passages of rivers, ravaged the country as he passed and arrived at the river Rahib (not identified) whose whirlpools could carry away horsemen. Here in a fitting place Jaipal (Rājyapāla) had halted and would not permit any one to pass the water. The Sultan ordered hides to be inflated and eight men at night threw themselves into water. And Rājyapāla sent five elephants and a body of men to oppose them but they held on and pierced those elephants through and through with arrows and bore the men to the ground. And the Sultan encouraged every one to swim saying "we ought to

endure the toil of a day for the rest of a whole life". And men holding horses' manes swam over. We are reminded here of a similar feat accomplished by Govind III, when he attacked Kanauj itself, described in Volume II (p. 166). And they killed many men and brought seventy elephants to the Sultan's yoke by compulsion. The infidels fled leaving their treasures as booty. The Sultan had taken augury from the Koran and the promise was fulfilled and "the Sultan was raised on the effectual settlement of the seat of justice and felt assured of extended prosperity and empire". Here ends Utbi's account of this expedition and even here Utbi does not mention that Rājyapāla submitted and even that Mahmud returned to Ghazni. It, however, seems that Mahmud did not retire without obtaining a formal submission from Rājyapāla who, as we shall have to state later on, must have promised to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan. Thus fell the empire of Kanauj, though the Pratihāra line of its kings for a time continued to rule, as stated elsewhere, till it was supplanted by the Gāhadavālas under Chandra. Other historians bring in here Puru Jaipal. Nizamuddin mentions him and states that he opposed the crossing of the Jumna by Mahmud. Firishta mentions him as the grandson of Jaipal, Raja of the Panjab. Jumna is of course wrongly substituted for the Rahib which may have been the Ghaggar or some other river in Oudh in which province Bari is placed by Al-Beruni. We know that Oudh was directly under Kanauj and it may be possible, as Elliot has surmised, that Trilochanapāla after his defeat on the confines of Kashmir at the battle of the Tausi may have taken refuge with Rājyapāla king of Kanauj. Al-Beruni states that Trilochanapāla died in 1021 A. D. (412 H.) and this battle on the Rahib may have been fought in that year and Trilochanapāla must have fought bravely in this battle and ended his life on the battle-field on the east bank of the Rahib.

CHAPTER XIV.

EXPEDITION AGAINST KALANJAR.

From here onwards we lose the guidance of the account written by Utbi, a contemporary and secretary of Mahmud and have to rely on later historians or Bakharkars who wrote two or three hundred years later. Why Utbi finishes his account here is inexplicable. There is not the smallest doubt that he lived upto the year 420 H and later for he mentions that in that year Kadhi Abdulla Said went on pilgrimage to Mecca and he also relates the controversies which raged between him and Abu Baker on his return. The translator of Utbi remarks in a foot-note here that if this year be correct Utbi must be taken to have lived longer than he is supposed to do (p. 474). Again Utbi states that Mahmud passed a long life and the translator again remarks in a foot-note that this expression would imply that Utbi lived during a greater part of Mahmud's life than is usually supposed (p. 483). It is, therefore, a puzzle why Utbi does not carry on his narrative down to the year 420 H or 1029 A. D. Probably he finishes his account with the climax attained at this time (1020 A. D.) by Mahmud's good fortune. His empire at this moment was so extensive that it reached on the north-west to the Caspian sea, including as it did Khwarism and even Georgia, while on the south-east, it touched the Sarsuti including the Panjab and Thanesar. He had further humbled and subjected to a yearly tribute the emperor of Northern India, at the battle on the Rahib and perhaps he had defeated and entered into friendly relations with the king of the Turks beyond the Oxūs. He had finally obtained incalculable wealth from the raid on Mathura and Kanauj and human nature impelled him to expend it on a magnificent mosque at Ghazni, being incited thereto, perhaps, by the sight of the magnificent temple at Mathura " which the best architects " he said " could not have built in two hundred years. " He, therefore, at this time designed and reared a splendid mosque at Ghazni, the old mosque there being built for a smaller number of people and at a time when Ghazni had but a small territory. Utbi describes

the building of the grand Juma Masjid of Ghazni on which "slaves from Hind and Khorasan worked day and night and superintendents richly paid supervised from morning to evening. Trees were brought from Hind and Sind and used on the said works; mighty stones of marble, square and hexagonal, were brought from distant places. And they drew out the domed porticoes so perfectly spherical that the arch of the sky was but a myth in comparison." They spared not the purest gold in their paintings and gilding, and crushed the bodylike idols and fastened them in the doors and walls. The Sultan commanded a closet to be constructed for his own use. "He commanded the fabric to be square with expanding porches and interlacing curvatures." The pavement was made of white marble and on the sides of every court they delineated golden paintings shaded with lapis-lazuli. "Every one who saw this fabric took the finger of wonder into his mouth and said 'Oh thou who hast beheld the mosque of Damascus and are maddened thereby and profess that no building like that is possible' come and see the mosque of Ghazni.'" "In front there was an immense nave for great festivals and congregations in which six thousand servants might fulfil their duties." "And he built near the precincts a college and supplied it with valuable books and rare volumes of theology and to these pure walls of instruction professors and Imams and students directed their course; and from the endowments of the college they received daily maintenance and necessities and a salary monthly or yearly was paid to them. And during the reign of the Sultan the extent of Ghazni exceeded all cities in spacious buildings and solid edifices. And amongst other fabrics there were a thousand walled enclosures for elephants with their grooms, the suppliers of food etc. It was God who was the promoter of all this prosperity of the land." (p. 468-469). Utbi probably finishes his narrative with a further description of the Sultan's just rule and the rule of his younger brother in Khorasan where he was appointed by Mahmud but unfortunately where he died young. It is probably at this climax that Utbi ends his account which does not seem to have an abrupt end. But we at this time are unfortunately deprived of a reliable account of the subsequent doings of this great sovereign. Elliot mentions the battle of

the Rahib as the thirteenth expedition and enumerates four more expeditions thereafter on the authority of Nizamuddin and Firishta. These do not mention their own authorities, yet it is probable that they had some reliable sources of information for their narrative, though we find that owing to distance of time and ignorance of localities they make many wrong statements. Utbi mentions state documents such as a register of expeditions and even memoirs written by Mahmud himself and it is probable that other contemporary writers such as Baihaki whose works are not available to us, supplied them with information. It is not, therefore, possible that these later writers give us imaginary stories though we must accept their accounts with caution and try to tally them with information available from Indian epigraphic evidence. Thus the statement of Nizamuddin that the Raja of Kanauj was killed by a Raja named Nanda for having submitted to the Sultan (Elliot II p. 63), a statement made by him from some contemporary Mahomedan writer, is borne out and supported by Chandella and Kachhapaghāta inscriptions. As will be related in Chandella history later on, a Chandella inscription states that Vidyādhara son of Ganda destroyed the king of Kānyakubja (E. I. I p. 222) and that in this he was assisted by Bhoja and the Kalachuri king. This combined force was led by a Kachhapaghāta king of Gwalior who was a feudatory of the Chandella king and another Kachhapaghāta chieftain of Dubhkund (in Gwalior territory) by name Arjuna is said in an inscription to have actually, when engaged in the service of king Vidyādhara, by his arrows in a great battle cut through the neck of Rājyapāla. This speaks volumes of the spirit of the Rajput kings of this time who did not like the action of Rājyapāla in submitting to a foreign king. the breaker of the idols of Mathura, and a combined army of Chandella, Paramāra, Kalachūri and Kachhapaghāta kings attacked Rājyapāla in Kanauj and killed him. Probably they returned without doing more and Trilochanapāla son of Rājyapāla succeeded him in due course at Kanauj.

Though thus the account of Rājyapāla being killed is true, it seems to us that Nizamuddin is wrong in placing this event before the expedition of Mahmud against Rai Jaipal (Rājyapāla) and the battle of the Rahib described above and in misstating

that the eight men who crossed the deep stream of the Rahib crossed the Jumna where further Puru Jaipal opposed Mahmud. Again, Nizamuddin states that the eight men advanced on Bari which is mentioned by no other writer (Elliot II p. 464). The advance and capture of Bāri must be correct as we know from Al-Beruni that Rājyapāla had made it his residence. It must have been after the battle on the Rahib that Rājyapāla must have submitted and consented to the payment of a tribute. It was after this that Rājyapāla must have been attacked by the Hindu confederacy led by the Chandella king and Mahmud on hearing of this must have thought it necessary to chastise both the Chandella and the Gwalior kings. Lastly Nizamuddin twice leads Mahmud against the Chandella king once after the capture of Bari and again in what Elliot calls the fifteenth expedition viz. that against Gwalior and Kalanjar on the authority of the same author. Utbi does not mention that Mahmud went against Chandrarai after the battle of the Rahib, for at that time Rājyapāla had not yet been killed. It seems probable that Chandrarai was only once attacked and not twice.

Mahmud led in 1022 an expedition against Kirat, Nur, Lohkot and Lahore (reckoned as fourteenth by Elliot); the first two are identified with Swat and Bajaur where Hinduism still lingered and the people were worshippers of the lion which Elliot thinks means Śākya Sinha or Buddha. But though this district was a staunch Buddhist district in the days of Hiuen Tsang yet, we think, Buddhism was dead in the tenth and eleventh centuries throughout these territories. The lion refers to the man-lion Avatāra of Vishṇu and we have shown in Volume I, that the worship of Narasinha was prevalent in the Panjab, Multan being known as Prahlādapura or the city of Prahlāda, devotee of Narasinha. Mahmud conquered this territory and converted the people to Mahomedanism. He then went to Lohkot the impregnable fortress of Kashmir and returned without effecting an entrance into that inaccessible country, after paying a visit to Lahore* which was now the capital of one of his Indian provinces. He must have learnt

* Elliot II p. 466 ; this contradicts the statement in the Lahore Gazetteer that Mahmud did not visit Lahore at all which seems incredible.

here of the events at Kanauj and determined to lead an expedition against Gwalior and Kalanjar next autumn.

In 404 H (1023 A. D.) he led this expedition and he must not have crossed the Jumna at all as he had first to chastise the king of Gwalior. This king submitted without fighting and as he was merely a feudatory of Kalanjar, Mahmud did not wait here long but proceeded against Ganda, called Nanda wrongly by Mahomedan writers. Some European writers doubt the truth of this expedition and Elliot could not explain the inclusion of Gwalior in it (Elliot II p. 467); but when we know from inscriptions that both Gwalior and Kalanjar had together attacked Rājyapāla, we may not only grant the necessity and truth of this expedition but see why Gwalior was first attacked and humbled. Nizamuddin detailing this expedition says that Mahmud again attacked Kalanjar which as we have seen is a repetition. In reality this was the first expedition against Chandrarai of Kalanjar (perhaps the second if we take into account the first invasion of Kalpi after Kanauj and Mathura were taken in 1018 A. D.). Ganda at this time retired to Kalanjar which Mahmud invested. Nizamuddin writes that "this fort was unparalleled in the whole of Hindustan for strength. Nanda presented three hundred elephants and sued for peace." "He also sent a few Hindi verses in praise of the Sultan which were shown to learned men of the country and court-poets who bestowed high praise upon them; the Sultan was pleased and sending some presents bestowed upon Nanda fifteen fortresses." It seems that Mahmud was prudent enough not to waste his power upon the reduction of such fortresses as Kalanjar and Gwalior, and contented himself with accepting their submission, and their non-interference with the king of Kanauj paying him a tribute. It is natural that Trilochanapāla who had succeeded Rājyapāla must have consented to pay a yearly tribute as covenanted by his father.

NOTE:—It seems to us that Sir Vincent Smith implicitly following Nizamuddin has given a different and probably mistaken account of these events in his article on the Chandellas in *Indian Antiquary* XXXVII (p. 142). He observes "In the course of the 12th expedition in Jan. 1019 Rājyapāla submitted and promised an indemnity of one million dirhems and 30 elephants. For this submission Rājyapāla was killed by Ganda's son in May 1019. Mahmud invaded again and an ally of Ganda whose

identity is obscured by the imperfection of the Persian alphabet but who was almost certainly Trilochanapāla son of Rājyapāla opposed Mahmud's passage of the Jumna but failed. Mahmud crossed the river and captured and sacked the town of Bari and then marched southwards to chastise Ganda in his own territory. He collected a force in accordance with the usual Hindu custom comprising 36,000 horse, 115,000 foot and 640 elephants. The Sultan felt uneasy and reconnoitred the army from an eminence. In the night Ganda fled. The Sultan carefully attacked the deserted camp lest there might be a ruse and got immense booty. The cowardice and the immense plunder again induced the Sultan to invade his territory via Gwalior in 1023 A. D. Mahmud invested Kalanjar. Ganda gave him 300 elephants and immense presents and accepted back Kalanjar and 15 forts from Mahmud. Notwithstanding the success gained so easily by Mahmud, the Chandel kingdom was not again attacked by Mahomedans until 180 years had elapsed and Ganda's successors were left free to manage their own affairs". This account is full of apparent incognuities owing to Smith's following Nizamuddin implicitly as stated above. Nizamuddin gives two expeditions against Kalanjar instead of one and places both after the defeat and death of Rājyapāla at the hands of the Chandellas. In this case the second expedition becomes an unnecessary expedition as undertaken merely for plunder and via Gwalior for no reason. Secondly, Ganda's running away at night when he had such an overwhelming force is on the face of it unbelievable. Utbi never describes such scenes; but later Mahomedan writers are tempted to imagine such encounters wherein overwhelming forces are assigned to the Hindu king and he is shown to have run away without fighting. Even Utbi has described Ganda as an independent king full of pride and courage. This is a plainly imaginary scene invented by Nizamuddin. For even on his own showing, if this expedition had been undertaken by Mahmud to punish Kalanjar for killing Rājyapāla, there was no necessity to cross the Jumna and go against Kanauj. It does not seem likely that Trilochanapāla would oppose Mahmud to whom his father had submitted. Lastly Utbi does not relate that Mahmud went against Nanda after the battle of the Rahib where the eight men crossed the turbulent river in face of opposition as stated by Nizamuddin himself. The proper explanation is that Nizamuddin is wrong in describing the march against Nanda at this time and also placing the event of the Raja of Kanauj being attacked and killed by Nanda before the battle of the Rahib. The course of event, according to our view was this. In the 12th expedition against Kanauj (1019) Rājyapāla did not submit but fled to Bari. In the 13th expedition Mahmud led an army against Rājyapāla and Bari and conquering him in the battle of the Rahib accepted his submission on condition of payment of tribute (1021 March). In May Rājyapāla was attacked and killed by Nanda assisted by Gwalior which Mahmud learnt at Lahore in 1022 March and he led an expedition in 1022 Dec, against Gwalior and Kalanjar and exacted submission from both in Jan. 1023. In this view Ganda does not appear to be craven-hearted as he is made to appear.

CHAPTER XV.

EXPEDITION TO SOMNATH.

We now come to the crowning event in the idol-breaking and plundering career of Mahmud, the expedition to Somnath. Somnath was famous then as a great Śiva shrine described in detail in the Skanda Purāṇa of the 9th century A. D. and also mentioned by Al-Beruni both as a sacred place and a resort of pirates. Mahmud certainly would think of attacking Somnath and plundering it of its fabulous riches. Unfortunately we have no mention of this expedition, the highest achievement of Mahmud, in the work of Utbi though he lived up to 420 H (1029 A. D.) as stated before, i. e. four years after this event. Nor does Rashīduddin who wrote more than two centuries later mention the Somnath expedition, or Hamidulla Mustafi who followed him twenty years later (E. II p. 430-431). The first description is found in Ibn Asir and later writers have only embellished his account (ditto p. 468). And there is no mention whatever of this great calamity which overtook Gujarat in the palmy days of the Solankhi rulers whose account is fully given by many Gujarat Jain and Hindu chroniclers from the time of the founder Mûlarāja who came to the throne of Anhilwad, as will be shown later on, in 961, sixteen years before Sabuktigin. We do not also find the slightest hint about this calamity in any inscription found up to this time. Under these circumstances one is disposed to doubt whether this expedition was actually undertaken by Mahmud in distant Gujarat where he must have arrived after traversing a wide desert. Yet considering that Hindu writers would be loth to mention this disaster to one of their greatest gods and kings and that writers though writing centuries after the event had certain Moslem accounts before them and are not likely to invent a wholly imaginary story, we give the account given by Ibn Asir from the extract from his work given in Elliot II (p. 469).

We may at the outset state that this account, exaggerated as it must be, still more increased in the marvellous element

in later writers who added imaginary stories to it, chiefly from a desire to heighten the religious greatness of Mahmud. The story, for instance,—a story told by even Gibbon—that immense treasure was concealed within the idol of Somnath, that Brahmins offered as ransom several crores of rupees to Mahmud which his generals advised him to accept and that Mahmud refused saying that he would like to be known on the judgment day as an idol-breaker and not as an idol-seller is a fabrication of some one, if not of Firishta himself. Wilson, as quoted by Elliot (II p. 476) commenting on this embellishment of the story of Somnath, observed “The earlier Mahomedan writers say nothing of the mutilation of the features of the idol, for in fact it had none; nor of treasures it contained, which, as it was solid, could not have been within it. Firishta invents the hidden treasure of rubies and pearls with quite as little warrant”. This story is plainly absurd, as the linga of Somnath must have been a solid block of stone. Similarly the story that Mahmud was led into a waterless desert by a treacherous Hindu guide and that Mahmud eventually by prayer was able to find water, as also the story that Mahmud wished to remain in Gujarat as it was a fertile country possessing gold mines but was induced to give up this idea on the representation of ministers that Khorasan was the country inherited from his father and the best for him to live in, are incredible. The story of Dabshilim, a recluse and a relative of the fugitive king, being entrusted with the government of the country when Mahmud retired from it is strange and unbelievable, though it has been suggested that he was an uncle of Bhīma the reigning monarch of Gujarat at this time, who had indeed retired and who lived on the bank of the Sarasvatī as a recluse.

Elliot has given extracts from many historians relating to this expedition which the curious reader may refer to, if necessary, but we do not think it necessary to summarise their accounts as they are mere embellishments of the story first given by Ibn Asir which is itself an exaggerated account. We, however, give this account in short. “The idol of Somnath was the greatest in India to which people came, especially on lunar eclipse nights. Souls of men went to this place, it was believed, when separated from the body. The temple was

endowed with 10,000 villages (?). Water from the distant Ganges was daily brought with which the idol was washed. One thousand Brahmins performed the worship of the idol and introduced the visitors. Three hundred persons were engaged in shaving the heads and beards of the pilgrims. Three hundred women sang and danced at the gate of the temple. (Female singers and dancers, in ancient times, danced before Śiva idols as described by Kalidāsa in Meghadûta, a custom still prevailing in Śiva temples in the south, such as the Mangeśa temple in Goa territory). It was believed that Somnath was displeased with the idols of Hind for not opposing Mahmud who, when he heard this, resolved upon breaking the Somnath idol and proving to the Hindus that their gods were false and that they might embrace the true faith.

So he left Ghazni with 30,000 horse, on the 10th of Shāban 414 H (1023), besides volunteers and reached Multan in the middle of Ramjan. Taking water and corn on 30,000 camels he started for Anhilwad through the desert. The chief of that town Bhīma fled for safety to a fort (named Kandana by later writers and probably Kanthad in Cutch). Mahmud passed on to Somnath (it is not described anywhere that Anhilwad was captured and plundered) through a desert. He came to Dabalwār, a place ten days journey from Somnath. The people stayed there believing that Somnath would destroy Mahmud. But Mahmud took the place, plundered it and slaying the people marched on to Somnath.

He arrived at Somnath on a Thursday in the middle of Zilkad, and beheld a strong fortress on the sea-shore washed by the waves. The people of the fort were on the walls laughing at the Moslems and telling them that their deity would destroy them all. On Friday the Moslems advanced to the assault and the Hindus fled. The Moslems scaling the walls with ladders entered and a fearful slaughter ensued. A body of Hindus entered the temple, cast themselves on the ground before the idol and implored him to grant them victory.

Next morning the battle was renewed and the Mahomedans drove the Hindus to the temple. A dreadful slaughter took place at the gate of the temple. Bands of Hindus would enter the temple and weeping and clasping their hands would

entreat the idol, then issuing forth would fight until they were slain. Some took to the sea in boats but they were attacked there and were either killed or drowned.

The temple of Somnath was built upon fifty-six pillars of wood covered with lead. The idol itself was in a chamber and was five cubits in height and three in girth and must have been two cubits hidden in the basement. It had no appearance of having been sculptured. Mahmud seized the idol, part of it he burnt and part sent to Ghazni, where it was made a step at the entrance of the Jami Masjid. The shrine of the idol was dark but it was lighted by most exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold to which bells were attached which were rung every watch hour to rouse Brahmins to worship. The treasury was near and in it were many idols of gold and silver, and veils set with jewels of immense value. The worth of the whole plunder exceeded two million dinars and the number of the slain exceeded fifty thousand". (E. II p. 469-471).

This is an account simple and credible enough. The Brahmins or perhaps Rajputs made a frantic resistance at the temple itself only to be slain. But the ruler of Gujarat Bhīma could have made a stubborn resistance before Somnath. He could have brought into the field a greater army even, consisting of cavalry, than that of Mahmud if he had been but true to his name and the Rajput character. But it must be remembered that Mahmud's prestige by this time as a conqueror, had by his constant success, risen to its highest pitch like that of Napoleon who himself was latterly looked upon as equal to one lakh of men. But even Napoleon was stubbornly opposed by the Germans and the English at the battle of Waterloo. The Hindu character, as stated already, lacks in stubbornness under unfavourable circumstances and it is no wonder that Bhīma took refuge in a fort in Cutch. After taking Somnath, Mahmud is said to have attacked him there, though he was impeded by the water of the Runn of Cutch and passing it was dangerous in consequence of the possible rise of water at tide time. Bhīma, when he saw the conqueror coming, fled even from there. Mahmud returned to Ghazni via Sind through the desert by a more westerly course where

he knew water was not available and where he could not have been deceived by treacherous Hindu guides. He was troubled extremely by the pirates of the Indus who are supposed to have belonged to the Jud country*. By a subsequent expedition against these Jats, Mahmud gave them condign punishment.

Mahmud is said to have come to Somnath via Multan through the desert by an easterly course taking Ajmer and Anhilwad on the way and returned via Cutch, Sind and Multan conquering Mansura on the way, as he feared that "Paramāra-deva of Malwa (Bhoja) who was preparing to attack him would intercept him as he returned." Probably he was afraid of losing the great plunder he had obtained, in a possible conflict with the Hindus.

NOTE—SOMNATH.

Somnath Patan or town of Somnath is situated on the west coast of Kathiawar and is at present under Junagadh. The place was visited in 1843 by a traveller and described in J. R. A. S. VIII p. 173. "The old temple is in ruins and a new temple has been built by Ahilyābai near the site of the old. But the extreme grandeur of the old temple is visible even in the ruins now remaining". This old temple according to our view was the one built by Siddharāja Jayasinha and Kumārapāla and the temple which was destroyed by Mahmud was probably the one built by Bhoja Paramāra of Malwa as stated in one of their inscriptions to be noted in Paramāra history. The building of Bhoja was probably of wood as stated by Mahomedan historians. This building must probably have been erected before 1026 A. D. The building of a new stone temple was undertaken by Jayasinha of Anhilwad and completed by Kumārapāla, as is evident not only from Gujarat chroniclers but from an inscription in a temple in Somnath Patan which will be noticed in the history of Anhilwad. This Bhadrakālī temple Prasasti dated 1169 A. D. is very interesting and begins with the description of a Brahmin from Benares who appears to have undertaken the rehabilitation of temples (probably destroyed by Mahmud) fallen into ruin and he travelled on this meritorious mission throughout India and came to Somnath after visiting Ujjain. This mention of the sage Brahmin's efforts corroborates in our view to some extent the story told by later Mahomedan writers about Mahmud's expedition to Somnath and the description of the temple by them. It is expressly stated that the temple was now built of stones. This temple was destroyed by the Mahomedan kings of Gujarat in the fourteenth century. The story that Mahmud removed the sandle gates of the temple of Somnath to Ghazni has not been credited by

* Mahmud in 1024 while returning from Somnath is said to have been harassed by the Jats of the Salt range but these Jats must have belonged to the Lower Indus (Jhelum) Gazetteer page 83).

modern scholars and the gates which were brought by the English in 1843 after their conquest of Afghanistan are lying unnoticed in the fort at Agra (Sardesai).

We may mention that there is a reference to Somnath in the Bostan of Sadi and he relates a queer story which is probably a concoction of his own. Sadi in his extensive travels came to Somnath and saw there an ivory idol surmounted with precious jewels beautifully arranged, seated on a golden chair set on a throne of teakwood. The Brahmin pujari had a contrivance by which the idol would raise its hand. Sadi discovered the contrivance by accident when the Brahmin fled pursued by the deceived indignant Sadi who even killed him. Sadi fearing vengeance of the Brahmins fled the country. This story is clearly an invention, for Sadi would not have been allowed even to approach the idol, much less to go behind it. Moreover it is not probably allowed that idols should be made of ivory. To the historian, however this reference by Sadi to Somnath is remarkable as it makes no mention of Mahmud's invasion of Somnath and the breaking of the famous idol of Śiva there. One would naturally expect some allusion to that event. This omission strengthens the doubt which is entertained sometimes about the truth of Mahmud's expedition to Somnath. Sadi who was born in 1175 A. D. must have visited India when about 40 years old i. e. about 1215, and he wrote his Bostan when 80 years of age i. e. about 1255 A. D. Delhi was already on both dates under the Mahomedans, though Gujarat was not. And the first writer to describe the expedition to Somnath is Ibn Asir who wrote about 1270 A. D. at the earliest. But after all, omission to mention a fact unless that mention is unavoidable or imperatively necessary is doubtful evidence and we cannot rely upon it and hold that Mahmud's expedition to Somanath is imaginary.

CHAPTER XVI.

IDOLATRY OF THE HINDUS.

We may pause here a little and reflect upon the superstitious debasement of idolatry into which the Hindus had drifted at this time. It indeed seems to us that the iconoclastic inroads of Mahmud had come upon the Hindus as an eye-opener and as a chastisement. Unfortunately the Hindus did not then take the lesson which these disasters taught them nor have they learnt it even now. This is not a place to enter into the question whether idol-worship is countenanced by the Vedas or whether it is reasonable. There is not the smallest doubt, however, that idol-worship is accepted by Hinduism and perhaps properly accepted as leading to concentration of the mind on the deity. But idol-worship almost always leads the human mind into some superstitious beliefs, especially to the belief that the idol itself possesses the powers of the deity it represents. Belief in the miraculous powers of idols prevailed in ancient times throughout all countries and prevails to this day wherever idol-worship is practised. Buddhism began with almost the denial of the Deity and drifted later into rampant idolatry viz: the worship of the Buddha himself and however learned and philosophic Hiuen Tsang may be, he believed in the miraculous powers of Buddha's relics and Buddha's idols as described in Volume I (p. 103). Hindus too amongst whom idolatry was already prevalent to a certain extent and who became still more idolatrous through the example of Buddhism which they supplanted believed to such an extent in the miraculous powers and sanctity of certain idols that the Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj, though powerful enough to capture Multan, were always held back by the threat of the Mahomedan possessors of Multan that if the Hindus advanced they would break the famous sun-idol of Multan (see Vol. II p. 166). Even in the west the Romans and the Greeks who were in advance of other peoples in philosophy believed in the miraculous powers of certain idols. And Christianity in the beginning preached the formless God and often progressed among the pagans by actually proving to the

world that no such miraculous powers existed. The frantic but unavailing prayers of the worshippers of Somnath to destroy the sacrilegious conqueror remind us of a similar spectacle at Alexandria about six hundred years before at the demolishing of the idol of Serapis by the order of the emperor Theodosius (389 A. D.), so graphically described by Gibbon. "Alexandria which claimed his peculiar protection gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the capitol was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mound raised one hundred feet above the level of the city. The sacrifices of the pagans prohibited by Theodosius were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis owing to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves as they feared to abolish these rites which alone could secure the inundation of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt and the subsistence of Constantinople. But at length an explicit order from Theodosius arrived to demolish the temple and the idol. A great number of plates of different metals artificially joined together composed the majestic figure of the deity which touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. He held in the right hand an emblematic monster the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails terminated by the heads of a dog, a lion and a wolf. It was confidently affirmed that if an impious hand should move to offend the majesty of the god, the heavens and the earth would instantly return to their original chaos. An intrepid soldier armed with a battle-axe ascended a ladder and even the Christian multitude expected with anxiety the result of the combat. He aimed a vigorous blow against the cheek of Serapis and the cheek fell to the ground; but the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquillity. The victorious soldier repeated his blows and the limbs of Serapis broken into pieces were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. The Nile, though late, with its usual flood fertilized the plains of Egypt and falsified the prediction of false prophets. Many attributed their conversion to this impotence of the tutelary deity of Alexandria".

Gibbon moralises here upon the inadvisability of staking the truth of a religion on the miraculous powers of idols

which are but pieces of stone, metal or wood. And yet Christianity itself, like Buddhism, later drifted into the same superstitious idolatry which it had exposed, in the worship of idols of Jesus and Mary and Mahomedanism arose almost as a natural consequence to correct this error. The iconoclastic expeditions of Mahmud were similarly an eye-opener to the Hindus to correct their erroneous belief in the miraculous power of idols. But they also came to correct another error viz. the natural but absurd impulse to dedicate riches to temples and to decorate idols with gold and jewels. This added to the religious zeal of idol-breaking Mahomedans the further motive of greed for the gold and the jewels. Wherein is the merit of making idols of entire gold or of decorating them with priceless jewels? Does an idol of five cubits height of pure gold contribute more powerfully to the concentration of the mind on the deity than a stone idol? The old teachers of the Hindu religion prescribed small unworked stones in their natural shape as the proper *Pratīkās* or idols of the four gods Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and the Sun while Vedic Rishis were content with concentrating their mind on the sun itself and the wind. But the human mind cannot but descend into the superstitious desire first of having finished idols and then of having idols of gold and silver or of decorating them with precious jewels. Śiva worship indeed in selecting the linga as an idol selected natural blocks of stone. And yet prosperous kings who were worshippers of these Swayambhū or natural lingas adorned them with crowns of gold covered with diamonds and rubies, thus tempting robbers and even avaricious kings or conquerors and even priests and thereby themselves causing the desecration of temples and the sacrilege of idols. Indian history is full of the mention of the building of new temples or of new rich endowments of temples by prosperous kings in every kingly line and specially holy places such as Mathura, Kot-Kangra, Somnath or Ujjain were overflowing with rich donations of hundreds of pious kings and thousands of rich merchants. All these riches might have been differently employed, the historian and politician will observe, in the maintenance of strong armies by kings and the amelioration of the people by rich merchants. Both were apparently neg-

lected and temples were enriched and idols sumptuously decorated doubly accelerating the fall of the country by whetting the appetite, and strengthening the resources, of the foreign conqueror on the one side and weakening the power of resistance of our own kings and people on the other. But the Hindus did not learn these obvious lessons from these iconoclastic and plundering expeditions of Mahmud and they continued to build temples and accumulate riches in them. It may finally be observed that Hindus are not still alive to the two errors into which idol-worship when it degenerates into superstition descends viz. the belief in the miraculous powers of particular idols and the belief in the merit of donating riches to temples and idols leading to the demoralization of Mahants and pujaris.

It is curious to observe that human nature usually leads men to the same actions. Mahmud the breaker of idols and the plunderer of temples expended his acquisitions on the Juma mosque of Ghazni and used the gold, the rubies and the diamonds obtained from Hindu idols, in decorating its walls, by the same impulse of the human mind as had actuated the Hindus. He thus created the temptation which had impelled him, for others coming after him and history records that this mosque was probably plundered of its rich decorations by the idolators of Chin. Changiskhan whose desecration of the Jami Masjid of Bokhara is described at length in *Jahan Kusha* of Juwaini (Elliot II p. 388) and whose doings at Bokhara were described by a fugitive in one pithy sentence in Persian "The Moguls came, dug, burnt, slaughtered, plundered and departed", came to Ghazni on his return from the pursuit of Jelalluddin in 618 H (1226 A. D.), ordered all the inhabitants to be brought out of the city and counted, and after selecting artizans from among them, directed all the rest to be slain. He also destroyed the city and Ogtai returned towards Herat after burying the slain" (Elliot II p. 390). Another extract states that Ogtai took Ghazni by assault after a siege of four months; it was burnt and destroyed to the very foundations, after about two hundred thousand persons had been inhumanly massacred (Elliot II p. 569).

CHAPTER XVII

DEATH OF MAHMUD AND HIS CHARACTER

After the crowning exploit of his career viz. the plundering and destroying of Somnath, Mahmud did not undertake any important expedition ; perhaps there were no more worlds to conquer. The fame of his last exploit reached Baghdad " which listened to the edifying tale of the destruction of Somnath with wonder and the Khalifa conferred upon him one more title 'guardian of the fortune and faith of Mahomet' (Gibbon) i. e. Kahaf-ud-daulat-wal-Islam " (Elliot II p. 474). The Khalifa also conferred titles upon his sons Mas'aud, Muhammad, and Yusuf. Thus honoured by the head of the Mahomedan faith and in the fullness of glory and without any reverse, Mahmud died about three years after his greatest exploit i. e. in 420 H. (A. D. 1029) at the advanced age of 61, leaving behind him grown-up sons and experienced ministers and generals.

Historians have recorded highly appreciative notices of the character of Mahmud, beginning with Gibbon. "Turning from accounts of bloodshed of which unfortunately history is too full " observes Gibbon " it is a pleasant task to stop for a while to appreciate the good qualities of Mahmud, undoubtedly one of the greatest kings of the world ". " His name is still venerated in the East. His subjects enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace ; and examples are recorded of his justice and magnanimity. Avarice was the only defect that tarnished the illustrious character of Mahmud and never has that passion been more richly satisfied ". " In his last moment he viewed with tears in his eyes his whole wealth displayed before him, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, so inevitably lost ", and he reviewed his army " which consisted of one hundred thousand foot, fifty-five thousand horse and thirteen hundred war elephants ".

Mahmud's greatness as a general and commander has been acknowledged by all. Lane-Poole describes him as "a great

soldier and a man of infinite courage and indefatigable energy of mind and body." Lane-Poole also extols his good government and justice and quotes the opinion of the great Vizier of Seljuk: that "Mahmud was a just sovereign, a lover of learning, of generous nature and of pure faith" (p. 35). That he was a patron of learned men is proved by the fact that great luminaries like Al-Beruni the astronomer, Al-Faribi the philosopher, Al-Utbi the chronicler, Al-Baihaki the gossip, (Arabic writers) and Ansuri, Farukhi and Asjudi (Persian poets) and above all Firdusi the Homer of Persian literature resided at his court and obtained support from him. While thus duly appreciating the greatness of Mahmud, Lane-Poole thinks that "Mahmud was not a statesman; no new institutions or methods of government were initiated by him, and he did not attempt to organise and consolidate what he had acquired; for as soon as he passed, his ill-knitted dominions fell asunder.

Before we proceed to discuss the adverse remarks of Gibbon and Lane-Poole, we will add our meed of praise of Mahmud as a great soldier, a consummate commander and a just ruler and administrator. We indeed think that Mahmud was one of those great men whom nature produces at intervals, men of exceptional qualities and unparalleled capacities, men who like Akbar or Shivaji, Napoleon or Peter the Great create new epochs in the history of the world and change the destinies of nations. As a man Mahmud was a person of strict discipline and stern conduct. In all his expeditions we do not read, along with the plunder of towns and temples and even slaughter and enslavement of fighters, the slaying or ravishing of women. And he loved justice and hated oppression so thoroughly that he was ready to destroy his own son if caught in the act of adultery. He was a good ruler and administrator and laboured to promote the well-being of his people in every way, protected commerce by the suppression of robbery and kept the communications between distant provinces free of danger so that "caravans passed freely between Khorasan and Lahore" (Utbi). He appointed good governors to the provinces and exercised strict supervision over them so that they did not oppress the people. Utbi describes in detail how his brother Nasir, appointed governor of Khorasan in Nishapur, was also

known for his excellent administration and "was so kind that he never uttered a harsh word or offered wrong or violence to any one" (Utbi p. 486). Utbi is not a flatterer when he praises Mahmud as "the glorious lord of the poor, who displayed the face of level equity between the widow and the wealthy so that the door of boasting and oppression was closed" "And he charged an examiner of weights and measures to go among the market people and guard the standard of weights and measures. He made each street a clear road for asses, camels, and stalls. Formerly the streets of the bazars were not covered and the market people were vexed by dust and rain and he ordered the roofs of the bazars to be connected and in two months the city was entirely covered with roofs, with light-affording devices interwoven, so that all may be gladdened by the penetrating of the rays of the sun" (p. 486). "He expended (yearly) nearly one hundred thousand dinars in promoting justice and gladness for the people and in honourable and pious liberalities" (ditto). This amply shows that Mahmud was fully alive to the duty of a sovereign to secure the happiness and promote the welfare of the common people in the cities and the provinces of his territory.

Mahmud was a zealous Mahomedan and had implicit faith in his own religion. He always prayed before he began his battles and often in the hour of trial he would place reliance on God's promise in the Koran to aid and give victory to the faithful. In this respect as in many others, he resembled Shivaji who also had firm faith in his own religion and his own mission and often in his hour of trial he too would appeal to his favourite deity for help and guidance. Such appeals were probably made from conviction, though in both cases they might have been made for the purpose of raising the spirits, and inspiring confidence into the hearts, of his followers. Mahmud's taking augury from the Koran at critical moments was like Shivaji's praying to Bhavānī and in a trance giving utterance to her words of encouragement and guidance. In both cases we believe these acts were not pretences but arose from an intense religious turn of mind and implicit faith in God.

It may also be added that Mahmud did not revel in cruelty as some conquerors did in history. He did not perpe-

trate those inhuman massacres of innocent and helpless human beings which Changis and Timur two and three centuries after him or even some Mahomedan kings of the Deccan later still, perpetrated in Asia and India. In inflicting punishment of death on heretics again, Mahmud always acted not on mere suspicion but after due examination and ascertainment of views of the learned orthodox Kadhīs. The descriptions of such religious assemblies or synods presided over by Mahmud himself, given by Utbi are interesting (p. 481) though they were in the nature of inquisition. And Mahmud's presence and power exercised a temperate influence on their proceedings. Even in his religious bigotry, therefore, we think that Mahmud was not inhuman or tyrannical.

NOTE:—TAHAKAT-I-NASIRI ON MAHMUD.

"This monarch by his manliness, his bravery and intrepidity, his wisdom and foresight, his prudent counsels and wise measures considerably extended the Mahomedan conquests in the east and greatly extended the dominion of Islam in that quarter. The whole of Khorasan and Khwarizm Tabaristan, Irak, the territory of Nimroj and Fars, the mountain district of Ghor, Tukharistan came under the control of his officers. The Maliks of Turkestan acknowledged his superiority. He threw a bridge over the Jihun (Oxus) and marched into Turan and the Khakans of Turkestan came and tendered him their allegiance. At their request the son of Seljuk was permitted to cross over the Jihun with all his kindred and dependents into Khorasan. The most sagacious men of the time considered this permission a grave error as they perceived the danger to his sons and descendents (p. 86 Raverty's tras.)

Turning now to the consideration of the blemishes in Mahmud's character, Mahmud's avarice, we think, has been greatly exaggerated. The very fact that he amassed riches as no man in history did, impels people to believe that he was avaricious. The story that he wept in the moment of death at the sight of those incalculable treasures he was going to part with, is probably an invention and a calumny. Mahmud was too religiously minded to weep at the inevitable lot of mankind, especially when we remember that he left behind him sons to whom man in his frailty is always willing and glad to resign his own acquisitions. He was no doubt not a spendthrift as princes who inherit vast riches usually are. But there is not the least doubt that he was generous as even the Vizier of Seljuk

observed, a testimony more reliable than that of later writers. He spent every year vast sums on the encouragement of letters and had founded a well endowed college with salaried professors where students were fed at state expense near the Jami Masjid he had built, as already stated (Utbi p. 466). The story told about Firdusi that he was *promised* one thousand *gold* dirhams for every one thousand verses and offered *silver* dirhams when the work (Shahnāma) was completed with 60000 verses, has probably confirmed, if it has not actually originated this imputation of avarice to Mahmud. This story is also, we think, a later invention as "much of the traditional life of Firdusi is rejected by modern scholars". (Encyclopaedia Britannica). Indeed the current story would, in our view, rather prove the avarice and anger of Firdusi than the avarice and anger of Mahmud. In any case that same story shows the great encouragement which Mahmud gave to literature and the preservation of the ancient history of Persia. The fact that Firdusi, though a Shia and perhaps a heretic, was entrusted with this work of immortalising the history of *fire-worshipping* Persian kings brings out Mahmud's unalloyed love of letters. "Mahmud himself a Sunni and a fanatical Moslem still extended patronage to Persian literature and learning and developed it even at the expense of Arabic institutions". (ditto). In this love of learning and knowledge for their own sake, Mahmud may be said to have even surpassed Akbar who encouraged the study of Sanskrit; for Akbar was not a rigid Mahomedan. Mahmud already had directed the completion of Persian legendary history commenced by the Samanides themselves but finally entrusted the work to Firdusi, a native of Tus in Khorasan, the home of Persian poets, seeing that he was best fitted for it by his wonderful poetical talents and his intimate knowledge of the folklore of the ancient Persians. And Mahmud's patronage of Al-Beruni shows that he did not object even to the study of Sanskrit literature, philosophy and science. At any rate the galaxy of learned men, poets, and philosophers of unique ability, like Firdusi and Al-Beruni which illumined the court of Mahmud should make him as renowned as Akbar of modern and Vikramāditya of ancient fame. For these reasons we are disposed to attach not much value to the general imputation of avarice to Mahmud.

Nor do we think that Lane-Poole's remark that Mahmud was not a statesman can be justified. The reason why his empire fell as soon as he passed away was entirely different. In the first place we do not know for certain that Mahmud did not initiate any new methods of government or that he made no attempt to organise and consolidate his acquisitions. There are no records either to prove or disprove this statement. We have no author like Abul Fazal who wrote the *Ain-i-Akbari* and gave us full details about Akbar's administration, to tell us how Mahmud administered his empire. But that it was a well-organised and well-conducted government we cannot doubt. We are told by Utbi that full records were kept at Ghazni even of his expeditions and that Mahmud himself, like Babar, wrote memoirs in the midst of his wars and sent them home. An extract is given by Utbi from his memoir written from Mathura in the very bustle and turmoil of fighting and plundering, admiring the beauties of the temples of Mathura. There were registers of the provinces and of their revenues and expenditures and provincial governors were strictly supervised by the minister who regularly attended the Diwan or office. The working of an ordered administration clearly appears from the gossiping tales of Baihaki also. Although, therefore, we do not know the exact nature of the system of Mahmud's administration, there is no doubt that it was a well-ordered system. Whether it was new or whether it was copied from the system of administration of the Samanide empire of which Ghazni was originally a subordinate member, we do not know. But even if Mahmud followed carefully and strictly an old system it would itself prove his statesmanship. Even Shivaji kept on, to a large extent, the old system of administration at Bijapur, while introducing many changes which were necessary for his Swaraj and the new spirit of a Hindu king. Akbar's administrative system was no doubt new and original but he had to rule an extensive empire inhabited by aliens in race and religion and comprising provinces differing in every detail such as land, climate, and people.

How Mahmud organised his army we have also no information as we have as to how Akbar or Shivaji organised their armies. But Mahmud's organisation must have been sound

since we know that he had a perfect striking machine which was successful everywhere and he made marches to such distant lands as Kanauj or Somnath over broad rivers, high mountains and long deserts. The institution of his bodyguard was peculiar to himself and this bodyguard of 5000 men, the pick and flower of the Turkish soldiers, was always used by Mahmud with effect at the opportune moment in the fight.

We have, therefore, no materials to say that Mahmud did not introduce or initiate new institutions of government or did not attempt the organisation of his provinces. On the contrary, we have every reason to believe that Mahmud's civil and military administration was well-ordered and strong. The reason why his empire fell as soon as he passed away was, according to our view, the fact that Mahmud's successors were incapable both as soldiers and administrators. This is the principal defect of all despotic systems of government. It is only rarely that we meet with a line of successive kings possessing vigour of body and mind like the Mogul line wherein from Babar to Aurangzeb we have six successive emperors of remarkable ability and even power. Shivaji like Mahmud again was unfortunate in his successors and if the Maratha kingdom prospered in the eighteenth century, it was due to the vigour of the Peishwas whose four generations were men of great power as statesmen and generals. Even the British empire was and is strong not because of its good system of administration but because of its peculiar home constitution. The government in England is not despotic and is a government consisting of King, Lords and Commons which makes it impossible for voluptuous or despotic kings to come to the throne or incapable or ambitious governors or generals to come to India and its provinces. Laws may be imperfect or even bad. It is the strict observance of laws, good or bad as they may be, which ensures strength and prosperity to a kingdom. The system of government in England ensures the observance of laws and therefore the continuous succession of efficient administrators and commanders. Under despotic government, kings who enjoy absolute power by mere birth and not by fitness often turn out voluptuaries and becoming incapable are unable to restrain the ambition

of generals of armies or governors of provinces and thus provinces fall away and even the ruling dynasty is eventually destroyed. Then again under a limited monarchy and under republics the people develop a feeling of nationality which further guarantees the strength of the kingdom or the empire. For even if there appear ambitious governors or generals now and then, a strong national sentiment prevents soldiers or peoples from assisting rebels and traitors, thus making them powerless to do mischief. In fine, it is not true that the empire of Mahmud fell to pieces after him because of its imperfect system of administration, but it fell because of the despotic nature of its government which could not secure a continuity of capable rulers and of able and loyal governors; and because of the absence of the feeling of nationality in the people making it impossible for traitorous governors to assume independence.

To sum up, we think that Gibbon is right when he says that Mahmud was one of the greatest kings of the world. He was an intrepid soldier and a consummate commander, a lover of justice and a patron of learned men, a sovereign who laboured for the peace and prosperity of his people and strove to extend education and commerce. As a man, Mahmud was a person of strict discipline and was not by nature cruel or avaricious; but was temperate and generous. He was also highly religious and of pure rigid faith. The great and perhaps solitary blemish in his character was, according to our view, his bigotted intolerance. By this defect he was not only led to plunder temples and rifle idols but even to destroy them and forcibly convert people in the conquered territories. Firm faith in, and zeal for, one's own religion is not inconsistent with respect for the religious beliefs and sacred edifices of other peoples. For this reason Mahmud, in our view, ranks lower than Akbar in the list of great kings and can certainly not compare with Shivaji who was as zealous as Mahmud in his own faith yet was tolerant enough to spare the sacred structures of Islam and to honour its holy men. This spot on Mahmud's character is indeed so great, that it does not disappear in the multitude of his good qualities like the spot on the moon in her rays (Kalidāsa), but like poverty mars his many merits (unnamed poet). The plundering of towns and temples may be excusable from the

stand-point of international ethics, and may be forgotten but the forcible conversion of people can not be justified or excused from the higher view-point of humanity and can never be forgotten. The reasonable interpretation of the Koran does not countenance the forcible conversion of people, as even the learned in the Koran have lately declared. And Abu Bakr had declared that conquered people should be permitted to retain their religion on payment of a capital tax. Yet religious fanaticism impelled Mahmud not only to destroy temples and idols, but to forcibly convert hundreds and thousands of Hindus in the conquered territories. It can not be denied that man has the most sacred and inviolable right to worship God in the manner he chooses and from this higher stand-point of humanity one can not too strongly condemn the *forcible* conversion of conquered people. In the present progress of civilization, one may even condemn peaceful but active propaganda for the spread of religion and time will soon arrive when nations will realise the utility and even the necessity of stopping all missionary or other efforts for the conversion of people by force, fraud or favour. But force especially, at all times, must be condemned as infringing the most precious right of man and we are constrained to look upon the bigotted intolerance of Mahmud which led him to forcibly convert thousands of Hindus as a great blemish on the otherwise high character of this great Mahomedan king.

NOTE.—WAS MAHMUD OR SHIVAJI A BANDIT?

The greatest condemnation of Mahmud is contained in the Oxford History of India by Sir Vincent Smith which states (p. 194). "So far as India was concerned, Mahmud was simply a bandit, operating on a large scale. He did not attempt to effect any permanent conquest except in the Panjab and his raids had no lasting results beyond the destruction of property and priceless monuments". Mahmud's plundering expeditions into India were so many and so successful like those of Shivaji, that one's attention is fixed on these plunders and one is led to look at Mahmud as at Shivaji as a great plunderer, a successful bandit. Many historians have written in the same strain and said in derogation of him that he merely plundered and did not annex, suggesting therein that annexation is less heinous than plundering. But is it really so? Is it not practically plundering other people of their immovable property, especially of their land which is the most valuable of all properties? And even if annexation mean stable government, it does always mean better government. Indeed Mahomedan government was not and could not have been better government than Hindu government. For that matter any foreign government is worse than native government, for it always leads to heavy taxation which is equivalent to continuous, systematic and legalised plundering of the people. That Mahmud did not annex but merely plundered Indian territories would be rather praiseworthy than otherwise. As a matter of fact, however, this statement itself is not correct as we proceed to show.

Let us see how like a consummate diplomat or statesman, Mahmud slowly extended his empire from Ghazni by gradual *annexations*, as the British did from their centres in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. Mahmud was originally king of Zabulistan or the territory round Ghazni which again formerly belonged to the Rajputs and he was also governor of Khorasan on behalf of the Samani emperors. When the Samani empire fell owing to the attacks of the Turkish hordes beyond the Oxus, he annexed Khorasan and allowed Illek-khan, the Turk, to annex the northern portion of the Sāmāni kingdom beyond the Oxus, or Mawarannahar. Thus these two powerful kings accommodated each other. From Zabulistan, Mahmud extended his dominion eastward and from Khorasan westward by the gradual absorption of the adjoining kingdoms. Even this was not done all at once. Mahmud or his father first acquired Kabulistan, then he annexed the lower part of the present N. W. Frontier Province viz. Bannu and the adjoining territory and subsequently the northern portion viz. Peshawar and Wahind. These three provinces belonged, as we have seen, to Jaipal, the Brahmin Shahi king of Kabul who was also the ruler of the whole of the Panjāb. We see how adroitly Mahmud deprived Jaipal of his provinces one by one without driving him to sudden despair like the British who from Bombay gradually acquired one district after another of the

Brahmin ruler of the Deccan. Ānandapāla, like Bajirao, was for a time left in the possession of the Panjab after the loss of his provinces to the west of the Indus, subject to a tribute. But the final collision came as it was bound to come and both Ānandapāla and Bajirao lost their kingdoms which were finally annexed by the conquering power. When Sir Vincent Smith makes an exception of the Panjab, the largest part of Mahmud's dominions in the east, he practically admits that Mahmud as a result of his various raids up to the twelfth expedition did annex vast territories and effected permanent occupation. Nay more, Mahmud attempted to consolidate his dominions by the forcible conversion to Islam of the people of the annexed provinces. He probably realised the necessity of unity of religious belief in the people as an important factor in the consolidation of kingdoms; and systematically carried out the forcible conversion of the people; for example of Ghor on the west and Swat and Bajaur in the north-eastern corner of Afghanistan on the west side of the Indus. On the east side, that is in the Panjab, it appears that the rigour of the policy of conversion was not continued though even in the Panjab he converted forcibly many peoples especially in the western part contiguous to the river Indus. Mahmud's statesmanship as a Mahomedan king in forcibly converting the people of the annexed territories immediately in the vicinity of his kingdom cannot be denied and Mahmud thus not only annexed but consolidated territories.

But it may be objected that Mahmud's later expeditions to Mathura and Kanauj and to Somnath were mere plundering expeditions undertaken with no desire of annexation or permanent occupation. Even this is not correct. Distant provinces like Antarbhed or Oudh or Gujarat could not be at once occupied. It was necessary to gradually absorb them by the usual method of absorption viz. first exaction of tribute and then final overthrow, when the intervening territory was fully absorbed. Thus the British first absorbed Bengal, then Bihar, then Oudh, and then the Panjab. It must be remembered that when Rājyaṇḍa first merely escaped, Mahmud reinvaded Oudh, conquered Bāri and finally subjected him to a tribute. It appears that this tribute was long paid by the Kanauj kingdom to Ghazni, for we have epigraphic evidence which shows that the charge of this tribute was distributed over the whole kingdom of Kanauj as a permanent tax in excess of the usual land tax. It is strange that scholars have not understood the real nature of the tax called "Turushkadanda" mentioned in the grants of this period coming from the territory of Kanauj only. The Jhusi grant of Trilochanapāla dated 1026 A. D. does not mention this Turushkadanda; but all later grants, even those of the Gāhadvālas, mention it, who though independent of Ghazni continued to exact this tax, as despotic kings rarely give up an impost which has become usual and of long standing, though the necessity of it no longer exists. In this Turushkadanda, we are reminded of the *chauth* of the Marathas, for the realisation of which they regularly maintained officers in the provinces of the Mogul empire. It is likely that Turkish soldiers and officers also remained in the country of Kanauj to collect this tribute and it is these

Turks whom Bhoja or Karna drove away as we shall relate in their history. We have actually ascertained the fact that Turushkadanda is mentioned only in grants found in the Kanauj kingdom and not in any grants found in the Chedi or Bengal territory and certainly not in Paramāra or Solanki territory viz. Malwa and Gujarat. We are, therefore, assured that Mahmud did subject Kanauj to a permanent tribute* which would naturally have led, in future years, to the annexation of that kingdom had the succeeding kings at Ghazni possessed his vigour and continued his policy in the manner in which British policy consistently worked throughout the nineteenth century. With regard to the raid on Somnath, even therein Mahmud had apparently an intention of permanent occupation in the distant future. Such raids, even if for plunder only, undermine the power of the plundered kingdom and make way for future annexation. We, therefore, think that it is unhistorical to look upon Mahmud as a mere plunderer without any design of permanent occupation. It is not only against human nature, but also against history, when we see that he annexed and permanently occupied the whole of the extensive territory of the Shahis from Kabul to Lahore in the east and extensive provinces of the Samanis in the west.

But granting that Mahmud led merely plundering expeditions into India without any intention of permanent conquest, would it be proper to describe him as a bandit as many historians have done? Such wrong descriptions have actually led to wrong theories and to baneful results as is well-known and historians should use such terms with care and depict persons in their proper light. Two persons in history have suffered much in this way. Mahmud and Shivaji have usually been called bandits and plunderers, in consequence of, the large number of their plundering expeditions and of their uniform success resulting in fabulous accumulation of riches. But we forget that correctly speaking neither Mahmud nor Shivaji can be called a bandit or a robber and if we do use the terms, we do so without attributing to them the moral degradation connoted by them. It must always be remembered that murder or dacoity is not only legally but morally reprehensible. The story of Alexander and the robber may be a very witty one but it inculcates a wrong theory. A robber when he robs a fellow citizen acts against the tacit agreement which he has entered into in acknowledging allegiance to a government that he would not deprive a fellow citizen of his property except in due course of law or of his life except in self-defence exercised within legal limits. The relations of nations or peoples are subject to no such tacit agreement. Indeed international law or custom has always recognized, from the most ancient times down to the present, the right of the stronger

* Turushkadanda is explained by some as a tax on Turkish settlers but it was not a tax on Turks but on all cultivators in the village, as appears clear from the grants of Inam villages of the time in Kanauj territory.

nation to attack the weaker and deprive it even of its independence. The law of the brute, to speak plainly, or of the fish as it is actually called in an inscription of Pāla kings of Bengal, has always been followed by nations. The Digvijayas in ancient Indian history can only be justified on this admitted right of the strong to humble the weak. There are no doubt instances in history, of noble sovereigns who refused to benefit by this law and who rose superior to the temptations of power, a Maria Theresa who refused to attack Poland because it was weak or an Aśoka who after slaughtering a lakh of people in conquering Kalinga was so seized by the feeling of remorse that he gave up war for all time to come. But these rare instances only prove the rule. It is only after the last European War that nations have become alive to the necessity and the propriety of conceding the right of the weak to live undisturbed. But throughout past history, we see that nations and kings have generally followed the law of brute force by which the strong can at any time and for any reason pounce upon the weak and deprive him of his land, property and even independence. While, therefore, the robber is legally or morally reprehensible, Alexander and many of his compeer conquerors cannot be considered morally depraved, when they deprived other nations of their liberty or property. And when Shivaji or Mahmud are described in historical writings as bandits or plunderers, it must always be understood that these terms do not convey the ordinary sense of condemnation connoted by them.

It must further be remembered that Shivaji never committed murder, even in his high mission of establishing Swaraj. And he plundered rich cities in the Mogul or Bijapur territory only when he was at war with them, and only after setting himself up as a *de facto* independent sovereign. The right of belligerents to plunder the enemy has been recognised even in the west. Indeed plundering weakens the weaker nation's power of defence and increases the stronger's power of offence. England herself has plundered enemies many a time. Drake and Hawkins plundered the ships of Spain carrying gold from America to Spain when England was at war with the latter country. Drake even plundered the cities of Chili and Peru without the excuse of war and he has not been described by English historians as a bandit. The British have plundered the French at Pondichery in Indian history and have massacred and plundered the townspeople of Jhansi when that city fought and stood a siege in the mutiny of 1857. And yet these acts cannot, legally and even morally, be described or denounced as murders or dacoities. Mahmud or Shivaji never plundered their own subjects, and they both punished robbers in

* The true account of Afzalkhan's death shows that Shivaji killed him in self defence. Shivaji did not instigate the murder of Chandrarao More as he is believed by many including Jadunath Sarkar to have done. A historical document recently found shows that the Chandrarao More supposed to have been murdered was an adopted minor at that time and he escaped to Rairi when Jawali was attacked. For further details we may refer the curious reader to our Marathi paper on Chandrarao More and Shivaji.

their territories severely. Shivaji so far recognised his duty as a king that he recompensed his subjects whenever his own soldiers or even the soldiers of an enemy plundered them.

It is, in fine, wrong both historically and philosophically to describe Mahmud or Shivaji as a bandit in the ordinary sense of the term. Their acts were committed as sovereigns and when there was an actual state of war and they, therefore, do not come under the code of ordinary law or morality. The law of nations as understood hitherto in the east and even in the west has always conceded the right of the strong to attack the weak for any ostensible reason and the victor has always exercised the right to plunder the vanquished. The destruction of Hindu temples and idols may no doubt be condemned from the higher stand-point of humanity as acts of bigotted intolerance. But the plundering of cities and temples being an act of war committed by one sovereign against another cannot be described or denounced as dacoity even though it led to 'the destruction of priceless monuments' and we are constrained to record our view that even Mahmud, much more Shivaji cannot be properly described as a bandit.

CHAPTER XVIII

DOWNFALL OF THE PANJAB AND KABUL

-APPARENT CAUSES.

Sind fell before the Arabs under Muhammad Kasim in 712 ; the Panjab fell before the Turks under Mahmud in 1009, and Northern India fell before the Afghans under Ghorî from 1193 to 1200 A. D. The causes of the downfall in each of these three cases were not the same ; were in fact extremely different. We have discussed the causes of the downfall of Sind in Volume I and shown that Sind fell chiefly owing to the treachery of some feudatories of Ghach and the pusillanimity of the Buddhists. Sind was then ruled by a Brahmin and Panjab also was ruled by a Brahmin king ; but both Dāhar and Anandapāla fought with the bravery of Rajputs. These ruling Brahmin dynasties were practically Kshatriyas. And from the most ancient times when Drona fought in the Mahābhārata war down to the time of the Peshwas, Brahmin kings and chiefs fought as bravely as the Kshatriyas. Indeed Brahmin soldiers also such as the Pandes of Northern India in the days of the mutiny fought as valiantly as other soldiers in the British army. Curiously enough the same accident befell Dāhar as befell Anandapāla in their final hard contested battles and the elephant of Dāhar left the battlefield as that of the latter did and would not stop until it had thrown itself into a lake and alloyed its fever. But accidents befall every man in his life and are not the real causes of downfalls ; as stated before fate is an over-riding and common factor in all the concerns of this world and in a historical survey of causes it may be excluded from consideration. Though these two facts in the case of Sind and the Panjab are almost identical yet the real causes of the fall of the Panjab are different from the causes of the fall of Sind. In the case of the former we read of treachery or defection of no Indian king or feudatory. Perhaps the Mahomedan historian Utbi, the Secretary of Mahmud, who must have known all secrets omitted purposely the mention of such cases. But as in even Mahomedan

histories of Sind we have such a mention, we may safely say that in the case of the Panjab treachery was not one of the causes of its downfall. Nor was there any great difference of religion in the Panjab causing pusillanimity of the people. As explained in the last chapter of Volume II, India at this time was under one and the same religion viz. Hinduism, without the feuds between 'Vaishnavism' and 'Śaivism' which later distracted that religion. As stated therein, India at this time was in the happiest condition of having one religion, Buddhism being dead and Mahomedanism being yet far off. India was also blessed in other respects in the tenth century A. D. and was at the height of its strength and prosperity from which as from a summit there was bound to be a descent by the laws of nature. The historian has to find how this descent came on.

Various causes are assigned by historians or are usually imagined by people in this connection; but most of these in our view were non-existent or are not the real causes. Thus Lane-Poole remarks "To the contrast of union and disunion, north and south, race and climate was added the zeal of the Moslem and the greed of the robber". Sachau thinks that the princes of Northern India were too narrowminded to see the danger and to unite (preface to Al-Beruni). Sardesai states that Mahmud knew that there were small kingdoms in India which were constantly fighting with one another and that he had a large army which he had to feed and employ somehow. How these various views are, in our opinion, not well-founded, we proceed to discuss at length.

That the Hindu kingdoms in India were not alive to the danger and did not unite is not a fact, as we actually see in the history recorded by Mahomedans themselves. A new and dangerous religion had come to the frontiers of India long ago viz. in Sind in 712 and the Hindus then, under the first Rajput warriors of Mewad and Sambhar, as shown in Vol. II pp. 5 and 91, offered a most stubborn resistance to the Arabs and stayed their onward march for ever. Three hundred years later came the Turks fired with the fanaticism of new proselytes and establishing themselves at Ghazni began to harass the Hindus and destroy their temples. Nay the Hindus had an experience of what was coming on, 60 years before, when Zabulistan was

first taken by Yakub-i-Lais and his governor destroyed a famous Hindu temple at Sakhāwand and Rai Kamlu of Kabul was staggered at the sacrilege (E. II. p. 172). The Hindu kings were, therefore, alive to the danger from long experience and did thrice combine, brought large armies larger than those which Mahmud could oppose to them, yet failed. The idea, therefore, that the Hindu kings were oblivious of the peril and did not unite is entirely against the facts.

Nor was there any real need for this union. The idea that Hindu kingdoms of this time were small is not correct. The Shahi kingdom of Kabul and the Panjab was far more extensive than the small kingdom of Ghazni which was ruled by Sabuktagin or in his early days by Mahmud himself. That kingdom should alone have been able to destroy Ghazni if it had been well prepared. The kingdom of Kanauj was more extensive and more powerful still. Indeed that kingdom, as Arab travellers relate, kept four armies constantly in the field which were so powerful that they could have taken even Multan and driven the Arabs out of Sind. The kingdom of the Chandel king Dhanga was not insignificant and though Rājyapāla of Kanauj had fallen from the example of his great ancestor Bhoja, Dhanga the king of Kalangar and Gwalior was powerful enough to be able himself alone to destroy Mahmud. It is generally not known that Mahmud's kingdom at this time was small and his army also was comparatively inconsiderable. It was also not drawn from one nation, the soldiers being Turks, Afghans, Kurds and Persians who were often at war with one another. Mahmud indeed did not come with an overpowering force of barbarians like Zangis or Timur who with Mogul horsemen of one race numbering seven or four lakhs swept like tornedoes over Asia from the Caspian to the Indus and wrought destruction in five years which five hundred years were unable to repair (Gibbon). Mahmud's army was undoubtedly small compared with the army of Jaipal, as even Mahomedan historians relate, in the first great battle and even in the second with Ānadapāla. Nor was it more united than the Hindu army so as to oppose union to disunion. The contrast of north and south also did not exist for Ghazni was opposed to Kabul; and the soldiers of Jaipal of Kabul

were unquestionably Afghans yet unconverted and unconverted Afghans could not have been less valiant than Moslem Afghans. Even a difference of race Turk and Aryan did not, in our view, make any difference in the fighting qualities of the two armies. It is indeed a common fallacy by which barbarians from the north, Turks and Afghans, are believed to be more hardy and valiant than the Aryans of the Panjab and Rajputana. This difference of race may have been one of the causes of the defeat of the Marathas at the battle of Panipat at the hands of the Afghans of Abdali, for as a matter of fact the inferiority of the Maratha compared with the Afghan in physique, ferocity and valour may be admitted. But no such difference existed or exists between the Turks and Afghans beyond the Indus and the Aryans of the Panjab and Rajputana so far as history or even present facts tell us. The Jats and Rajputs of the Panjab, whether Sikh, Mahomedan or Hindu are even now among the finest soldiers not only in India but in the whole world; and they were all Hindus in the days of Mahmud. Even now the Panjab is the chief recruiting ground for British Indian Army. The Amritsar Gazetteer states (p. 33) that the Sikh Jats of the Manjha territory can show men who in any country in the world could be deemed fine specimens of the human race. And as for the Rajputs of Rajputana, they have signalled themselves against Turks and Afghans and Moguls and Persians in many battles. The Rathods of Jaswantsing had even held Afghanistan under their sway for several years, in the days of Aurangjeb. We may believe, therefore, that so far as physical strength and valour were concerned the soldiers of Jaipal or Anandapāla were not at all inferior to the Turks and Afghans of Mahmud.

Sir Vincent Smith, without actually discussing the causes of the fall of the Panjab, suggests them in the remark 'a new power, novel in religion, in social customs, ideas and methods of warfare appeared on the scene'. Superiority of arms and of discipline is one of the most potent causes of the prevalence of one nation over another, and it may be mentioned here that India was bound to be conquered by the British owing to their superiority in arms and discipline, their artillery and their battalions. But this factor did not exist in favour of the

Mahomedans at this time. Firishta is guilty of anachronism when he mentions 'tops' (cannon) as being used by Mamud, in the same way as he mentions Delhi and Ajmer as opposing Mahmud, since cannon had no existence in the days of Mahmud as much as Delhi or Ajmer. From the article "Gunpowder" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the following facts appear: 1 Gunpowder is believed to have been invented either by a German about 1345 or by Roger Bacon about 1225 A. D. 2 Gunpowder was not known to the ancient Greeks, Hindus or Arabs. They no doubt knew some incendiary process which they used in war but they did not know explosives and had neither guns nor cannon. 3 History does not record the use of firearms in India except at the battle of Panipat by Babar. We are thus assured that Mahmud had no firearms and relied on the same weapons of war swords, scimitars and lances, as the Hindus; and Mahomedan poet-historians expatiate on the merits of these only (Elliot Vol. II) as may be seen in Utbi or Baihaki. Indeed if there was superiority in weapons it was on the side of the Hindus. They knew, it is clear, how to make good steel. The iron pillar at Delhi is a wonder even to the moderns (who are surprised at its manufacture in a way that it does not rust); and Indian swords were prized by the soldiers of Mahmud. Utbi poetically makes the sword of a Turkish soldier exclaim "I am a Hindu of a good family" (p. 216) thereby referring to the better steel of that weapon made in India, and we find that in the plunder of battle-fields swords and arms of the slain Hindu soldiers were objects of special attention.* We do not think there was any superiority of discipline on the side of the Mahomedans or that the Mahomedan army had been disciplined in the modern sense. Their horses might have been better as Afghanistan and Persia produce better horses as even Rājasekhara notes. But Rajputana horses were not bad and imported Arabian and Persian horses could be had in plenty. In fact the Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj, coming from Rajputana as they did, were well-known for their cavalry and they were for that reason called Hayapatis. And the Hindus had one powerful arm in addition viz. the elephant which

* Panjab produces iron at Kalabagh and Bhera and Nizamabad are well-known for the excellent swords which are manufactured there even now as may be known from specimens placed in the Lahore museum.

the Mahomedans did not possess. Even the Turks subsequently coveted this arm and developed it; for we see Sabuktagin and Mahmud using elephants against the Turks of Kashgar and using them with effect (Utbi). It is curious to note that while the Hindus could not use the elephants against the the Turks of Mahmud, Mahmud could use the same elephants against the Turks of Ilek-khan with great effect. This is sufficient to prove the great generalship of Mahmud and the incompetence of India's commanders. How Mahmud made the Hindu elephant arm ineffectual we are not told by Mahomedan writers though we are told by Greek historians how Alexander discomfited the same arm of Porus. It may be noted that even after Sabuktagin and Mahmud had begun to use elephants in their armies their drivers remained Hindus. In fact during a succeeding reign at Ghazni the Hindu drivers of elephants were remiss in their duty and were severely punished (Baihaki). Strangely enough at the present day this art is wholly lost by the Hindus and elephant-drivers are all Mahomedans now (E. II 143).

It is, therefore, difficult to conceive how the method of warfare of the Turks was different from that of the Hindus unless we take into account the extreme cruelty with which the Turks treated the vanquished. It is undeniable that of all nations the Hindus in their history behaved with the greatest humanity towards their conquered foes. They never massacred even the fighting population as the Turka under Mahmud did. When we say that Mahmud was not cruel, we compare him with other Mahomedan conquerors, especially the Mogul Zangis or Timur. Compared with the conduct of Hindus when conquering, his method must indeed have struck terror into the hearts of the less cruel people of India. Fighting men were usually massacred and innocent people were enslaved and carried into captivity and towns and villages were often destroyed. Even in European history we find war conducted with far more cruelty both in ancient and modern times. Even the Greeks and the Romans were very cruel in the treatment of conquered foes and massacre and enslavement were the constant concomitants of conquest in war. In this sense Mahmud's method of warfare was novel; but this cannot

be treated as one of the causes of the downfall of the Panjab. We are trying to find out why the Hindu armies were defeated; though no doubt the terrible consequences of one defeat might impair the morale of Hindu soldiers in subsequent encounters.

The political ideas of the Turks and the Hindus were almost exactly the same. Both had no idea of representative government, though the Hindus may have had them in pre-Gupta days of rights of people or of responsibilities of kings. They knew only one form of government viz the despotic and had no idea of a nation in the modern sense. There was no feeling of nationality or of patriotism. The kings became kings by heirship or by the favour of God manifested by giving success in battle. Neither the Turks of Mahmud nor the Hindus of Jaipal fought as the Germans and the French fought in the last European War under the high impulse of nationality and patriotism. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that a feeling of strong nationality which always prompts stubborn fighting gave the Turks the success which they invariably achieved; for such feeling never existed among the Turks who only fought for Mahmud. They were fighting not for a nation but for a king. No doubt the zeal of Mahomedanism supplied the place of patriotism and the religious fervour of the newly converted Turks and Afghans was a great factor in the success of Mahmud. But this does not constitute a novelty of ideas nor would it have been a cause of the downfall of the Panjab had it been opposed by an equally strong religious zeal of the Hindus. Lastly we do not see any novelty in the social manners of the Turks that contributed to the downfall of the Hindus. Even in manners as in ideas the Turks were practically like the Hindus who opposed them. The Hindus of the Panjab and Kabul then were flesh-eaters and not vegetarians and even at this day Panjab is less vegetarian than the other provinces of India. The Hindus were not beef-eaters no doubt, but that can not, in our view, have contributed to any extent to the fall of Kabul and the Panjab.

CHAPTER XIX.

DOWNFALL OF THE PANJAB-PROBABLE CAUSES.

The causes of the downfall of nations, peoples, or kingdoms, have always been a subject of deep interest to historians both in ancient and modern times ; and historians have formulated different theories in different cases which cannot have universal application. The fall of Greece before Rome, of Rome before the Goths and of Constantinople before the Turks present different aspects and must necessarily be assigned to different causes. Even in India, as said before, the causes of the fall of Sind in 712, of the Punjab in 1009, of Northern India in about 1200, and of Southern India about 1300 A. D., are different and Indian historians have the difficult task of explaining in each case the probable causes of the downfall of each. Yet the general observations of the great historian of the downfall of the Roman Empire have a perennial interest and supply maxims which are of universal application. Although the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire in the West are actually different from the causes which can properly be assigned for the fall of the Panjab, the observations of Gibbon will help us in our present inquiry to a great extent.

The natural impulse to "assign fortune of Rome as the cause of the misfortune of Greece" had to be first overcome in the manner in which Polybius a great historian of the Greeks did it by showing the deep foundations of the greatness of Rome. "The unique constitution of Rome which united the freedom of popular assemblies with the wisdom of a senate and the executive powers of a regal magistrate, the oath of military service of ten years imposed on every citizen in the cause of the country which continually poured into the field young freemen and soldiers, the military system of Rome with its remarkable legion superior in active strength to the Macedonian phalanx, these institutions of peace and war explain according to Polybius the success of a people incapable of fear and impatient of repose. The ambitious design of conquering the world was attempted and achieved and the perpetual

violation of justice was maintained by the political virtues of prudence and courage". But even this great world empire declined and fell. "It was the natural and inevitable effect of immoderate greatness. Prosperity ripened the principle of decay. The causes of destruction multiplied with the extent of conquest. The victorious legions in distant wars acquired the vices of mercenaries and first oppressed the republic and then violated the purple. The emperors were reduced to the expedient of corrupting the discipline which rendered the legions formidable alike to the enemy and the sovereign, the vigour of the military government was relaxed and the Roman world was overwhelmed by a deluge of barbarians".

"The introduction or at least the abuse of Christianity had some influence on the fall of the Roman Empire. The clergy successfully preached the doctrines of patience and pusillanimity and the active virtues of society were discouraged; the last remnants of the military spirit were buried in the cloister; a large portion of public and private wealth was consecrated to the specious demands of charity and devotion; the soldiers' pay was lavished on the useless multitudes of both sexes who could only plead the merit of abstinence and chastity. The Church and even the State were distracted by religious factions, the attention of emperors was diverted from camps to synods. The Roman world was oppressed by a new species of tyranny and the persecuted sects became the secret enemies of the country." (Gibbon by Bury IV p. 172-5). This extract is rather long but these observations and some others in this chapter are of everlasting interest and validity; and although the causes of the fall of the Panjab with which we are immediately concerned are entirely different from the causes which led to the fall of the Western Roman Empire, they afford indications which are valuable not only in the inquiry before us but in the more important question of the causes of the fall of India in the days of Prithviraj with which we shall have to deal at the end of this volume.

If we take into view the condition of the Hindus of the Panjab and the Moslems of Ghazni and see how far the former were inferior or superior to the latter in those respects which contribute to the strength or weakness of kingdoms, we shall be

able to arrive at a correct idea of the probable causes of the downfall of the Panjab. We have seen that the Turks were not more united than the Hindus; indeed disunion was as much a bane of the Turks as of the Hindus and Utbi, describing the disunion among the Turks beyond the Oxus, quotes the verses of the Koran "Their power is very great between them if they are united but their hearts are diverse. We have sent enmity between them and hatred for ever". The Turks were again as civilized or rather uncivilized as the Hindus using the same weapons, having no popular assemblies and no national spirit and without legions or phalanxes. The Hindu kingdom of the Panjab was not again so large, like the Roman empire, as to fall by its own weight. The Turks did not attack India in overwhelming swarms like the Goths and the Vandals. Moreover the Turks were not more warlike or of stronger physique or more inured to toil and exertion than the Afghans of Kabul and the Rajputs of the Panjab who opposed them in the beginning. Indeed the Hindus of the Panjab were used as soldiers by Mahmud himself and his successors in their battles and in the battle fought by Mahmud against Ilel-khan king of the Turks beyond the Oxus Hindus fought bravely on the side of Mahmud. The Hindu kingdom of the Panjab was not further ill-governed and there were no traitors who assisted the Moslems. And finally Mahmud's kingdom of Ghazni in the beginning was small compared with the kingdom of Kabul and the Panjab ruled by Jaipal and his army must have been also comparatively smaller than that of the latter. There even do not appear to be any factions, religious or political, to distract the attention of Jaipal. These apparent causes of superiority in the one and decay in the other being absent may be kept out of mind and we will see in what respect the Turks were superior to the Hindus or the latter inferior to the former.

I The foremost superiority of the Turks was in the personality of their general Mahmud. We do not generally realise the value and power of personalities. As stated before, nature produces from time to time men who by their mental and physical power change the destinies of kingdoms or the face of the human world. One Buddha or one Jesus was powerful enough to turn half the world towards peace, one Mahomet could turn the other half towards the principle of force in the

propagation of truth. In the field of politics we see the immense influence of one Shivaji who secured independence to the Maratha people for two centuries and established their reputation for ever. It is our firm conviction that without the personal factor of Shivaji the Marathas could not have achieved what they achieved and it is our firm opinion that without Mahmud the Turks could not have overthrown the Hindus of the Panjab. The case of Mahmud is exactly similar to that of Shivaji. Endowed with indomitable courage and indefatigable energy they both formed great designs and had the necessary resourcefulness and resolution to put their conceptions into execution. Nobody at the time of Shahaji could have thought it possible to free Mahārāshtra from the yoke of Mahomedan rule by destroying the Bijapur power in its immediate vicinity and defeating the immense imperial Mogul armies of distant Delhi. And yet Shivaji formed that seemingly impossible plan and carried it out in his own life-time by his unique powers of organization and his immense moral force. Nobody similarly could then have thought that the small kingdom of Ghazni could destroy the powerful kingdom of Kabul in its vicinity or defeat the imperial armies of distant Kanauj. Yet Mahmud in his high ambition conceived that bold design and by his energies and personal influence put it into execution. Shivaji stands no doubt on a higher moral pedestal than Mahmud as he devoted his energies to the noble task of freeing his people from the thraldom of a foreign power and religion, while Mahmud conceived and carried out the project of enslaving other people, of conquering other kingdoms and imposing upon them a foreign religion. All the same, almost impossible purposes were formed by both and achieved by both by unique qualities. Both had in the beginning only a small army and a nucleus kingdom; but both increased them by their resourcefulness and their power of organization. Shivaji indeed had a very small army inherited from his father; yet he eventually organised a striking force that could defeat even the imperial Mogul armies and plunder rich Mogul cities. Mahmud did the same and created an army which at the close of his life amounted to a lakh of foot, half a lakh of horse and 1300 elephants as stated before.

Mr. Sardesai thinks that Mahmud had already a large force which he had perforce to feed and employ in conquering India. But this does not seem to be true though probably he had at the beginning a larger force than Shivaji had. But even if he had a large force, if he had been incapable, what was there to prevent him from disbanding it gradually? And whence was the money to come, even if Turk or Afghan turbulent spirits were available in numbers? The plunder of temples and idols came in later. And whence did Shivaji get his resources? Even the men whom he had at hand for turning into soldiers were peaceful Māvalas. The greatness of great men lies indeed in their power to find men and money and to train them and use them in the proper way. The greatness lies in the unshaking resolve and the burning desire. "Get up" says Vidulā, in the famous Mahābhārata episode, to her whining son defeated and dispossessed of his kingdom. "Get up with the firm resolve of fighting and getting your kingdom back and you will find the men and the money you want." The organizing power and the moral ascendancy of both Shivaji and Mahmud are apparent in their training up their people so as to fit them for tough fighting and make them ready to die for them and further in keeping the trenchant weapon they had forged under due control. For, as Gibbon has said, legions become dangerous not only to the enemy but also to their master. Where national feeling does not exist to restrain or defeat the ambition of traitorous governors and generals, they can only be kept in their proper sphere by the overpowering personality of the master. When the dominating personality is removed, the formidable army becomes the destroyer of its own master as we actually find happening later on in the case of the incapable successors of Mahmud himself. Many feudatories became independent and a king of Ghazni was seized and blinded by his own generals. The very formidable nature of the striking machine forged by Mahmud or Shivaji and the successful use of it by them for their own purposes, prove the immense power which they wielded over the hearts of their soldiers and captains.

Looking to the opponents of Mahmud, we do not find any men of great capacities as general or organiser. Jaipal no doubt acquitted himself honourably and valiantly in the task

before him. But what was there to prevent him from organising a strong army when he became aware of the danger? Indeed what was there to prevent him from the beginning from maintaining a powerful army against all eventualities? It is the first duty of every king or state to maintain a strong army capable of defending the people against internal foes or external enemies. And Jaipal had ample materials at hand in men and money. Indeed Harsha who began with a moderately sized kingdom and who eventually conquered the whole of Northern India maintained an army, only one arm of which consisted of 60000 elephants. And he maintained this vast army without plundering any towns or temples. And yet he had immense riches to bestow in charity on Brahmins and Śramaṇas at his five-yearly alms-giving festivals at Prayāga. The great defect of the Hindu kings opposed to Mahmud both in Kabul and Kanauj was that they appear to have neglected their armies unlike their predecessors Bhima and Bhoja. The soldiers' pay, in the immortal words of Gibbon, was perhaps lavished on the endowment of temples and the decoration of idols; for we read of no large standing armies at both places. The Arab travellers of the tenth century A. D. recorded that India was famous for its armies. That fame was belied by the Indian kingdoms in the eleventh century. The kingdom of Kabul and the Panjab was extensive enough to support a strong army and Jaipal need not have sought the aid of neighbouring kings and collected a confederate force. Even this confederate force failed because it had not a great general to lead it; a Duke of Wellington to match Napoleon.* It is sometimes thought that a confederate army can not fight with the strength of a single army. This is not true, as we actually find that confederate armies won on the plains of France both in the past and in the present century. There must be no doubt one controlling mind and we have stated that the confederate armies of India were under the single leadership of Jaipal or Ānandapāla. But they failed because they were no match for Mahmud and they failed for other reasons also which we proceed to notice.

* The Oxford history of India by Smith states that the confederate army was led in 1008 by Viśaladeva of Ajmer. Unfortunately we find no authority for this. And this Viśala even if he led is not known as a great conqueror.

I. The weakness of the religious feeling of the Hindus had a great deal to do with their defeat in the Panjab. The dominant binding sentiment on either side was not national but religious, as has already been stated. But while the religious zeal of the Mahomedans was stubborn and overpowering, the religious sentiment of the Hindus was weak and almost apathetic. It was to be expected that the zeal of the Moslem and the greed of the robber would be equally met by the fervour of the Hindu and the indignation of the robbed. Not only were temples plundered and idols rifled of their jewels but hundreds and thousands of Hindus were forcibly converted. It is, therefore, natural to expect that the Hindus would have fought with all the exasperation and the courage of the defiled and the despoiled. And equally matched as they were in number and civilization, perhaps even superior, they should not have accepted defeat. But the zeal of the Hindus has always been mild for various reasons. For one, he is usually tolerant. It is a common experience that while a Mahomedan's exasperation is most acute at the least insult offered to the Koran or to the great Prophet, a Hindu quietly listens to any abuse of the Veda or of Rāma and Kṛishṇa. A Hindu is again by habit in aggressive. The Hindu religion has always preached Ahinsā and the Hindu is accustomed to pacific modes of life. Thirdly, the Hindus had wrong notions about their idols; and probably still have. As stated before, images have no miraculous powers and when the idols themselves were found to be powerless, it would be superstitiously thought useless for man to resist where even the deity has thought fit to submit. But it must be remembered that an image after all is an emblem and if the emblem is insulted it is not the metal or the stone that is insulted nor the deity which it represents, for it is above all insult. It is they who are really insulted, who believe in that emblem. When the face of the statue of Queen Victoria was tarred in Bombay, it was not the marble that was insulted nor the good Queen Victoria but it was the British nation which was, and which was intended to be, insulted which had set up the statue. But by a wrong philosophy or rather by superstition the Hindus thought the deities powerless against Mahmud who was bound to succeed as it was destined that the Sanātana

Dharma was to suffer in the Kali age. Such reasoning naturally acted upon the minds of the Hindus more forcibly when accidents actually happened which worked against them and they did not fight with that resentment and exasperation which should have animated those whose temples had been desecrated and whose houses had been dishonoured.

II. Secondly, the fall of the Panjab may also be attributed to the political apathy of its people. Unfortunately for twelve centuries before this, Panjab had been ruled by foreign kings. It may be said that for twenty centuries from the time of Porus down to the time of Ranjitsingh, Panjab had no kings of its own. It was ruled by foreign Hindu or Mlechchha rulers from the time of Alexander to that of Mahmud, by Macedonians, by Mauryas, by Śakas, by Bactrian Greeks, by Kushans, by Huns, by Kashmirians, by Sindhis, and lastly by the Shahi kings of Kabul and after Mahmud by Mahomedan kings of Ghazni and Delhi for eight centuries more till the Sikhs gave to the Panjab native kings after a foreign rule extending over two thousand years. When Mahmud conquered the Panjab, there was no political consciousness awake in the minds of its people. Though Aryans the people had lost all desire, even if they had the ability, to enjoy self-rule or independence and they did not demur to be ruled by a Moslem Turk from Ghazni instead of a Brahmin Afghan from Kabul. They were apathetic to the change of rule that was coming upon them and they did not resist with that stubbornness which belongs to a people fighting to preserve independence. Panjab was thus lost to Mahomedans in one battle. Kingdoms have no doubt been lost in one battle in western history also. England indeed was acquired by William the Conqueror in one battle. But while the people of England made the Norman kings their own, the people of the Panjab were made their own by the Mahomedan kings of Ghazni and the Panjab was practically sliced off from India in 1009 as Sind was in 712 A. D.

It may here be objected that these two causes can be assigned as the causes of the downfall, not only of the Panjab, but of all Indian kingdoms; indeed of most Asiatic people. This is no doubt true and we shall have to mention these causes also when discussing the causes of the downfall

of Northern India at the end of Book VII in this very volume. The weakness of the religious feeling of the Hindus and their political apathy are their dominant characteristics over the whole of India. But what we wish to emphasize here is that while those other causes which chiefly led to the downfall of the Rajput kingdoms of Northern India about 1200 A. D. as we shall show later on, did not exist in the Panjab viz. internecine fighting and rigidity of caste, these two causes which alone existed in the Panjab operated with greater force there than elsewhere and are thus the only causes which can be assigned to its downfall. How this is so we proceed to explain at length. The religious or political tendencies of peoples are the results of historical development and are capable of examination and explanation.

The Panjab had no doubt been the home of Vedic Aryans from the most ancient days; the place where the Vedic hymns were mostly composed and sung at sacrifices, the place where even later Vedic civilisation developed. Gāndhāra and Madra are the lands of Pāṇini and Aśvapati the teachers of grammar and philosophy. The Upanishads contain many references to the Brahmins and Kshatriyas of these famous lands on the west and the east of the Indus. But the "land of the five rivers and the sixth Indus" subsequently became a home of Buddhism, next only to Magadha. Buddha himself preached successfully in Afghanistan and the Panjab and later on Mahāyāna Buddhism was evolved under Kanishka in this land. Purushapura and Takshasilā two places of Vedic fame became centres of Buddhist learning. The Panjab, therefore, though originally the home of Indo-Aryans (and even now it is pre-eminently Indo-Aryan as Sir H. Risley found from facial measurements taken at the census of 1901) was less strong in the Hindu sentiment than the rest of India even in the days of the present Mahābhārata of 250 B. C. (See note). It continued to be so in the days of Hiuen Tsang who in 630 A. D. recorded that Kapisa or Kabul with Nagar (Jalalabad) and Udyāna (Swat) with Taxila were entirely Buddhist, while Peshawar and the Panjab were half Buddhist (see Vol. I p. 48). Caste which was weak even in Vedic times became still weaker in Buddhist days. Brahmanism developed in the land

of the Sarasvatī and caste gathered strength in Upper India, while it remained fluid in the Panjab "where a Brahmin would become a barber one day and a Brahmin again on the next" (See note). When, after Harsha, Buddhism was overthrown in India by the efforts of Kumārila and Śankara and modern Hinduism was evolved, Buddhism no doubt disappeared even from the Panjab, but the Hindu influence from the south was too distant to correct the laxity of caste and food prevailing there. And we can thus see why at the time when Mahmud conquered the Panjab, the Hindu sentiment among the people was particularly weak. The people lacked that intensity of faith in the Varṇāśrama Dharma which characterised the people of the Gangetic valley and they consequently did not resist forcible conversion with stubbornness and ceased to worship the idols which Mahmud had broken with more ease than could have been expected of a Hindu population possessing all the physical superiority of the Aryan race.

As regards political apathy the Panjab at this time was also in a worse condition than the rest of India. No doubt political consciousness had been dormant not only in the Panjab but all over India from the most ancient times. The political ideas indeed of all Eastern peoples are even now yet undeveloped. The idea that the country belongs to the people and not to the king is only slowly developing in recent years. The usual political conception under despotic rule is that the country belongs to the king and not that the king belongs to the country. The king, therefore, need not be from among the people. The Vedic Aryans had more advanced political ideas, it must be admitted, for the people then in reality formed the nation. In Vedic times the country and the king were both named after the people, the 'peoples' named in the singular denoting the king and in the plural the country; e. g. Madra, Śālva, Kuru, Pāṇchāla etc. Even down to the days of Alexander, there were nations or peoples in the Panjab among whom there were no kings. The Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, the Śālvas, and others according to Arrian were without kings; and had the republican form of government. These peoples are called gaṇas in the Mahābhārata. Whatever may be the case in Vedic or epic days, in later times, however, the kingly form

of government became the rule throughout India and the country with its people came to be looked upon as the king's property. Nationality could not develop under such a form of government. But while in Northern India there were native kings and there was some national feeling alive, in the Panjab owing to long continuous foreign rule even this modicum of national feeling did not exist and the people were entirely apathetic as to who ruled them. This is the reason why the people generally offered no resistance when Ānandapāla lost his battle and they quietly acknowledged Mahmud as ruler.

For these reasons thus viz: weakness of Hindu religious feeling and political apathy the Panjab fell easily before the onslaught of Mahmud. Political consciousness is awakening under the British rule and the changed aspect of the whole civilised world. But if the Hindus of the Panjab wish to maintain their position in the struggle of faiths in that province, they ought to strengthen their religious sentiment, abiding as it is even now, and develope it into a force equal to that of Śikhism or Mahomedanism.

It may perhaps be asked were there no Kshatriyas in the Panjab at that or any previous time and if there were, why did they not attempt to establish their own kingdoms? That the Panjab is predominantly Aryan is, as stated before, undoubted and there were then as now, thousands of Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas of Aryan blood in the Panjab. But the massacres of fighting populations which Alexander and later conquerors systematically perpetrated deprived the Panjab of almost the whole of the ruling class. The representatives of those valiant clans of Kshatriyas who opposed Alexander, of the Śibis, the Mālavas, the Madras, the Yaudheyas and others then survived (and still survive) in the Panjab. But they had become agriculturists and often heads of villages according to the Āpaddharma rule for the Kshatriyas prescribed in the Smṛitis and specially in the Parāśara Smṛiti (See Vol. II page 183). The Kshatriyas of the Panjab, valiant and able-bodied as they were, had thus long lost their ancient special characteristic viz: the desire and the determination to rule others and not to be ruled by others, the 'Īśvarabhāva' noted in the Bhagavadgita as belonging to Kshatriyas and they ceased to care who ruled, so long as they

preserved a sort of semi-independence in their village life. Such zamindars were not disturbed by any ruling power, whether Greek, Kushan, Hun, or Turk nor by Kashmir or Sind which ruled from a distance. This, however, led to a gradual distinction between the ruling Kshatriyas and the agricultural Kshatriyas which is still recognised in the Panjab. The former in fact are the Rajputs, i. e. sons and descendants of ruling families who never cultivated land and who always ruled even if it be in one village if not more. This ruling passion of the Rajputs immortalized in the minimum demand of Yudhishtira from Duryodhana "Give us five villages one for each brother and you may keep the rest of our kingdom," this ruling passion of the Rajputs to rule and never to be ruled led the surviving Rajputs of the Panjab to emigrate to the submontane hills on the eastern border of the Panjab or to the deserts of Rajputana and to countries still southward and eastward. As shown in Volume II, the Rajput ruling families of Rajputana came originally from the Panjab from whence they had to retire in consequence of the inroads of Greeks, Kushans, Huns, and Turks. Notably the Chauhans, the Paramāras, the Bhātis and even the Rathors came from the Panjab, and at the present day the Hindu and even the Mahomedan Rajputs in the Panjab still declare that they belong to these clans. The Bhātis dispossessed of Zabulistan by the Turks spread over the Panjab and founded a kingdom finally in Jaisalmere in Rajputana. The fine Janjuas of the Salt Range (now Mahomedans) are believed to be Anavaes or descendants of Anu and are the most valiant Kshatriyas in the Panjab. These and other warlike modern clans are the ancient Kshatriyas who preserved their independence by becoming headmen of village and even agriculturists.

But these also in ancient times did not care to establish kingly ruling families because the alien Mlechha rulers always accepted the religion of the conquered and in effect became native kings. Just as the Normans coming as conquerors became one with the conquered being already of the same religion as the Saxons and Britons, so the Greeks, the Kushans, the Śakas and the Huns became in India Buddhists or Vaishnavas and latterly Mihirakula was a staunch Śaiva and their rule was

never felt as a foreign rule. The kings of Kashmir, of Sind, and of Kabul who later on ruled the Panjab were Hindus and one with the people in manners and civilization and were never felt as foreign rulers. When the Turks conquered the Panjab the difference of religion indeed made the foreign rule intolerable by the destruction of temples and idols, and Mahomedan rule was also generally more oppressive, as we shall show later on, than Hindu rule. Yet the land-owning valorous Kshatriya tribes of the Panjab made no effort to establish a kingdom of their own for another reason and that was the forcible conversion of many of these tribes. The conversion of almost the whole fighting population of western Panjab has introduced a factor of cleavage in the people of this province,—the most warlike in the whole of India—which has unfortunately made it the most unfitted to attain self-rule. Why these tribes did not strenuously resist forcible conversion may be explained by their human desire to escape massacre and by their natural affection for their land and hereditary headship of villages as also by their weak Hindu feeling. The superstition of the Hindus that persons once defiled by eating beef and other heinous offences cannot be taken back into Hinduism made the cleavage permanent. The sympathies of these Mahomedan population, though originally Kshatriya by race and still observing certain Hindu customs, naturally went with the Mahomedan rulers; and the Panjab was again incapable of establishing a kingly line of its own, until we come to the Sikh rulers of the eighteenth century. Sikhism indeed resisted and eventually conquered Mahomedan oppression by organizing itself by a system akin to the conscription of ancient Greece and Rome or modern Germany and France. Guru Govindasing saw the necessity of transforming every Sikh into a soldier and the martial qualities of the people of the Panjab naturally aided him and enabled him to transform Sikhism into a militant religion like the Mahomedan religion itself. We have traced the history of the Panjab down to the present day to show why its people were and are politically apathetic. How modern environments will act upon the political consciousness of the people, now triply divided into Mahomedans, Hindus and Sikhs is outside the scope of our work and must be left to the political thinkers of the present and the future.

The reasons why Hindu kings of Northern India did not attempt to establish *their* rule over the Panjab may be briefly noticed. We have already seen that half the population of the Panjab was Mahomedan now and did not encourage such attempt. Kashmir was then not strong enough nor Kanauj, to make the attempt. The Chauhans of Sambhar were at a distance and finally no great hero arose among them who could attempt this difficult task though Visala III, had he lived long enough, might have made this effort which he expressly said he had left to his descendants (See his inscription noted in Chauhan chapter).

NOTE—MAHĀBHĀRATA ON THE LAXITY OF RELIGIOUS FEELING IN THE PANJAB.

In the Karna Parva chapters 40 to 45 we have a spirited dialogue between Karna and Salya, the former depicting the bad manners and the religious laxity of the people of the Panjab and the latter offering no defence practically. This shows that the people of Āryāvarta or modern U. P. and Delhi looked down upon the Hindus of the Panjab in the time of Alexander and succeeding centuries. "In their houses people laugh and dance eating beef and drinking wine eating also Saktu and fish. From the Madra country and in Gāndhāru (beyond the Indus) purity has disappeared. In the Mantra or charm against scorpion-bite they say 'I will not associate with a man from Madra country; this poison of thine is destroyed' (chap 43). In chapter 44 we have "One should not go to the Vāhika country in which the five rivers and the sixth Indus flow as it is unpurified by the Himalayas, by the Ganges, by the Junna and the Sarasvati and as it is void of true religion and cleanliness. The eaters of beef with garlic and the drinkers of liquor prepared from rice jaugry are indeed void of good breeding. That country is called Aratta and is void of religion; one should not go there; it is the country of those who are Vrātya (without religious ceremonies and without the sacrifices). If you drink water in Yugandhara town or stay in Achyutasthala or bathe in the pond of Bhūtalavya, how will you go to heaven? An Arya should not reside for two days in the Āratta Vāhika country where a Brahmin becomes a Kshatriya and then a Vaiśya and then a Śūdra and finally a barber and a Brahmin again". Salya only replied that there were good and bad men in every country.

CHAPTER XX.

THE SUCCESSORS OF MAHMUD

Although the Panjab with Kabul did not form part of Hindu India henceforward, we must give a short account of the kingdom of Ghazni during the reigns of Mahmud's successors, with such references to Hindu India as are found therein in detail. The history of the Ghaznavide kings is given in short by the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* written by Minhaj-us-siraj a learned man who was Kazi of Delhi and its empire under several kings and lastly under Nasiruddin and Ghiyasuddin Balban (Elliot II p 260), and who wrote this history and dedicated it to Nasiruddin about 1250 A. D. A detailed gossiping account of the reign of Masa'ud written by Baihaki who was almost an eye-witness of the events he describes and who wrote about 1050 A. D. is also available and is very informing. From these two we give below a short history of the Ghaznavide kings, who followed Mahmud, with such references in detail to Hindu India as are found therein.

Mahmud's two sons Masa'ud and Muhammad were born on the same day from different mothers. Masa'ud was so strong physically that his mace could not be wielded even by Mahmud but he was unruly and turbulent. Muhammad was, on the other hand, gentle and promising and therefore in the good graces of his father. Believing Masa'ud would oppress the people and the army, Mahmud had named Muhammad as his successor and the permission of the Khalifa to add his name in the Khutba had been obtained. When some officer expressed his condolence to Masa'ud privately, he in the usual Mahomedan spirit observed "The sword is a better guarantee of the throne than documents". And events actually happened as had been anticipated. Masa'ud was governor in Khorasan, like Mahmud himself, at the time of their father's death, and marched against his brother Muhammad who had meanwhile ascended the throne of Ghazni, in the same way as Mahmud had marched against his brother Ismail. But unlike Mahmud,

Masa'ud blinded his defeated brother and always kept him a close prisoner. And when he became the master of the extensive empire of Mahmud he recovered all the sums Muhammad had distributed among his officers, even by torture. If Mahmud resembles Shivaji, his son Masa'ud resembles Sambhaji almost in every respect. The latter was as powerful physically as Masa'ud and he too after his father's death defeated Rajaram and killed his mother. He ruled vigorously for about ten years and was eventually seized by Aurangzeb and cruelly put to death. Masa'ud met a similar tragic end after reigning vigorously for about ten years. Both Sambhaji and Masa'ud were strong in their religious beliefs. Masa'ud persecuted heretics as Mahmud had done and also led some religious expeditions into Hindustan.

The ordered nature of government inherited from Mahmud appears from the interesting details given by Baihaki as to how ministers were appointed with the most elaborate ceremonies, how the Sultan consulted the minister in every matter and how correspondence passed between them through the private secretary and how regularly written orders were passed. The Indian province was administered through a Kazi and a commander-in-chief both of whom resided at Lahore. "The Kazi was the head of the civil administration and collected taxes and dispensed justice while the commander-in-chief made war, took tribute, seized upon elephants and chastised refractory Hindu chiefs" (Elliot II p. 118). When Ahmad Nialtagin was appointed commander-in-chief of Hindustan, he received a royal Khillat, "royal verbal orders and a written out diploma. Then an oath was given to him and he put his signature to his bond that he would serve faithfully and these papers after being shown to the king were given into the charge of the record keeper" (Elliot II p. 119). It is interesting to note that some refractory troops and slaves, liberated with letters of freedom, were handed over to Nialtagin for safe keeping and employment, but they were not to be sent beyond the Chandrabhāgā river or mix with the Lahore army. Probably if they went to Lahore they would create mischief in that capital and perhaps going beyond it into Hindu independent territory they would create more trouble.

One of the duties of the commander was to make raids into Hindustan and to collect tribute from Thakurs, the refractory turbulent zemindars already described who belonged to the Kshatriya caste. And Nialtagin made a raid into Hindustan going as far as Benares where Baihaki states that even Mahmud had not gone. This makes it certain that Mahmud went as far as Bari only when he conquered Rājyapāla on the Rahib which must be some river in Oudh (Ghaggar or Gomati). There was a quarrel between Nialtagin and the Kazi (the civil and the military powers in India under the British too sometimes were at variance and caused loss and finally the constitution of India placed the military authority under the Governor-general). The minister had told Nialtagin that "he was the generalissimo of Hindustan and the Kazi had no control over him" (Elliot II. p. 128). And Nialtagin quarrelled with the Kazi and led an expedition into Hindustan with the consent of Masa'ud who had sided with Ahmad in his quarrel.

The expedition is thus described by Baihaki: "He crossed the Ganges and marched by the left bank. He suddenly appeared before Benares which belonged to the territory of Ganga. The city was two parsangs square and contained plenty of water. The army could only remain there from morning till midday because of the peril. The markets of the drapers, perfumers and jewellers were plundered. The people of the army became very rich and carried off gold, silver, perfumes and jewels and got back in safety". This evidence coming from almost an eye-witness and unquestionably a contemporary, places the raid in 1033 A. D. It shows that the city was in the possession of Gāngeyadeva Kalachūri of Tripura a powerful king whose army was probably near and who was much feared as he was known to be a powerful king. The bazar contained shops of drapers, perfumers, and jewellers which trades are still thriving in Benares. And the statement that Benares had plenty of water means that well-water and pond-water was plentiful in the city which is situated on a high bank of the Ganges or in the country round Benares away from the river.

This successful raid of Nialtagin turned his head and he began to form schemes of founding an independent kingdom and to engage Turkoman soldiers direct from Turkey. The

Kazi, however, reported the matter to Masa'ud, who dismissed Nialtagin and sent a Hindu commander to arrest him alive if possible. Eventually Nialtagin was defeated and pursued by some Jats on the Indus and killed. This and other events show how powerful generals and slaves become as dangerous to the master as to the enemy.

The employment of Hindu soldiers and generals, even on occasions of trust, shows that Hindus had already risen to posts of responsibility under the Moslem rulers of Ghazni. Their great bravery is extolled even by Moslem writers. This employment of Hindu soldiers began in the days of Mahmud himself. Indeed Jaipal maintained a force of 2000 Hindus at Ghazni for some years and Elliot himself thought it curious that Hindu soldiers should serve as mercenaries under their bitterest persecutors (E. II. p. 448). But considering the religious and political apathy of the Hindus described before, one need not wonder that Hindus have always accepted service under foreign governments and have always sought and obtained distinction by loyalty and efficiency. This early credit gained by the Hindus is noted by Elliot who mentions several instances of their employment by their bitterest persecutors such as that of Sāwandrai employed by Masa'ud against the nobles who opposed his accession (Sawand with his soldiers was killed in the battle) or Bijai Rai, a general employed even by Mahmud and called again by Masa'ud's successors (Elliot II. p. 60). This instance of Jats killing Nialtagin shows the loyal service performed by Jat subjects for their king.

The successful raid of Nialtagin shows the weak state to which the kingdom of Kanauj, no longer an empire, had been reduced. Rājyapāla was already dead and was succeeded by Trilochanapāla who made a grant at Prayāga in 1026 as already stated. But Prayāga must have, like Benares, gone subsequently into the possession of Gāngeya, who, as will be stated in the history of the Kalachuri kings, died at Prayāga. We do not know how long Trilochanapāla ruled and who succeeded him. A king Yaśahpāla is mentioned in a broken inscription published by Colebrooke in his essays (II. p. 278) wherein he is described as Mahārājādhirāja, but not Paramēśvara. He made a

grant in the Kausambi Mandala south of the Jumna and southwest of Prayāga. Kanauj held undoubted sway in Oudh but the 'Turks of Ghazni emboldened by the raid of Nialtagin made further raids into Oudh. The improbable story of Salar Masa'ud, Mahmud's sister's son, may at least suggest the certainty of many raids by the Turks especially in Oudh where the scene of Salar's story is laid. It is believed that Salar Masa'ud, had his head-quarters at Saraikh in the present Bara-Banki District of Oudh and from there made raids in several directions. Many districts in Oudh contain sacred places supposed to belong to that saint. These raids took place probably from 1038 to 1050. The story of Sālār is not wholly a fiction, as we find from a Rathod inscription found at Badaun (Ep. Ind. II pp. 64) that one of the kings Madanapāla made the raids of any Amir impossible. We will comment upon this inscription at great length elsewhere in another connection. The date of this inscription is not given and that of Madanapāla cannot, therefore, be fixed but we think this is a reference to the raids of Nialtagin or Sālār Masa'ud, who must have passed into Oudh via Badaun. The Hindu Rajput kings of India resented these raids on their sacred places particularly and, as we shall show later on, Bhoja of Malwa (1040 A. D.), Karna Kalachuri of Tripur and lastly Chandra Gāhadavāla drove out these Turks and others mentioned before from Upper India and "freed the country of its oppressors". The last king took Kanauj and established a powerful Hindu kingdom there, the effete Pratihāra line thus ending about 1080 A. D. These later Pratihāra kings, as shown already, were tributaries of Ghazni and levied an impost named Turushkadanda on the villages in their kingdom which under the Gāhadvālas continued to be realised though not paid to the Turks.

This is a digression, though a necessary one, and we may resume our narrative of the Ghaznavide kings. Baihaki relates that one year a sudden flood of the Ghazni river did great havoc in the city and bodily carried away the bridge on it. The fort of Ghazni built by Yakub-i-lais and his brother, however, stood firm. Masa'ud, who was a mathematician himself built a new bridge over the river of one stupendous span. He also built several new palaces and splendid gardens.

But inspite of good qualities he was endowed with, viz. personal strength and valour, learning and care for his people, Masa'ud was unfortunate and was destined to loose the greater part of his kingdom. "In what was Amir Masa'ud destitute?" asks Baihaki. "Servants, officers of State, lords of the sword and pen, an overwhelming treasury were all his, but destiny decided that he should live a reign of pain and vexation and that Khorasan, Khwarisan, Rê, and the Jabbāl should depart from his hands" "The prince made exceeding exertions and collected large armies. He passed sleepless nights in contemplation of his schemes, yet his affairs were ruined" (Elliot II). Probably the cause may be found in his excessive independence of opinion and his refusing to accept advice. The trouble began in Khorasan where Mahmud himself had allowed some Turks to settle. Prince Maudud, Masa'ud's eldest son, was as usual appointed governor of Khorasan and Balkh, and in his time Seljukian Turas rebelled. The Ghazni army was defeated. The province was also invaded from the north and the minister and other officers advised Masa'ud to advance personally against the Turks. He, contrary to their advice, insisted on leading a holy expedition into Hindustan and went and invested the fort of Hānsī which lay to the south of the Sutlej and in the present district of Hissar. Masa'ud thus tried to extend his dominions beyond the Panjab. This invasion took place in 1037 A. D. It cannot be determined who was in possession of this fort and the district. The Hissar Gazetteer (p. 19) states that this fort of Hānsī, which is a very old place, was in possession of Anuraj son of Vīsaldeo Chāhamāna and Teshtapāla the son of Anuraj was driven out and he then founded the Hādā dynasty of Boondi.* But as we shall see in the history of the Chāhamānas later, their king at this time was Vākpati and Gaurishankar Ojha states that the Boondi Chauhan dynasty was descended from Āsarāja, twelfth king of the Chauhan line of Nadul. Whatever the name of the person who held the fort, he was a Chāhamāna no doubt and he fought valiantly. Baihaki describes the siege as follows:— "Fights were constantly taking place in a manner that could not be

* It is difficult to know whence this statement is taken.

exceeded in severity. The garrison made desperate defence. In the victorious (Moslem) army, the slaves of the household behaved very gallantly. At last mines were sprung in five places and the walls brought down and the fort was stormed on Monday ten days before the close of Rabiul-avval. The Brahmins and other high men were slain and their women and children carried into captivity. All the treasure that was found was divided amongst the army. This fort is known in Hindustan as the virgin fort. " (E. II. 140).

The above description brings out two new facts. First the mining of the walls; when we hold that gunpowder was not known in those days, it could only have been carried out with some other explosive; but what that was it is difficult to say. Secondly the slaughter of Brahmins was an advance on the severity of Mahomedan fighting in the days of Mahmud (Utbi never mentions it in his detailed account, possibly by oversight). The Rajputs of Northern India were men of a different spirit than the Kshatriyas of the Panjab. They were accustomed to rule and never to be ruled. It appears that the fort and the district was retaken by the Tomars of Delhi, who were then rising to power under the Chauhans, in 1043 A. D. as Firishta has related (Hissar Gazetteer p. 20.).

Masa'ud, on returning to Ghazni, found that he had committed a mistake. While trying to extend his dominions south-east, he had lost the most important province of Khorasan in the north-west. It was Mahmud alone who could vigilantly watch both east and west. The Seljukian Turks taking advantage of Masa'ud's forces being engaged in the distant Hindustan attacked and seized Khorasan. They were even preparing now to advance on Ghazni and Masa'ud was perturbed. He resolved upon retiring into Hindustan with all his family and treasure and gave orders accordingly. Frantic remonstrances were addressed to him by his nobles, generals and officers and even by his mother. But Masa'ud as usual was inexorable and unamenable to advice. It is strange to find that this decision of the brave king was based on astrology. Curiously enough the Turks and even the Arabs were strong believers in astrology* like the Hindus, though Mahomet had strictly

* Al-Beruni himself was an astrologer as well as astronomer.

forbidden consulting the stars. "The prime minister wisely remonstrated that if his lord went into Hindustan with his ladies and his treasure when the news would be known among friends and enemies, everybody being desirous of increasing his power, calamity would befall him". But the ill-fated Masa'ud exclaimed "This dotard does not know what he says. That is right which I have determined. I am ready to acknowledge that you have written through affection for me. You must wait for further orders; *for that which I see you cannot see. He handed over the city and the fort of Ghazni to the Kotwal* Bu-Ali and remarked "My son Maudud, the minister and a large army will be away. Whatever may happen, in the spring I will settle the matter in another way. *The astrologers have declared that my star is not propitious during winter.*" The Kotwal urged that the ladies and the treasure should be secured in strong forts, but the Sultan replied that he had determined that they would remain with him and prayed to God to grant him peace and welfare in his journey to Hindustan (Baihaki E. II. p. 52).

The Sultan wished to avoid the evil influence of his star by going into Hindustan, which then still included, as it includes even now, the warmer country to the west of the Indus with the cities of Wahind, Mārminārā (?) Bershaur and Kiril (?) (E. II. p. 150); but the evil star destroyed Masa'ud even in Hindustan. The Tabakat-i-Nasiri relates that Masa'ud was seized by his own rebellious Moslem and Hindu slaves as he was going through the Margilan pass (in the hills between Rawalpindi and Attock, a few miles to the west of Hasan Abdal) and imprisoned. They liberated the blind Muhammad who was in custody and placed him on the throne. Masa'ud was taken to the fortress of Gur and there murdered. This tragic end of Masa'ud reminds us of the tragic end of Sambhaji who too like Masa'ud lost the large Mahārāshtra territory acquired by his father and had left to him a distant province Karnatic for refuge as Hindustan was left to the kings of Ghazni. Both though endowed with great courage and learning and strong in religious zeal came to grief by their obstinacy and unamenability to good advice. The unfortunate end of both shows how immense resources are of no avail without the capacity to use

them ; and the greatness of Mahmud, as that of Shivaji, appears in the fact that he achieved greatness even without any great resources in the beginning.

We have given the history of Masa'ud at some length because it brings out the greatness of Mahmud by relief and because the two important expeditions* into Hindustan took place in his time, one to Benares and the other to Hansi resulting in further acquisition of territory for some time. We will now go on to the history of the remaining kings of Ghazni which we give in the briefest manner, with such references in detail to India as occur therein.

Muhammad was king only for six months ; for Maudud, son of Masa'ud flew from Balkh, where he was governor, to avenge his father's death. Taking possession of Afghanistan he went on to Hindustan, defeated his uncle and took him and all his children prisoner. They were all killed as also the Turkish and Hindu slaves who had seized his father. He returned to Ghazni and ruled for nine years. His sons were incapable and the officers and nobles raised one of them Mahmud and his uncle Ali together to the throne. But both being incapable, complete disorder prevailed. After two months they were sent to a fortress and Abdul Rashid, a son of Mahmud, was raised to the throne in 444 H. (1050 A. D.). Alp-Arslan, the Seljuk king of Iran and Khorasan advanced against Ghazni but was defeated by Tugril, a fearless slave disciplined under Mahmud, who was placed at the head of the Ghazni forces. When he returned victorious, he killed the Sultan Abdul Rashid and ascended the throne himself. He killed eleven other princes and ruled tyrannically. After forty days of misrule, he was killed by a Turkish silahdar or arm-bearer (a term of general use in later Indian history) on the throne itself.

Only two princes remained imprisoned in a fort and Tugril had sent a messenger ordering their dispatch also. The seneschal at the fort cautiously delayed the execution of the order for one day only and a pigeon-carrier brought the news

* A third is mentioned in which Masa'ud is said to have taken a fort on the Sarasvati in Kashmir. But Baihaki does not mention it and we do not think there is any Sarasvati river in Kashmir nor does the Taragini mention this invasion.

of 'Tugril's murder. The lives of these princes were thus fortunately saved and both became Sultans in succession viz. Farukhjad and Ibrahim. Both ruled justly and kindly. Ibrahim was a very religious man and translated the Koran into Persian. He had forty daughters and thirty six sons: so that the royal family was again full. These daughters were given in marriage to learned persons by the Sultan and one of them was married to the grandfather of the author of Nasiri. Ibrahim was like Shahu and ruled long (42 years) dying in 492 H. (1100) after a peaceful and prosperous reign. His son Masa'ud reigned even more justly and liberally. He abolished exorbitant taxes throughout Mahmudi dominions and Zabulistan and remitted all tolls and imposts throughout the empire. In his reign a religious expedition into Hindustan was led by his Hajib who crossed the Ganges and "penetrated to a place where none except Mahmud had gone". The year and the place are not mentioned. But this makes the raid of Sālār Masa'ud improbable for Mahmud did not go beyond Bari in Oudh. This king died after 17 years of reign in 509 H. (1118). This makes the raid into Oudh the last under an Amir and probably this is the raid referred to in the Badaun inscription.

Arslan his elder son succeeded him but was driven away by his younger brother Behram by the aid of Sultan Sanjar who was his maternal uncle. But his reign though long (41 years) was unhappy. The governor of Hindustan twice rebelled and he had twice to attack him, once near Multan and another time in the Siwalic hills. The rebel was, however, eventually destroyed. The Ghori chiefs in his absence became powerful and took Ghazni which they destroyed by fire as will be related later in Ghori history. Bahram retired into Hindustan but when the Ghoris departed from Ghazni he returned. His son Khusru succeeded him in 552 H. (1159 A. D.). As the Ghori chiefs had shaken the Ghazni kingdom to the foundation and as Khusru was a weak king, a horde of Gozz Turks attacked and captured Ghazni and retained it for twelve years, when they were driven out by Ghiasuddin Ghori. Khusru as usual retired to Lahore and ruled there for seven years. His son Khusru the mild ruled in Lahore for some time but he was taken prisoner by Muhammad Ghori in 587 H. (1191) and

eventually put to death with his son by order of Ghiasuddin Ghorî in 598 (1206 A. D), when the line of Mahmud ended.

The history of the Ghaznavide kings forcibly exhibits the great evils to which despotic systems of government are exposed where there is no national sentiment to check them. There is always a rule of succession recognised in every country and in the west there are formal acts of succession. But when ambitious and unscrupulous persons are not prevented by the strong national sentiment of the people from doing mischief, murders of kings and sometimes of possible claimants to the throne are often committed in such frightful manner and number that birth in a royal family becomes indeed a calamity. In the history of Hindu kingdoms such scenes are rarely met with though national sentiment was absent in them also because probably the Hindu nature is, for well known reasons, less evil and more law-observing.

We here close this book and will give a detailed account of the Ghorî kings who supplanted the Ghaznavi line, when we come to the history of Prithvirâja in the last book as they overthrew him and finally conquered India. It is further necessary to add that there must have been many raids by Turkish adventurers into Hindustan, besides the one described above, as will appear from the history of the several Rajput kingdoms given in the following book though they are not mentioned by Mahomedan historians.

NOTE 1:—COINS OF THE GHAZNAVI KINGS.

We find the following interesting information from a paper by Mr. Thomas in J. R. A. S. IX p. 67 and XVII p. 157. It may be stated that every king in Ghazni, and generally in India, struck coins in his name commemorating his coming to the throne. We, therefore, find coins of Alptagin, Sabuktagin, Iemail and Mahmud showing that they became kings in Ghazni in this order. But in all these coins the name of the Sāmāni emperor, Mansur or Nuh, is also inscribed showing that they were subordinate kings of the Sāmāni empire. Mahmud first assumed independence as his coin dated 389 H. (1000 A. D.) first omits the mention of a Sāmāni king. The first coins of Mahmud describe him as Saif-ud-dowla a title given him by Nuh in 389H. (995 A. D.) then as Al-Amir-Yamin-ud-dowlat-va-Amin-ul-millat, a title given him by the Khalifa, later as Malik-ul-mamālik, and finally simply as Mahmud without any title when he had really become so great as to require no titles. He never calls himself, strangely enough, Sultan or Ghāzi. The title Sultan first appears in the coins of Ibrahim (coins 4652 H. or 1061 A. D.)

Mahmud's coins are found in bilingual form also, for the use of his Indian subjects. The legend in Devnāgari is interesting and shows that Indian Pandits were at the court of Mahmud. It is as follows.—“अव्यक्तमेक मुहम्मद-अवतार नृपति महमूद.” They had made Mahmud an incarnation of Mahomet and identified the prophet again with the Avyakta, though sometimes the simple words अयं देव महमूद संवत् ४१२ are found. These coins were struck at Lahore. There were mints at Lahore, Ghazni, Nishapur, and three or four more places in the west. There was no mint at Kabul.

The Ghaznavi kings copied the Kabul Shāhi coins struck in the name of Sāmantadeva with recumbent bull (Nandi) on the obverse and horseman with the name of Mahmud or Masaud on the reverse. The Hindu bull was copied on Maudud's coins and also later on in Ibrahim's coins dated 432 H. (1041 A. D.) The coins of Sabuktagin and Mahmud approximate to the coins of the Hindu kings of Kabul in weight. It seems that Shāhi Brahmin kings' coins were of silver (called dirhams) and Ghazni and Nishapur mint coins were of gold (called dinar); and copper and small silver coins belong both to Hindu and Mahomedan kings.

**NOTE 2:—SPELLING AND MEANING OF SOME
MAHOMEDAN NAMES.**

Name		Spelling adopted	Meaning
1	Alptagin or Alptigin	(Turki) Alptagin	Alp (strong) and Tagin or Tigin (wrestler)
2	Sabuktagin	„ Sabuktagin	Sabuk (active, expeditious)
3	Mahmud	(Arabic) Mahmud	The praised
4	Muhammad	„ Muhummad	The praiser. (The name of the prophet is given as Mahomet)
5	Shihabuddin	„ Shihabuddin	The shooting-star of religion
6	Kutubuddin	„ Kutubuddin	The pole-star of religion
7	Ghiyasuddin	„ Ghiyasuddin	Supporter of religion
8	Iyaltimish	(Turki) Altamash	The lion (?)
9	Al-Beruni	(Arabic) Al-Beruni	The outsider (?)

We may add that the names of certain towns and provinces are spelt as follows in this book viz:—Khorasan, Sistan, Balkh, Baghdad (garden of justice), Nishapur (this appears to be a Sanskrit name) and Bokhara.

BOOK VII.

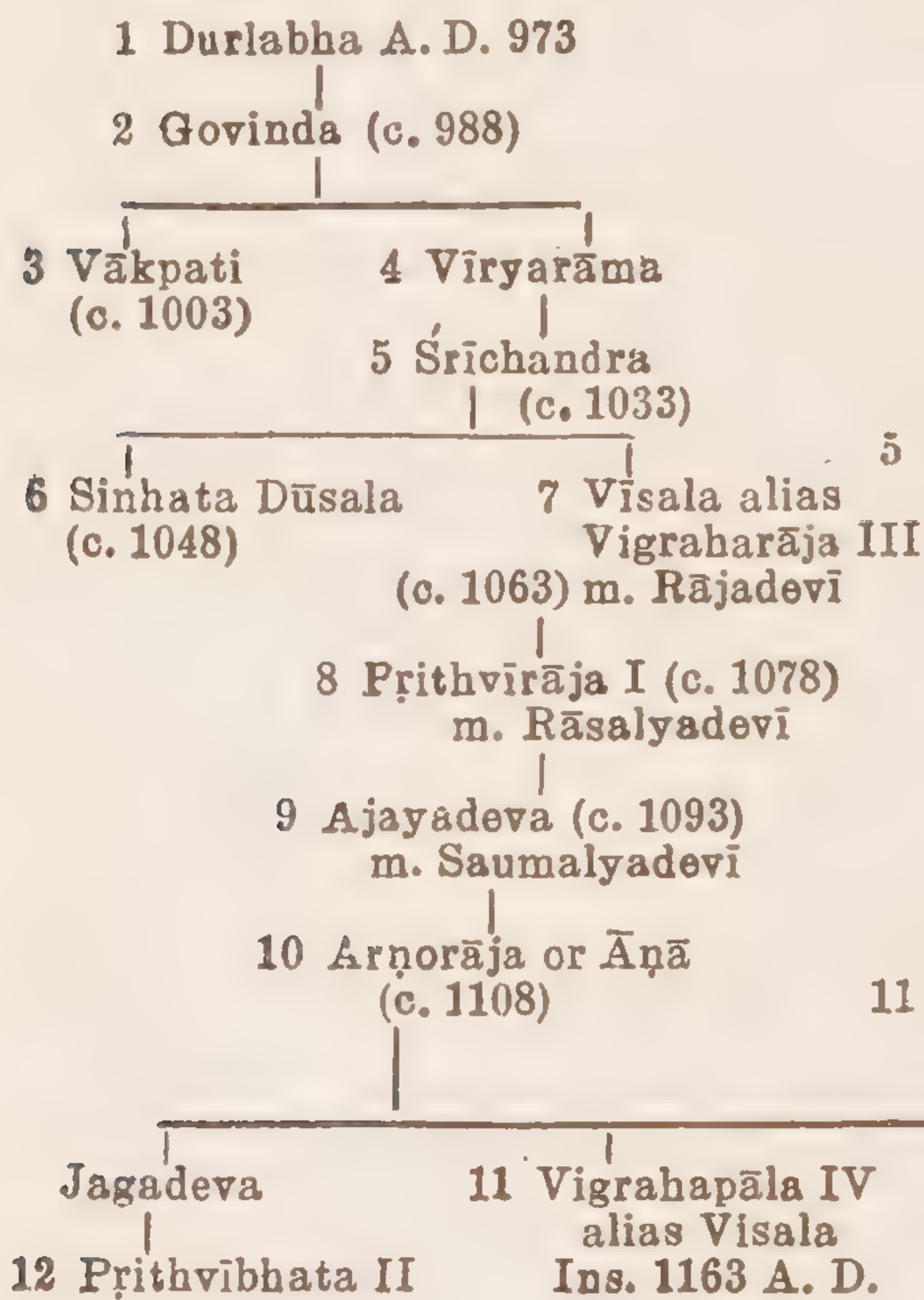
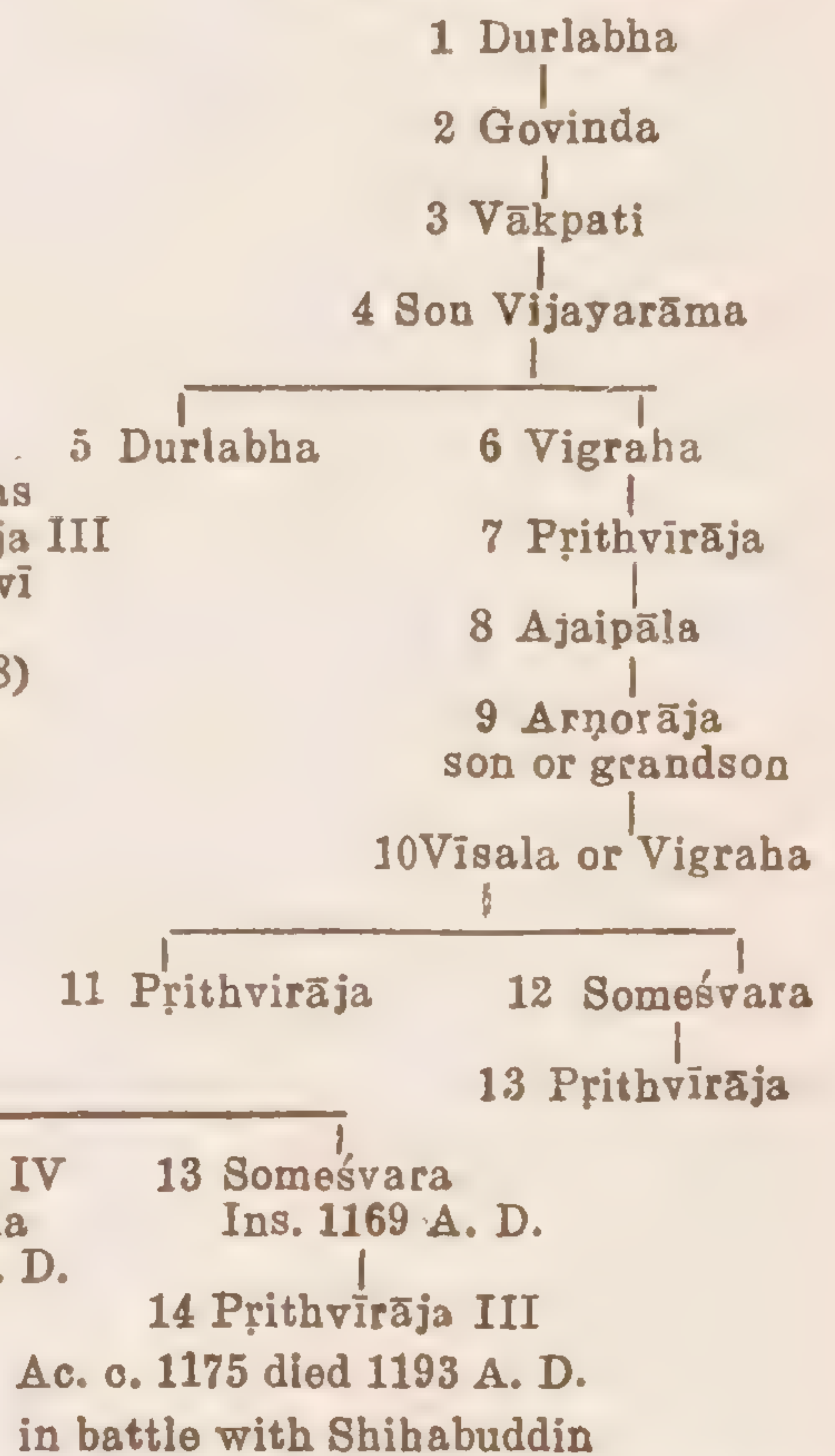
THE THIRD SET OF HINDU KINGDOMS

CHAPTER I.

THE CHĀHAMĀNAS OF SĀMBHAR AND AJMER.

One of the famous Rajput clans of the preceding sub-period which still flourished in this sub-period and indeed attained to greater glory was the Chāhamānas of Sāmbhar. We have given the history of their rise in our second volume chapter III Book IV (pp. 90-97) and shown that the first king who established a kingdom in Sāmbhar, otherwise called the Sapādalaksha territory (of 1¼ lakh villages), was Sāmanta and he became famous by his vigorous opposition to the invading Arabs from Sind about 750 or 778 A. D. His successors down to the last Prithvirāja had constant fights with Mahomedans and maintained the struggle with great vigour and obstinacy. We have also given in Volume II the genealogy of the Chāhamānas of Sāmbhar from Gūvaka I, the next important king, to Durlabha whose Harsha stone inscription dated V. E. 1030 (A. D. 973) has been found. In this volume we will give the genealogy of the Chāhamānas from Durlabha onwards to Prithvirāja their last king and emperor of India. The whole genealogy is given in the Bijolia inscription published by Kavirāja Shyāmaladas in J. R. A. S. Bengal LV and the same is examined by Kielhorn in Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII and also discussed by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha in his Hindi edition of Tod's Rājastān (p. 394). The value of Prithvirāja Rāsā as history is almost nil according to most scholars, as has been

proved by many inscriptions found since Tod wrote his great history. The Chāhamāna genealogy, therefore, and also the dates given by Tod mainly from Prithvirāja Rāsā are naturally incorrect and we have to rely for correct genealogy and dates on inscriptions and such dates as can be guessed for particular kings by calculation. The Rajputana Gazetteer Vol. III B (page 65) gives a genealogy of the Chāhamānas based on the Bijolia inscription but there appear to be a few inaccuracies therein which according to our view require to be corrected. We will here give the genealogy of the Chāhamānas of Sāmbhar from Durlabha onwards down to Prithvirāja as we conceive it to be, with probable dates, side by side with the genealogy given in the Rajputana Gazetteer for comparison.

Bijolia Insc. St. 1226*Rajputana Gazetteer*

Of Prithvirāja III or the last we will speak in a separate chapter; for his conflict with Shihabuddin Ghorī must be treated in great detail as it ended in the final overthrow of

Northern India and in effect of the whole of this country. His date of accession may be, as we shall show later on, taken to be about 1175 A. D. From Durlabha whose reign may be taken to begin in A. D. 973 down to Prithvirāja III whose reign began in 1175 A. D. we have thirteen kings and a period of about 202 years giving an average of $15\frac{1}{2}$ years per king. In the previous section of the genealogy, as the reader may remember, we took, for fixing dates, an average of 15 years.

The first king Durlabha is said in the Harsha stone inscription to be a brother of the preceding king Vighraharāja who certainly was a great king. If we identify him with the Dhundā Dānava Visala of the Prithvirāja Rāsā wherein the absurd legend is given of his becoming a demon and devastating Ajmer, we shall not be far wrong. But as said before, it is not possible to take the Rāsā for history, at least for the ancestors of Prithvirāja III; and we have to abandon the task of identifying Rāsā kings with kings mentioned in inscriptions. For, further, we find that this demon is said to have lived for 300 years before Prithvirāja and yet his son is said to be Sāraṅgadeva a name not to be found in the inscription genealogies and his son was Arṇorāja. But Arṇorāja from inscriptions appears to be a great-grandson of the next Viśāla or Vighraha III whose probable date of accession is 1063 A. D. and who thus preceded Prithvirāja III by about a hundred years only. Giving up the Rāsā, therefore, we may note that Vākpati was the king of Sāmbhar from A. D. 1003 and hence a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni.* But the Chāhamānas do not appear to have had any conflict with the Turks of Ghazni during Mahmud's time as Mahmud did not come to Ajmer. And Ajmer was not the capital of the Chāhamānas in 1000 A. D. When Firishta mentions Ajmer kings taking part in the confederacy of Rajput kings against Sabuktigin or Mahmud, he merely makes a surmise by ante-dating Ajmer owing to its fame in the days of Shihabuddin Ghori. Going further on, we find that instead of Śrichandra of the Bijolia inscription, R. B. Gaurishankar gives the name Chāmunda and

* It is difficult to state on what authority Sir V. Smith states in his Oxford history of India that Visaldeo of Ajmer led the confederate army against Mahmud in 1008 A. D.

mentions that he built a Vishṇu temple (as stated in Hammīra-Kāvya) in a town in Marwar; while Kielhorn gives Simhata and Dūsala as separate kings (See Ep. In. VIII Appendix). Prithvīrāja I is said to have given a golden kalaśa (pinnacle-pot) usually covered with gold to a Jain temple in Ranatham-bhor. His son Ajayadeva is said to have built the fort of Ajmer and founded the modern town, towards the end of the 11th century A. D. and to have removed his capital from Sām-bhar to Ajmer. He must have been a powerful king as coins struck in his name and in the name of his queen Somalādevī have been found (Ind. Ant. 1912). His son Arṇorāja or Ānā was a more powerful king. He built the Ānā-sāgar tank and bund and "thus purified the place defiled as it had been by the invasion of Mahomedans". (This is perhaps a poetic fancy of the Prithīrāja-Vijaya poem). His reign is assigned by Mr. Harbilas Sarda to 1125 to 1150 A. D.* which does not much differ from the computed date given in our genealogy. Pandit Gaurishankar mentions that Kumārapāla of Gujarat invaded Ajmer in the time of Arṇorāja in St. 1207 or 1150 A. D. and Mr. Harbilas Sarda has in a paper in Ind. Ant. 1912 shown that Ānā twice warred with Kumārapāla of Gujarat, first in St. 1202 and again in St. 1207 when the latter invaded Ajmer to avenge an insult offered to his sister who was married to him. Arṇo's second son Visaladeva or Vighraharāja IV ascended the throne of Ajmer, setting aside his elder brother Jagadeva who had murdered Ānā and who probably did not at all rule. Visaladeva was a greater monarch than Ānā himself. He has recorded an inscription on the Iron pillar of Delhi in which his exploits are extolled to the highest. "From Vindhya to the Himalayas, he, moving for pilgrimage, conquered all those kings who opposed him and favoured those who bent their necks to him and he made Āryāvarta again a real Āryāvarta or abode of Āryas by slaughters inflicted on Mahomedans". And he exhorts his descendants in this way. "We have made the portion of the earth between the Vindhya and the Himalayas tributary to us. May your minds be not devoid of exertion for

* It is inexplicable how Mr. Sarda assigns for Ajayapāla's reign the period 1165-1175 A. D. (Ajmer P. 33). Probably these figures are given there by mistake or misprint.

the conquest of the rest.”† This indeed shows the vigorous character of his rule and his high ambition. We have already shown that after their conquest and annexation of the Punjab the Mahomedans had sent several expeditions into mid-India and made settlements in many places. Visaladeva drove these Mahomedans back into the Panjab and clearing Āryāvarta made it so in reality. This further would confirm the statement in the Bijolia inscription that he conquered Delhi, a fact on which doubt has been expressed. The verse “प्रतोल्यां च वलभ्यां च येन विश्रामितं यशः । दिल्लीकाग्रहणश्रान्तमाशिकालाभलंभितम् ॥” of the Bijolia inscription is difficult to understand. The words Pratolī and Valabhī are indeed double-meaning as also Dhillikā and Māsikā (which indicate probably towns of these names as also parts of a house). But it clearly indicates that he had to make great efforts to conquer Delhi. The Bijolia inscription as well as the inscription on the iron pillar at Dehli are given in an Appendix for the curious reader.

Visaladeva was not only a great warrior, conqueror of Vaikunta, Jābālīpura Palli and even Delhi (Bijolia inscription) but he was a poet and a patron of poets like Bhoja of Dhar of immortal fame. Two slabs of stone inscribed with two Sanskrit dramas, one composed by Visaladeva himself and the other composed by his court-poet have recently been found at Ajmer. The Harakeli Nātaka is composed by Visaladeva himself and is based on the well-known Kirātārjunīya epic poem. The king represents himself as eventually having had *darśana* of Śiva like Arjuna. The drama is said to be composed in St. 1210 (A. D. 1153). The second drama is entitled Lalita-Vigraharāja and is composed by the court-poet Somadeva. Vigraharāja is shown to have fallen in love with the daughter of king Vasanta-

† आविन्ध्यादाहिमोद्विर्विचित्रविजयस्तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गात् ।
उद्ग्रीवेषु प्रहर्ता नृपतिषु विनमत्कन्धरेषु प्रसन्नः ॥
आर्यावर्ते यथार्थं पुनरपि कृतवान् म्लेच्छविच्छेदनाभि- ।
देवः शाकम्भरीन्द्रो जगति विजयते वीसलो क्षोणिपालः ॥
ब्रूते सम्प्रति चाहमानतिलको शाकम्भरी-भूपतिः ।
श्रीमद्विग्रहराज एष विजयी सन्तानजानात्मजान् ॥
अस्माभिः करदं व्यधायि हिमवद्विन्ध्यान्तरालं भुवः ।
शेषस्वीकरणाय मास्तु भवतामुद्योगशून्यं मनः ॥

(I. A. xix p. 218)

pāla (probably an imaginary king) who requited his love and he sends a messenger to her informing her of his resolve to come to her after his fight with the Amir. This seems to be historically true and the Turks under their Hammīra (Amir) are said to be innumerable. Each party has sent spies into the other's camp. Eventually formal messengers are sent and a truce or peace is concluded.

Visaladeva has left his name in Ajmer in the Visalasara or tank, constructed by him, in imitation of his father Ānā who is named as Avelladeva in his iron pillar inscription and who built the Ānā-sāgara tank on the bank of which Shahjahan later built a marble Bārādari or open pavilion. Visaladeva also built a college for Sanskrit students which was converted by Shihabuddin Ghorī into a mosque which is now known as Adhai-Dinki-Zhopadi (a hut of two days and a half).

Visaladeva's last record found (Iron pillar of Delhi) is dated St. 1220 (A. D. 1163). He left a minor son named Aparagāṅgeya who is not mentioned in the Bijolia inscription. He must have been set aside by Visaladeva's nephew Prithvībhata or Prithvīraja II, a son of the parricide Jagadeva. He ruled for a few years only and was succeeded by Someśvara, Visala's younger brother. He also ruled for a short time and was succeeded by his son Prithvīrāja III the last king of the Chāhamānas. The dates of the succession of Someśvara and of Prithvīrāja III we will discuss in our chapter on the latter. But it seems necessary to state here that Someśvara must actually have ruled for some time as the Bijolia Inscription records the grant of the village Rewanā by Someśvara and ends with this mention so that Someśvara was still ruling when the inscription was recorded in St. 1226, Phālguna Vadya 3 (about March 1170 A. D.).

The Chāhamānas are solar race Raiputs as shown in Volume II (p. 14.) and as even the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya and Hammīra Kāvyas declare. The idea that they are Agnikulas is a later fiction which has been exploded from stone records, as even Pandit Gaurishankar believes. But it is strange that he looks upon the Chāhamānas as lunar race Kshatriyas (See his edition of Tod's Rājastan in Hindi). This is probably a misprint.

CHAPTER II.

THE GUHILOTS OF MEWAD

The kingdom founded by Bappā Rāwal remained intact in this sub-period and the Guhilot kings of Mewad were as valourous and independence-loving in this sub-period as in the preceding. They probably loved independence so truly that they never sought to extend their kingdom by depriving other peoples or clans of their territory and independence. For they never aspired to attain to the position of emperors of India (Samrāt or Chakravartin) as other kingly families did during this sub-period as in the preceding, such as Chāhamānas, Kalachūris and Gāhadavālas. In fact this aspiration was the bane of India from the most ancient days of the Pāndavas and Kauravas down to the days of Prithvīrāja viz. the desire to establish an empire in India without its advantages. For, this empire like the German empire, did not mean the welding together of the whole of Northern or Southern India into one kingdom; but it merely meant the humbling of other kingdoms without extinguishing them. The evil results of this idea of imperial sovereignty we will discuss in another place. It is sufficient to state here that the kings of Mewad never succumbed to the vanity of acquiring Imperial honour but held firmly to their own. This is perhaps the true reason why the kingdom of Mewad still subsists throughout the troubles and vicissitudes of twelve hundred years. The kings were content with their own territory and dignity and therefore they still rule in the territory where Bappā Rāwal first founded his kingdom.

During this sub-period (1000-1200 A. D.) the kings of Mewad were also generally free from aggression from without especially from the inroads of Mahomedans. Even Mahmud's Turks did not come to Mewad probably for this very reason viz. that the kings of Mewad were not kings of Hind as the Mahomedans styled the Imperial rulers of Kabul or Kanauj. Perhaps the kingdom was not rich and there were no famous temples or shrines in Mewad where riches had accumulated. The kings of Mewad, therefore, remained unmolested and the vigorous line of its kings continued to rule without exhibiting any signs of decay ending in death.

In our second volume we gave the line of Mewad kings from Bappā to Śaktikumāra from the Ātpura inscription dated V. E. 1034 or A. D. 977. We will give in this volume the continuation of that line upto 1200 A. D. The mistake of the Prithvirāja Rāsā in making Samarasinha a contemporary of Prithvirāja III of Ajmer and Delhi has now been admitted on all hands; for Samarasinha's inscriptions plainly show him to belong to the end of the thirteenth century A. D. Unfortunately the Rāsā story has been accepted by bards in all Rajput states and has, therefore, vitiated their genealogies. We can in fact almost determine when this Rāsā version arose by comparing the various inscriptions relating to the Guhilots of Mewad themselves and the genealogies given therein. We have several such inscriptions (See Bhāvnagar Insc.). The first of them is the Abu Achaleśvara inscription dated St. 1342 (1285 A. D.) and it gives a great many details. Then comes the Rānapurā (Bānapurā) inscription in Jodhpur territory dated 1496 (A. D. 1439) which tersely gives the whole genealogy from Bappā. Lastly comes the Rāyasāgara inscription dated St. 1732 (A. D. 1675) which first gives the Rāsā story that Samarasinha was married to Prithā sister of Prithvirāja and died along with him in his last battle with Shihabuddin Ghori. The inscription distinctly refers to the Rāsā itself and has necessarily to distort the genealogy given in the preceding two inscriptions wherein Samarasinha is given as a son of Tejahsinha who was a son of Jaitrasinha in whose time the first conflict of Mewad with the Turks took place in about 1216 A. D. as distinctly mentioned in the Abu inscription, Jaitrasinha being described as a very Agastya to the ocean of the army of the Turks.* Of this conflict we will speak later on; but this suffices to show that even Jaitrasinha, grand-father of Samarasinha, was not a contemporary of Prithvirāja. We will, therefore, ignore the Prithvirāja Rāsā account which obviously arose after the Rānapurā inscription dated 1439 A. D. and before the Rāyasāgar inscription dated 1675 A. D. and will give the genealogy of the Guhilots of Mewad in this sub-period from Abu and Bānapurā inscriptions and as accepted by Pandit Gaurishankar in his Hindi edition of Tod's Rajāstan. We have

* तुरुष्कसैन्यार्णवकुम्भयोनिः ।

got a short inscription of Vijayasinha, one of these kings, dated St. 1164 (A. D. 1107) and later, of Jaitrasinha dated St. 1270 (A. D. 1213). Starting from Śaktikumāra, the last king mentioned in the Ātpurā inscription dated A. D. 977, we have, upto Vijayasinha, 10 kings and the average comes to $\frac{1107-977}{10} = \frac{130}{10} = 13$ years and from Śaktikumāra to Jaitrasinha we have 19 kings giving an average of $\frac{1213-977}{19} = \frac{236}{19} = 12\frac{8}{19}$ years. This shows that the average for the Guhilot kings is still shorter than that for other families. We will use 13 and 12 years as average for this portion of the Guhilot genealogy and assign probable dates, with remarks for individual kings from Gaurishankar and other sources.

GUHILOT GENEALOGY

- 1 Śaktikumāra (Ins. 977 A. D.)
- 2 Ambāprasāda (c. 990 A. D.)
- 3 Śuchivarman (c. 1003 A. D.)
- 4 Naravarman (c. 1016 A. D.)
- 5 Kīrtivarman (c. 1029 A. D.)
- 6 Yogarāja (c. 1042 A. D.)
- 7 Vairāṭa (c. 1055)
- 8 Hansapāla (c. 1068)
- 9 Vairisinha (c. 1081 A. D.)
- 10 Vijayasinha (c. 1094 A. D.) Insc. 1107 A. D.
- *11 Arisinha (c. 1118)
- 12 Chonda (c. 1129)
- 13 Vijayasinha (c. 1140)
- †14 Raṇasinha (c. 1151)
- 15 Bhīmasinha (c. 1162)
- 16 Sāmantasinha (c. 1173)
- 17 Kumārasinha (c. 1184 A. D.)
- 18 Mathanasinha (c. 1195)
- 19 Padmasinha (c. 1206)
- 20 Jaitrasinha (c. 1213) Insc. 1213 and 1222 D. A.
- 21 Tejasinha (c. 1238) Insc. 1267 A. D.
- 22 Samarasinha (c. 1267) Insc. 1278, 83, 87 A. D.

* From 11 we take 11 years 'average to suit the date known from inscriptions for Jaitrasinha. † From 14 two branches started of which we take the elder Rāwa branch.

Proceeding to the case of individual kings we have first to observe that the Abu inscription differs a little from its compeer the Chitorgadh inscription drawn up by the same writer Vedaśarman in that the latter gives the two kings Ambāprasāda and Śuchivarman after Śaktikumāra and before Naravarman. Further it records of Śaktikumāra that he destroyed the enemies of religion, terrible like Daityas. There is here plainly a reference to the Mahomedans. We have taken the date of this king from the Ātpurā inscription as ruling from 977 A. D. in which year Sabuktagin came to the throne of Ghazni and then that danger to India began which finally engulfed it. It is possible to believe that Śaktikumāra may have taken part in the first confederacy of Hindu kings convened by Jaipāla of Kabul against Sabuktagin in 989 A. D. (Smith's Oxford H. I.)

The Chitorgadh inscription stops with Naravarman and gives the subsequent genealogy in the Abu inscription and we have, therefore, not included it in our authorities; but even though the Abu inscription does not mention Ambāprasāda and Śuchivarman we have to take them in the list of kings from the Chitorgadh inscription of the same author. This also proves that the Abu inscription list may make some further omissions as we actually see. Ambāprasāda is a strange name in this list of Guhilot kings and one might have omitted it but for its mention in the Chitorgadh inscription. Yogarāja (no. 6) and Hanspāla (no. 8) are also strange names in this line and they are not given in the Abu inscription but they are given in the Raṇapurā inscription (the latter name being given as Yaśapāla). These three names, however, are confirmed by their mention in a Haihaya stone inscription to be noticed in their history. There is a copper-plate inscription of Vijayasinha as has been already noticed dated St. 1164. Then Vijayasinha (no. 13) is given as Vikramasinha in Abu and Bāṇapurā inscriptions. Raṇasinha or Kaṇasinha is not mentioned in the Abu inscription but he is mentioned in the Bāṇapurā inscription. It is probable that this inscription mentions names which were subsequently invented by bards and one may suspect if these names are names of real kings. The Abu inscription again does not record the tradition that from Raṇasinha two branches sprang, the elder called Rāwat

and the younger called Rāṇā and established at Śisoda. But this tradition cannot be doubted as we have to explain how former kings of Chitor were called Rāwals and later kings from Hammīra were called Rāṇās. The latest Rāyasāgar inscription embodies this tradition by stating that there were 26 Rāwals in all from Bappā Rāwal.*

From Raṇasinha we come at names which are the same in all inscriptions except the first Bhīmasinha who is given as Khemsing in Abu and Raṇapurā inscriptions. These kings were nearly contemporary with or immediately preceded the Abu inscription and there could have been no mistake about them. The probable date of Sāmantasinha is 1179 A. D. and he may have been a contemporary of Prithvirāja III. Pandit Gaurishankar thinks that the amplifier or forger of the Rāsā mistook Sāmanta for Samara and thus committed the blunder of making Samarasinha of A. D. 1282, a contemporary of Prithvirāja.

* The name Rāwal was adopted from Bappā who was a Rāwal or small king. The later kings were called Rāṇās as they came from a minor branch, Rāṇā meaning a subordinate king as in Hīmalayan states. But the name Rāṇā being taken by the illustrious kings of Udepur, now bears a higher meaning in Rajaputana.

CHAPTER III

THE PARAMĀRAS OF DHAR—BHOJA.

The Paramāras of Malwa were already a great power at the beginning of this sub-period, Munja and Sindhurāja having already established its independence and glory. But Malwa rose to still greater glory and renown, in fact its greatest, during the reign of Bhoja. When Munja died poets were in despair for the goddess of Sarasvatī though not for Lakshmī or Indrānī. The goddesses of wealth and valour might find their favourites but the goddess of learning was now, they thought, without support.* But Bhoja falsified their misgivings and in him the goddesses of wealth, valour and wisdom were equally well-seated. Bhoja in real history typified the best Kshatriya of Bhārata-varsha who cultivated both Śāstra and Śastra like Rāma and Yudhishtira of legendary days or Vikrama and Hāla of later legends. Bhoja not only patronised literary men but was a great author himself and he was master of many and diversified subjects. He studied Astronomy, Alaṅkāra (poetics), Architecture, Asceticism (Yoga) and Grammar and on each of these subjects he has left works which are still treated as authoritative. His Sarasvatī-Kanthābharṇa on poetics, Rāja Mārtanda on asceticism and Rāja Mṛigāṅka Karaṇa on astronomy are well known and speak of his high proficiency in these sciences. As a learned man, therefore, his fame has been established in history on a permanent foundation. He built a college for Sanskrit studies at Dhar in which Sanskrit aphorisms on various subjects were inscribed on stone. The college was converted into a mosque by Mahomedans; and of still subsists at Dhar being known as the Kamāl Maula mosque. The slabs of stone which were inscribed with Sanskrit works were used for flooring and are now so rubbed over that nothing inscribed thereon is now legible. But close to this Sarasvatī-sadana or Bhārati-bhuvana there is an old well which is still called Akkal-kuvī or well of wisdom; and it reminds us of the time when the

*लक्ष्मीर्यास्यति गोविंदे वीरश्रीवीरवेश्मनि । गते मुञ्जे यशःपुञ्जे निरालंबा सरस्वती ॥

learned men who studied in that college and held disputations in that hall, drank water from this well and advanced in wisdom and knowledge. These and other details about Bhoja's literary greatness given by Col. Luard and Mr. Lele in their book on the Paramāras of Dhar and Malwa are indeed interesting and we make no apology for giving such other facts here as are necessary to be given in this history from this work as every available source of information has been utilized by the learned authors of this book to give a connected and detailed history of the Paramāras of Dhar.

Bhoja is mentioned by several well-known writers as an author on Hindu Law also though no work of his on that subject is now available. He is so mentioned by Śūlanatha in the *Prāyaśchittaviveka*, by Raghunandana and even by Vijñāneśvara in his famous *Mitāksharā*. This not only shows the versatility of Bhoja's genius but also points to his being a great ruler. He could not have been an author on Hindu Law without being thoroughly acquainted with civil administration as with religion since Dharma or law with the Hindus includes both. We know that he had done much to educate his subjects and to promote their secular welfare. He built a great tank known as Bhoja-Sara by damming the spaces between hills encircling a vast area and used it probably for irrigation. His two grants found show the terse nature of his government records which we will notice further on; but it is pertinent to remark here that his system of government and administration was typical.

His political greatness is not, however, equally well-known and has not as yet been ascertained with exactitude. He came to the throne about 1010 A. D. (Col. Luard and Mr. Lele think that he may have come to the throne even earlier) and he ruled for about forty years at least. Sir Vincent Smith places his death in about 1060 A. D. while Pandit Gaurishankar places it sometime before 1055 A. D. (St 1112). He had fights with many Indian kings, notably with the king of Chedi Indranātha, Joggala I and Bhīma of Gujarat and with kings of Karnāta and Lāta, and Gurjaras and Turushkas, as stated in the Udepur inscription (Ep. II p. 222). We will first speak of his fight with the Turks. As this inscription states imme-

diately before that Munja had conquered a Hūna king, it seems clear that the record distinguishes between Hūnas and Turks and does not confound them. The Hūna king, therefore, must have been a Hindu king as there were no Huns in India at that time and as Hūna is the name of a Rajput clan also. Munja, therefore, does not seem to have taken part in the Rajput confederacy against Amir Sabuktagin, as one is likely to think from the period of his reign viz. 997 to 1010 A. D. In what campaign of Mahmud of Ghazni Bhoja fought against the Turks it is difficult to determine. He certainly was not one of those who fought with Mahmud at Somnath for he is here said to have defeated the Turks. Perhaps as suggested by Col. Luard and Mr. Lele on the strength of a statement in *Tabkat-i-Akabari*, that Mahmud after conquering the Hindus at Somnath went with his plunder through the western part of the desert of Multan as he learnt "that Paramāradeva one of the greatest kings of Hindustan was preparing to intercept him", this may be construed into a defeat of the Turks by Bhoja. Of course the Paramāradeva described as one of the great kings of Hindustan by *Tabakat-i-Akabari* must refer to Bhoja and none else. And inscription-writers are usually panegyrists and Mahmud's avoiding Bhoja may well be construed by them into a defeat. It is further likely that this event is referred to by the Udepur Praśasti as Bhoja is said therein to have also built the temple of Somnath. Probably Mahmud had not only broken the image but also demolished the temple of Somnath and it is certainly to the credit of Bhoja's greatness as a warrior and a devotee of Śiva that he should prepare to intercept the defiler of the temple which probably had just been built by him (See p. 91).

If we take the date of accession of Bhoja to be earlier than 1010 A. D. it is possible that he may have sent a contingent to the forces of Hindu kings collected by Ānandapāla in 1008 and the inscription speaks of Turks and others being defeated by contingents or general of Bhoja not by Bhoja himself. But in no other contest with Mahmud of Ānandapāla the Turks were defeated and hence the words of the Udepur inscription cannot be taken to refer to their earlier conflicts.

Bhoja's political relations and conflicts with surrounding Hindu kingdoms have been well described by Col. Luard and

Mr. Lele in their book using all the available authorities. The kingdom of Malwa on the east was conterminous with the kingdom of Chedi, on the north with that of Chitod, on the west with that of the Chālukyas of Anhilwad and on the south with the kingdom of the Chālukyas of Kalyan and as neighbours are alternately friends and foes, Bhoja had often to fight with these kingdoms except the Guhilot kingdom or Chitod. The Guhilots never aspired to imperial power as stated before and never tried to extend their territory. Hence we have no mention of Bhoja's wars with Chitod. But with Chedi, Anahilwad and Karnāṭa he had constant fights with intervening periods of peace and these wars were alternately successful and disastrous, the enemy usually coming as far 'as and even occupying Dhar. In Gujarat his foe was Bhīma who ruled from 1021-1063. While Kulchandra, a Jain general of Bhoja, once invaded Gujarat when Bhīma was absent and occupied his capital Anahilwad (Patan), he plundered it so completely that the sack of Kulachandra has become proverbial. Bhīma in return took Dhar by a sudden raid with his cavalry and plundered it. But Bhīma and Bhoja were not foes long and they had even vakils of each in the other's court, Dāmodara an envoy of Anahilwad "being well-known as a witty and clever diplomat".

The enmity with the Chedi kingdom on the east and with Karnāṭa on the south was almost hereditary and more disastrous, the Chedi Haihayas and the Karnāṭa Chālukyas being usually related by marriage. A sister of Yuvarāja of Chedi was the mother of Tailapa of Karnāṭa and we have seen already (Vol. II) that Muñja constantly fought with Tailapa and was eventually taken prisoner and even put to death by him. Gāngeyadeva was Yuvarāja's successor and ruled from 1038 to 1042 and his successor was Karnadeva who was the most powerful of the Haihaya line and had a long reign from 1042 to 1072. Bhoja's contemporaries at Kalyan in the south were Jayasinha (1018 to 1040) and Someśvar (1040 to 1069). It seems that Jayasinha once advanced on Dhar and defeated Bhoja an event mentioned in an inscription of Jayasinha*

* The date of this inscription is by misprint given as 900 Śaka in Mr. Lele's work. It must be 941 Śaka or 1019 A. D. as the former date is inconsistent with Bhoja's period of rule.

(I. A. Vol. V p. 15). Bhoja must have defeated this king in turn as also Gāngeya sometime about 1040 which event might have given rise to the saying now current in Malwa "Kahān Rājā Bhoja, dur Kahān Gangā Teli" (originally it must have been Gangeya of Telangana, as ingeniously suggested by Mr. Lele, Telangana being a subordinate of Chedi).^{*} Whatever this may be Someśvara Jayasinha's successor again invaded Malwa and signally defeated Bhoja. This event is related in the Vikramānadevacharita by Bilhana (I. 91). Later, Bhoja may have attacked Someśvara and defeated him. This or the earlier defeat may have been referred to in the Udepur Praśasti noted before.

These wars it may be noted did not diminish to any extent the power of Malwa or of the kingdoms contending with it; for they were not waged with any desire of aggression; and the four states Malwā, Chedi, Karnāṭa and Gujarat were qually powerful and their rulers also equally able. They on the contrary kept up the martial qualities of these rulers and their soldiers. But it seems that about the time of Bhoja's death (probably after, not a little before, as the wording of the Udepur Praśasti is quite clear †), the combined invasion of Malwa by Bhīma of Gujarat and Karṇa of Chedi created disorder and diminished the power of the kingdom of Malwa. The successor of Bhoja, Jayasinha went to the court of Āhavamalla Someśvara of Kalyan for refuge and he forgetting the hereditary feud between Malwa and Karnāṭa lent him aid and enabled him to regain the throne of his ancestors at Dhār as stated in Vik. by Bilhana (III 67). This shows that in those days Indian states did not fight with each other for extension of territory. This event further shows that people in every country wished to be ruled by some one of its hereditary ruling family. As stated in Volume II, p. 221, even Arab writers have recorded that when a king conquers another kingdom he always places on the throne some one belonging to the family of the fallen king. "The inhabitants could not suffer it otherwise."

* Karṇa is distinctly called lord of Trikaṇṭha in one of his inscriptions (Ep. Ind. II).

† तत्रादित्यप्रतापे गतवति सदनं स्वर्गिणां भग्नभक्ते ।

व्याप्ता धारेव धात्री रिपुतिमिरभैरमौललोकस्तदाभूत् ॥

Even this little feeling of nationality gradually disappeared in this sub-period (we see in this instance Jayasinha being to be placed on the throne of Malwā by a third king), for reasons we shall explain later on. Bhoja's death must have occurred before 1055 A. D. as Jayasinha's grant issued from Dhārā in that year has been found (Ep. Ind. III P. 46) wherein he declares himself to be a son of Bhoja. It is inexplicable how even in his third edition of E. H. I. (1914), Sir Vincent Smith gives 1060 A. D. as the date of Bhoja's death; as no authority is quoted here we are unable to discuss this date further.* Bhoja conquered Konkan in St. 1076 or 1019 or the year before as appears plainly from his grant of that year (Ep. Ind. XI.). Why Bhoja fought with Konkan in his early age does not appear (he must have been about 20 at that time) and how he went so far from his kingdom remains to be solved though the fact of the conquest cannot be denied. Probably this was an offshoot of his first war with Vikramāditya V (1009-1018) whom he is said to have taken prisoner and put to death as stated by Col. Luard and Lele. But if this event is true, Bhoja might have made more of this affair in his inscription than his conquest of Konkan the king of which was less important than the king of Karnāta, this war being dated, if true, about the same time. But these wars are practically of no interest to the general reader of Indian history and need not, therefore, be investigated further.

The war with Karnadeva and Bhīma which immediately preceded or followed Bhoja's death is, however, of great importance and we will examine the authorities mentioned carefully. It seems to us that a misconception has arisen here from the story given by Merutuṅga that Bhīma and Karṇa conjointly attacked Dhārā, conquered it and put to flight Bhoja who eventually died. It is notorious that these Prabandhas give fanciful tales of famous kings which require to be carefully sifted. Keilhorn first thought that the story given by Merutuṅga is supported by a verse in the Udepur praśasti (E. II). He subsequently however in giving a similar verse from the Nagpur Praśasti (Ep. Ind. II) expressed the caution that the story

* The probable authorities viz: Tarangīnī and Vikramāṅkacharita have been duly noticed and explained by Col. Luard and Lele in their book on Paramaras (pp. 22-23).

was not likely and that various arguments could be adduced against the truth of the version. We think it quite unbelievable that such a powerful king as Bhoja could have been attacked and defeated in this way and that his end was miserable. On verse 9 of the Udepur Praśasti, Kielhorn wrongly remarked that it virtually admits that Bhoja finally succumbed to his foreign foes, as the verse simply says that Dhārā was enveloped in darkness *after* Bhoja had left this world (when he whose valour was as great as that of the sun, the devotee of Śiva, had gone to heaven*). Similarly in editing the Nagpur Praśasti Kielhorn observed "Bhojadeva's end was unfortunate but thought it necessary now to state that the story of Merutuṅga was not quite reliable. Now even here the wording of the Nagpur Praśasti does not indicate that Bhoja's end was unfortunate: "When Bhoja became a brother of Indra (died) and when the kingdom was beset with trouble"† shows that Bhoja died peacefully and trouble arose afterwards. Neither record expresses any tinge of sorrow about the end of Bhoja. It seems, therefore, clear that it was only after Bhoja's death that his foes thought it a proper opportunity to advance against Malwa. Bhoja's son and successor Jayasinha was the king whose end seems to have been unfortunate as we shall see further on. In short the Nagpur and Udepur Praśastis do not lend any support to the story of Merutuṅga that Bhoja's end was unfortunate. Unfortunately the story is still retained in the 3rd Ed. of Sir Vincent Smith's history and has, therefore, to be refuted. There are further arguments to show why the story of Merutuṅga is concocted. Not only do the records of Chedi Haihayas not speak of this supposed successful attack on such a famous king as Bhoja but the records of Gujarat Chālukyas also do not mention this exploit of Bhīma. In fact in their many records Bhīma's name goes without any epithet while the name of Jayasinha Siddharāja is always extolled with the expression 'the conqueror of Avantinātha.' Had Bhīma conquered Bhoja, that exploit, the summit of his glorious career, would certainly have been considered higher than that of Jaya-

* तत्रादित्यप्रतापे गतवति सदनं स्वर्गिणां भर्गभक्ते ।

† तस्मिन्वासवबन्धुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुले ॥

sinha, in conquering a minor king of Avantī. But further the Nagpur Praśasti does not mention Bhīma at all when it mentions that Dhārā was attacked immediately after Bhoja's death. It mentions Karṇa of Chedi and Karṇāṭa who were either leagued together or were contending with each other for the overlordship of Malwa. This point we will discuss later on but this statement in the Nagpur Praśasti which makes no mention of Bhīma is sufficient to discredit Merutunga who probably wrote to please the Gujarat kings and concocted stories of their exploits. In conclusion, therefore, we believe that Bhoja's end was peaceful and that foes attacked Dhārā after his death.

Another misconception associated with this event is that the Gāhadavāla king Chandradeva assisted in—indeed effected—"the quelling of the anarchy" which resulted in the defeat and death of Bhoja." This misconception has arisen on a misconstruction of the verses in praise of the Gāhadavāla king Chandradeva in two Gāhadavāla grants. The allusion to Bhoja in the grant of Madanapāla (Ind. Ant. XIV p. 103) is explicit but the verse cannot be construed in the sense that the Gāhadavāla king Chandra had anything to do with the death, or the anarchy which followed the death, of Bhoja nor can the verse in the other record (Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 11) be so construed. (Their correct construction we will discuss presently). Moreover the date of the rise of Chandradeva Gāhadavāla does not coincide with the date of Bhoja's death about 1055 A. D. His rise must be and has been dated much later that is about 1080 A. D. And lastly there could have been no necessity for his interference, since while Karṇadeva of Chedi was the aggressor and the creator of anarchy, Someśvara of Karṇātaka was the friend of the Paramāra king as stated further on by Luard and Lele at p. 15 (though at page 27 we have the contradictory remark that Jayasinha, Bhoja's successor, was installed king at Dhar by Karṇa and Bhīma themselves). The Prabandhakāras have made many imaginary statements but even they do not appear to have brought in the Gāhadavāla (or Rathod) king Chandradeva and we may safely say that this idea has been suggested by a misconstruction of the two verses above referred to.

Bhoja was one of the great monarchs of India whose fame has been established in the annals of Indian history for all time to come. He was not only an independent king in his own country Malwa but his power was acknowledged throughout India. This has not been sufficiently realised. In the Udepur Praśasti he is said to rule the whole of India from the Himalayas to Rāma's bridge. This is no doubt untrue literally ; but in ancient times imperial power did not mean in India' actual rule but indicated overlordship only. Such praise when recorded in the inscriptions of the family itself would be treated merely as a hyperbole of the family bards ; but when the praise is bestowed in the records of other kingly families the praise must be admitted to be based on truth. And we have such confirmation of this praise in the inscriptions of the imperial Gāhadavālas themselves. The two verses in the grants of Madanapāla and Govindachandra which have been, as above stated, misunderstood contain clear proof that Bhoja was for a time acknowledged as supreme king of India. The verse in the second grant (Ind. Ant. XIV p. 103) states,* "When Śrī Bhoja bhūpa became a guest of the eyes of the women of the gods and when Karṇa remained only in his renown and the earth was troubled, the husband whom the earth chose from love and the protector in whom she placed confidence was king Chandradeva." This clearly means that the two great wielders of imperial power on earth (the Indian land) who immediately preceded Chandradeva were Bhoja and Karṇa. This Bhoja could not be Bhoja of Pratīhāra Imperial line of kings as he had long passed away (A. D. 840-890 vide Vol. II p. 113) and must be Bhoja of Malwa (who passed away in 1055 A. D). The Karṇa referred to may be taken to be the Karṇadeva of the Chālukyas of Anhilwād who reigned from 1063 to 1093 A. D. or Karṇa son of Gāṅgeyadeva king of Chedi. The former seems somewhat doubtful for the sove-

* याते श्रीभोजभूपे विबुधवरवधूनेत्रसीमातिथित्वं ।

श्रीकर्णे कीर्तिशेषं गतवति च नृपे क्ष्मात्यये जायमाने ॥

भर्तारं यं धरित्री त्रिदिवविभुनिभं प्रीतियोगादुपेता ।

त्राता विश्वासपूर्वं समभवदिह स क्ष्मापतिश्चन्द्रदेवः ॥

reignty of India is said to have passed to Chandradeva after Karna's death. The Karna of Gujarat seems to have passed away in the nineties of the 11th century; and he is not extolled so much as his successor Jayasinha Siddharāja; while Karna of Chedi though the most powerful monarch of his line and is said to have conquered Malwa after Bhoja's death, yet he reigned long and seems to have been alive when Chandradeva rose to power about 1080 A. D. This verse says that Chandradeva attained imperial power when Karna passed away. Whatever may be the explanation of this difficulty, this verse does not speak of the land of Malwa for Malwa never acknowledged Chandradeva as king. It speaks plainly of imperial power in the whole of India, for the three kings Bhoja, Karna and Chandra were actual kings in three separate kingdoms viz: Malwa, Chedi and Kanauj. The trouble referred to in the word Kshmātyaya is the same as that referred to in the more general wording of the verse in the first record of the Gāhādavālas (Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 11) which may be translated as follows* "King Chandradeva who destroyed the darkness of violent and bold warriors and who allayed the troubles of all peoples by his greater valour". This refers plainly to the trouble caused to the whole people of India by the raids of the ferocious Turks. In fact it seems that Bhoja had also contributed his quota to the allaying of this trouble and hence it is that he is remembered as the first king to whom India looked to for redress and afterwards to Karna the king of Chedi, Bhoja ruling upto 1055 and Karna later and the mantle of removing the oppression of the foreigners fell in the third instance on Chandradeva who as shown later on in Kanauj history, for this purpose, removed the incapable Pratihāra king on the imperial throne of Kanauj and established his dynasty there. Viewed in this light the praise bestowed upon Bhoja by the Udepur Praśasti that he was lord of the whole of India does not seem hyperbolical, supported as it is by this outside testi-

* तस्यासीत्तनयो नयैकरसिकः क्रान्तद्विषन्मण्डलो ।

विध्वस्तोद्धतधारयोधतिमिरः श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः ॥

येनोदारतरप्रतापशमिताशेषप्रजोपद्रवं ।

श्रीमद्राधिपुराधिराज्यमसमं दोर्विक्रमेणार्जितम् ॥

mony of a Gāhadvāla inscription. Indeed the next verse in the Udepur Praśasti appears in another light from this standpoint and when it says that Bhoja conquered the king of Gurjaras, it refers not to Bhīma the king of what is now Gujarat, but to one of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj who are styled in records of other states of that period as kings of Gurjaras (See Vol. II p. 98, 163). In fact modern Gujarat came to be called so probably at the end of the next century as we shall ourselves show later on and Gurjaras in this verse means very probably Pratihāra kings of Kanauj who had become effete and even dependents and allies of the Turks. It seems, therefore, probable that Bhoja had not only defeated Gāṅgeyadeva in the east but also the weak Pratihāra king and successor of Rājyapāl of Kanauj and also the Turks who assisted him. He thus freed the land of Northern India from the troubles of the foreign and irreligious rule of the Turks. The verse declares that mere contingents or generals sent by Bhoja defeated these kings and it seems very probable that Bhoja had sent forces as far north as the Panjab and Delhi. Although, therefore, Bhoja did not, like Samudragupta to whom Sir Vincent Smith compares him, take a world-conquering expedition through India, his power was felt and acknowledged all over the country and it is this which must have enabled him to build Śiva temples in such distant places as Somnāth, Rameśvara, Sundāra (east coast?) and Kedāra, in the four quarters of India as he is described to have done.* That he built a temple of Mahākāla in his own kingdom needs no mention but that he was allowed to build temples to god Śiva whose devout devotee he was, in such foreign lands and at so great a distance, testifies both to his political power and his prosperity as also his organising capacity. One is reminded here of the same power, prosperity and capacity of a later sovereign of Malwa, Devi Ahalyābai of sacred memory, who similarly built temples and ghats in sacred places throughout India. Ahalyābai built these holy structures from the immense legacy left her by Malharao

* केदार-रामेश्वर-सोमनाथ-सुंडीर-कालानल-रुद्रसत्कैः ।

सुराश्रयैः व्याप्य च यः समन्तात् यथार्थसंज्ञो जगतीं चकार ॥

(Udepur Praśasti Ep. Ind. I.)

Holkar from his plunder in other kingdoms. Possibly Bhoja also did the same and expended the plunder obtained from Anhilwad and other kingdoms by his generals in this charitable work throughout India. Bhoja did not, like his contemporary Mahmud, amass wealth from plunder for the pleasure of mere possession or for aggrandizement but spent his treasures in constructing such holy temples as would make him known throughout India. Even in distant Kashmir which could not have acknowledged him as suzerain, he had a tank built at his expense to commemorate his name in that country. This was probably allowed by Kashmir entirely through respect for Bhoja's great fame and virtues.* But history does not record that Bhoja plundered *many* countries as Mahmud did and we may surmise that Bhoja's resources were mostly derived from his own country. Malwa seems to have been extremely prosperous during his reign and his government was so good that it brought him large revenues without being oppressive. In this affluence, therefore, we have the evidence of both the prosperity of his country and the orderliness and benignity of his administration.

Bhoja was not only a great author but a great patron of learned men. Unlike again Mahmud, his contemporary, Bhoja was extremely generous to learned men and stories are related of his generosity to poets by story-tellers in which a lakh of rupees is said to have been the usual reward of poets who brought a single new and good śloka. This is exactly the reverse of Mahmud's reputation. Although we regard these tales as story-tellers' exaggerations, there is no doubt of Bhoja's extreme liberality to learned men and this has certainly been the greatest preserver of his glory and renown than his political successes or his great structures none of which is now remembered or left. We do not believe there was any Kālidāsa, new, or old, at his court and this name is a fiction of story-tellers or Padmagupta author of Navasāhasānkacharita and court-poet

* Kalhaṇa gives the interesting story in the Rājataranginī and states that Bhoja of Malwa had taken the vow of washing his face every morning with water of this Pāpasūdana Tirtha in Kashmir and one Padmarāja, a favourite attendant of the Kashmir king of the time enabled Bhoja to observe this vow by constantly sending him glass vessels filled with water from the tank. Of this incident we shall have to speak again in our general survey chapter.

of his father also, was given the title of Kālidāsa. Dhanapāla another poet is properly associated with Bhoja and Ūvata a native of Vadnagar wrote his commentary on the Vājasaneyī Samhitā at Ujjain during Bhoja's rule (Luard & Lele p. 21). Many other learned men must have attended Bhoja's court but their names are not yet known.

Summing up one may bestow the highest praise one can on Bhoja and look upon him as one of the greatest monarchs of India. He is properly called Kavirāja and Mālavachakravartin by the inscription writers of the time even in other countries, being king emperor of Malwa (the meaning of the epithet chakravartin we will explain later on). The happiest way of expressing his greatness is by repeating what the Udepur Prasasti says of him "He accomplished, he ordered, he gave, and he knew in a way none else did." This pithily refers to his great undertakings in building throughout India, to his supreme political power, and to his extreme liberality to poets and learned men † and finally to his extensive studies and knowledge.

* क्षिप्रं मालवचक्रवर्तिनगरी धारोति को विस्मयः (Ep Ind. I p. 297 Vadnagar Prasasti of the Châlukyas of Gujarat).

† शासितं विहितं दत्तं ज्ञातं तद्यन्त्र केनचित् । किमन्यत्कविराजस्य श्रीभोजस्य प्रशस्यते (Ep. Ind. I p. 222).

CHAPTER IV.

PARAMĀRAS OF DHAR—LATER KINGS.

We have devoted so much space to the reign of Bhoja as he was not only the greatest king of the Paramāras of Malwa but undoubtedly one of the greatest kings of Hindu India. The Paramāra line of Malwa having attained its pinnacle of glory under Bhoja naturally came on the incline of deterioration after him. His son Jayasinha had a troubled and probably a short reign. His inscription dated 1055 A. D. was issued from Dhār and he appears to have been reinstated on the ancestral throne by Vikramāditya by order of his father Āhavamalla Someśvara to whom he fled for refuge when Karna of Chedi had driven him out of Malwa, probably soon after Bhoja's death. He made a grant to the Brahmins of Amareśvara of Māndhātā on the Nerbudda, of a village in the Pūrṇaka (Punāsā) Pattaka. As his reign was short and troubled and as he was restored by the aid of others and probably driven away again, his name is not mentioned in the two great stone records of the Paramāras viz. Udepur and Nagpur Praśastis. The kingdom was rescued from this troubled condition by the valour of one Udayāditya* who is said to be a relation of Bhoja. What relation he bore to him is not stated and has not yet been ascertained. From Udayāditya's time the kingdom of Malwa appears to have started on a second period of successful career, though not as brilliant as that of Munja and Bhoja, for about two hundred years when it was finally subjected to the rule of the Mahomedans.

* Col. Luard and Lele are, we think, mistaken when they state about this king that "In this deliverance of Dhār this king was assisted by Chālukya Vikramāditya VI of Kalyan from a verse in Bilhana's poem (Vik. III 67)," Curiously enough this aid is referred to by them in another connection also at p. 15. It seems clear from the reference to Udayāditya in the Nagpur and Udepur Praśastis that he delivered Malwa by his own prowess and not by the aid of any foreign king. In fact the former document refers to the Karnaṭa king not as a friend and supporter but as one of the troublers of Malwa. The translation of the verse

तस्मिन्वासवबन्धुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुले ।

मग्नस्वामिनि तस्य बन्धुरुद्यादित्योऽभवद् भूपतिः ॥

येनोद्धृत्य महार्णवोपममिलत्कर्णाटकर्णप्रभृ- ।

त्युर्वीपालकदर्थितां भुवमिमां श्रीमद्भूराहायितम् ॥

Udayāditya was a powerful king and had also the literary taste of his ancestors. He was also a great builder like his predecessor. The lofty Śiva temple at Udepur, a town founded by him and bearing his name, still attests the greatness of his glory and art. For the temple has the highest pinnacle in ancient India and the stones are placed one upon another without any mortar. They are held together by being correctly worked and fitted. There are many Paramāra inscriptions in this temple which seems to have become the hereditary repository of their fame, the earliest being two of Udayāditya himself. These show that its construction was begun in 1059 A. D. and finished in 1080 A. D. (Luard and Lele p. 29). This king appears to have had a long rule from about 1056 A. D. to about 1081 or later. He was succeeded by his son Lakshmanadeva who was a great warrior and scholar also. In the Nagpur Praśasti the greatest praise is bestowed upon him, occupying many verses. They contain a description of his Digvijaya, commencing from Gauda and including Chedi, Chola, Pāndya, Ceylon and many other kingdoms and

(we read here प्रभृत्युर्वी and not प्रभुमुर्वी as read by Kielhorn in the lacuna after प्र of the original, as प्रभुमुर्वी gives no meaning and is also incorrect.) may run as follows:—

“When he (Bhoja) became a brother of Indra (died) and the kingdom was troubled and its lord was submerged, his relative Udayāditya became king who acted like Varāha (boar-incarnation) in lifting up this earth, troubled as it was by kings such as Karna and Karnaṭa mingling like great oceans.” Here clearly the Karnaṭa king is not referred to as a friend. This incident has not been properly understood from the beginning. Kielhorn starting the theory that it was Bhoja himself who was troubled in his last days by Karna. It clearly appears from the words “when Bhoja died” used here as also from the wording in the Udepur Praśasti that the trouble arose after the death of Bhoja. The trouble probably arose by an invasion by Karna of Chedi son of Gaṅgeya who probably took advantage of Bhoja's death to retrieve the glory of Chedi sullied by Gaṅgeya's defeat. Jayasinha son of Bhoja a weak prince fled to Kalyāṇa to seek help from Someśvara and he forgetting his hereditary enmity and perhaps to oppose the growing power of Chedi lent him assistance and replaced him on the throne of Malwa. It is to this instalment of Jayasinha son of Bhoja that the verse in Vikramāṅkacharita III refers. Unfortunately the name of the Malwa king is not given in this verse स मालवेन्दुं शरणप्रविष्टमकण्टके स्थापयति स्वराज्ये ॥ Vik. III which mentions merely a Malwa king (Malavendu). But he could neither have been Bhoja himself nor Udayāditya, Karna must have come again and driven the weak Jayasinha again and the unfortunate king is no more heard of (This is suggested by the word ‘Magnasvāmini’ of the Nagpur record). [It was from this trouble of the two great armies of the north and the south which like oceans meeting in Malwa submerged the kingdom that Udayāditya by his valour alone rescued the country (See also Ep. Ind. XIX p. 108 महाकलहकल्पान्ते यस्योदाम भिराशुगैः । कति नोन्मूलितास्तुङ्गा भूभृतः कटकोत्थनाः ॥. Merutunga has commenced this mischief but the inscriptions of the time and Vikramāṅkacharita of Bilhana when properly construed clearly prove his version to be untrue and imaginary.

ending with the Turushkas on the Vankshu (Oxus) and the Kira king in the Himalayas (the usual pun on this word being made and the king of Kira being represented as a parrot confined in a cage and singing the praises of Lakshmanadeva). This is certainly a hyperbole of the inscription-writer who is none else than his successor and younger brother Naravarman. This king was a great poet and has plainly copied Kālidāsa from his reference to the river Oxus (Vankshu) mentioned by Kālidāsa also in the Digvijaya of the mythical Raghu. We merely give this exaggeration as an illustration of such hyperboles even in inscriptions which are expected to give historical facts. Even inscriptions though contemporary and reliable records have, therefore, to be put into the crucible of credibility and examined carefully. Though there is nothing to show why the statements are false, they cannot be accepted unless we have corroborative evidence from records of other kingly families and, if possible, of foreign writers also.

Lakshmanadeva died childless and he was succeeded by his younger poet-brother Naravarmadeva sometime before his composition of the Nagpur praśasti dated 1104 A. D. A fragment of an unpublished praśasti found in the Mahākāla temple at Ujjain was also his composition (Luard and Lele p. 29). In the Bhoja-Śālā at Dhār and in Umā and Mahākāla temples at Ujjain inscriptions have been found in serpentine form giving the Sanskrit noun and verb terminations of Pāṇini accompanied by verses containing the names of Udayāditya and Narvarman and making punning allusions to their valour and learning.* It appears that these were used in teaching in the schools at Dhar and Ujjain.

Udāyaditya's youngest son Jagadeva was a most chivalrous young prince and stories of his exploits in Gujarat in the service of Chālukya kings and in other places including his own native land are told by Prabandhakāras which may or may not be true. But history cannot proceed without recording his name and his legendary career of adventure.

* उदयादित्यनामांकवर्णनागकृपाणिका । मणिश्रेणी सृष्टा सुकविवन्धुना ॥
..... । कवीनां च नृपाणां च हृदयेषु निवेशिता ॥ (Luard and Lele p. 30)

Narvarman like his father Udayāditya and like Bhoja himself was a devotee of Śiva but they were all tolerant of other religions, especially Jainism which was then spreading in Gujarat and Malwa and whose teachers were indeed powerful disputants. Disputations were often held before Naravarman between Jain Pandits and Hindu orthodox Pandits. One such disputation is described as held at Mahākāla temple itself between Jain muni Ratnasūri and a Śaivite teacher named Vidyāśivavādin. In such disputations it appears that the Jain pandits usually got the upperhand which led to their influencing the kings themselves before whom they were held. The Paramāra kings, however, remained devotees of Śiva throughout and Naravarman, though an admirer of Jain scholars and respectfully referred to by Jain writers, was never converted to Jainism (Luard and Lele p. 31).

Naravarman reigned till 1133 A. D. and he was succeeded by his son Yasovarmadeva who has left a grant dated V. S. 1190 made on the first anniversary Śrāddha of his father. Malwa and Gujarat were enemies since long and fights had been going on between them since the days of Naravarman but in the reign of Jayasinha Siddharāja the power of Gujarat increased and Yaśovarman was towards the end of his reign vanquished in battle by him and taken prisoner with his family. He is said to have been kept in a wooden cage in Anahilwād. This fact stated at length by many Prabandhakāras seems to be true as it is mentioned in an inscription of Jayasinha himself (Ind. Ant. X p. 159). He annexed Malwa to his dominion and sent a Jain minister to govern the country. He is usually also called Avantīnātha in Chālukya inscriptions which proves that a large part of Malwa with Ujjain and Dhār was in possession of the Chālukyas for some time. At length Yaśovarman contrived to escape from his prison and with the aid of a Chauhān king of Ajmer regained a part of his dominions. And he succeeded in making his peace with Jayasinha. The latter died in 1142 A. D. and Yaśovarman also died soon after. Yaśovarman thus ruled from about 1133 to 1143 A. D. and in his time the power of Malwa finally declined. His mother was Māmalādevi a Chedi princess in memory of whom Yaśovarman made a grant in 1134 A. D.

which has been found. It grants the village of Reghva a few miles east of Tikari in Dhar state (Luard and Lele p. 34).

Yaśovarmadeva was succeeded by Jayavarman and in his reign Malwa was again conquered by Gujarat, when the famous Kumārapāla had established his power there after conquering his foes. A king Ballāladeva of Malwa is mentioned by Prabandhakāras as assisting these foes and Kumārapāla had his head cut off and suspended at the gate of his palace. The Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla mentions this fact but does not give the name Ballāladeva. Who this king was has not been ascertained, but he is believed not to be a Paramāra of Bhoja's family. Keilhorn suggests that during the time of Yaśovarman's captivity some portions of Malwa might have been taken possession of by adventurers. But we can give another explanation and it is this viz: that Ballāladeva must be another name of Jayavarman himself. For we do not think it possible that the kings of Gujarat or other countries would recognise an usurper who did not belong to the family of Bhoja as king of Malwa or would take credit for destroying an usurper, as they distinctly do.* It seems, therefore, probable that Jayavarman was himself captured in the battle with Kumārapāla. At this time of trouble and defeat Jayasinha's youngest brother Lakshmīvarman set up his authority in the hilly parts of Eastern Malwa from Bhopal to Hoshangabad by his own prowess and called himself Mahākumāra. The epithet Samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda used by him no doubt shows that he did not pretend to be an independent king but that he was a Sāmanta of Malwa. Yet he had obtained his power not by gift but by the sword as expressly stated in inscriptions of this branch (Ind. Ant. XIX). For this reason we do not think that the words, interregnum and dual rule, used by Col. Luard and Mr. Lele in their account of this period properly apply to the situation of Malwa at this time. In Jayavarman's time much of Malwa went into the possession of Gujarat and after his death or his ceasing to rule a portion of the dominion of Malwa was appropriated by

* The wording in the Vadnagar Prasasti is द्वारालंबितमालवेशाशिरः । and in Abu record यश्चौलुक्यकुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यार्थितामागतं गत्वा सत्वरमेव मालवपतिं बल्लालमालब्धवान् (Ep. Ind. VIII p. 211)

Lakshmīvarman. When Jayavarman ceased to rule and how is not clear. Kielhorn surmises that he was deposed by his younger brother Ajayavarman. But as suggested above, it is probable that he was taken prisoner in his conflict with Kumārapāla and eventually beheaded by Yaśodhavala of Chandrāvati. In view of the sadness of his death the expression "Rājye vyatite" is probably knowingly used by inscription writers. It is at least certain that the cessation of his rule was strange. He appears to have ceased to rule sometime before 1063 A. D., the date of Lakshmīvarman's grant (Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 254 and XIX) and probably soon after 1043 A. D.

It seems also probable that Yaśovarman had three sons Jayavarman, Ajayavarman and Lakshmīvarman. When Jayavarman ceased to rule, Ajayavarman normally became the ruler of Malwa and his titles are the usual P. B., Mahārājā dhirāja Parmeśvara and Lakshmīvarman who set up for himself a principality by his own valour about Bhopal and Hoshangabad took the titles of a Sāmanta as stated above. These two lines continued for about three generations and they eventually united under Devapāladeva as we shall presently see. We do not think, however, that this was a dual rule as the latter family, though nominally, acknowledged the supremacy of the family of Ajayavarman by contenting itself with the titles of a Sāmanta.

Ajayavarman, the lineal representative of the kings of Malwa and ruling in the country round Dhār, the capital of Malwa since the time of Bhoja, is known only from the records left by his successors. We know nothing about him, but we may be certain that these records establish his identity as a different king from Jayavarman which is sometimes doubted. In Sanskrit especially where sandhis declare correctly the words employed, while in Lakshmīvarman's documents we distinctly read the name Jayavarman, in Vindhyavarman's record we distinctly read the name Ajayavarman. Why the former does not mention Ajayavarman is to be explained by the fact that Lakshmīvarman seems to have set up his principality in the days of Jayavarman and perhaps by his acquiescence. Ajayavarman continued the main line for some time and he was followed by his son Vindhyavarman who seems to have

recovered much of the ancestral territory. From an inscription in the famous Udepur Śiva temple we know that part of the country was in the possession of Kumārapāla of Gujarat on 12th December 1163 on which day on the occasion of a lunar eclipse he made a grant (Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 343). His representative or viceroy was Mahā Rājaputra Śrī Vasantapāla. There is another grant recorded by Chāhada, probably his successor in office, in 1166 A. D. and a third grant still by Ajayapāladeva of Gujarat in 1173 A. D. of a village in Bhaillaswami (Bhelsa) district. Vindhya-varman appears to have regained possession after Ajayapāla of Gujarat whose reign ended in 1176, as Ajayapāla's inscription at Udepur dated 1173 (Ind. Ant. XVIII) shows that he still had power in Eastern Malwa. Ajayapāla's successor was a minor and in his reign Malwa probably fully reverted to the Paramāras. Vindhya-varman is described as a great warrior in a grant of Arjunavarman, his grandson, dated 1215. He certainly had possession of Mandugadh the fortress of Dhar (Mandapadurga), where an unpublished inscription shows that he had a minister named Bilhana (Luard and Lele p. 37) who was a poet.* This shows that this king was a patron of poets. This hereditary tendency of this king is also referred to by the Jain writer Āśādhara of whom we shall presently give further particulars. Vindhya-varman ruled from about 1160 to about 1180 (Luard and Lele p. 58) and he was succeeded by his son Subhatavarman. He also was a powerful king and further restored the power of Malwa. He seems to have not only recovered his possessions but even led an expedition against Gujarat.† A Yādava king of Devagiri is said to have conquered Malwa but probably this was an unimportant victory. Subhatavarman's reign is given by Col. Luard and Mr. Lele as extending from 1180 to 1210 A. D. He was succeeded by Arjunavarmadeva whose grants issued from Mandapadurga (Mandu), Bhṛigukachchha (Broach) and Amareśvara (Māndhātā) on the Nerbudda have been found, dated respectively 1211, 1213 and 1215 A. D. He is said to have defeated Jayasinha II king of Gujarat and a drama composed by a court-poet on this victory and in-

* विन्ध्यवर्मनृपतेः प्रसादभूः । सान्धिविग्रहिकबिल्हणः कविः ॥

† See Ep. Ind. IX p. 108 गर्जद्गुज्जरपट्टण &c.

scribed on slabs has been found at Dhār by Mr. Lele, used in the Kamāla Maula mosque. The drama has been deciphered and edited in Ep. Ind. VIII. It was composed by Madana a Gauda Brahmin who was a pupil of Aśādhara the Jain pandit and was *guru* of the king. The drama was acted in the Sarasvatī-bhuvana on the occasion of a spring festival. This drama describes Arjunavarman as an incarnation of Bhoja himself which praise appears to be well-deserved as Arjunadeva was not only a patron of poets but was himself a poet and an author.* Rasikasañjīvanī, a commentary on the Amaruśataka is one of his known works. He is said to have also written commentaries on the works of Bhoja. He thus seems to have been brave, learned and liberal like his ancestor Bhoja and like him he seems to have been fortunate also; for the glory of Malwa departed after his death, which must have occurred about 1216 A. D. as his successor's record dated 1218 A. D. has been found.

This successor was Devapālavarman, a grandson of Lakshmīvarman of the collateral line, Arjunavarman probably dying childless. The Jain Pandit Āśādhara lived during his reign also, as he says he finished his Triśashtismṛiti in 1235 A. D. in the reign of this king and he lived on during the reign of the next king Jayatūṅgadeva also as he says he composed his commentary on Dharmāmṛita, a work of his own, in 1244 A. D. during his reign. Devapāladeva, therefore, may safely be taken to have ruled from 1216 to 1240 A. D. (Col. Luard and Lele).

It is thus during this reign that Altamash raided Malwa and destroyed the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjain in 1235 A. D. Malwa was not finally subjected to Mahomedan rule till many years after this event and descendants of Devapāla ruled in Malwa viz: 1 Jayatūṅgadeva (1240-1256), 2 Jayavarman (1256-1261), 3 Jayasinha (1261-1280), 4 Bhoja II (1280-1301) and 5 Jayasinha whose inscription dated 1309 A. D. has been found at Udepur. Malwa was finally reduced about this time by Ain-ul-mulk a governor from Delhi who reduced Chanderi, Ujjain, Dhar and Mandu (Luard and Lele). Thus ended the

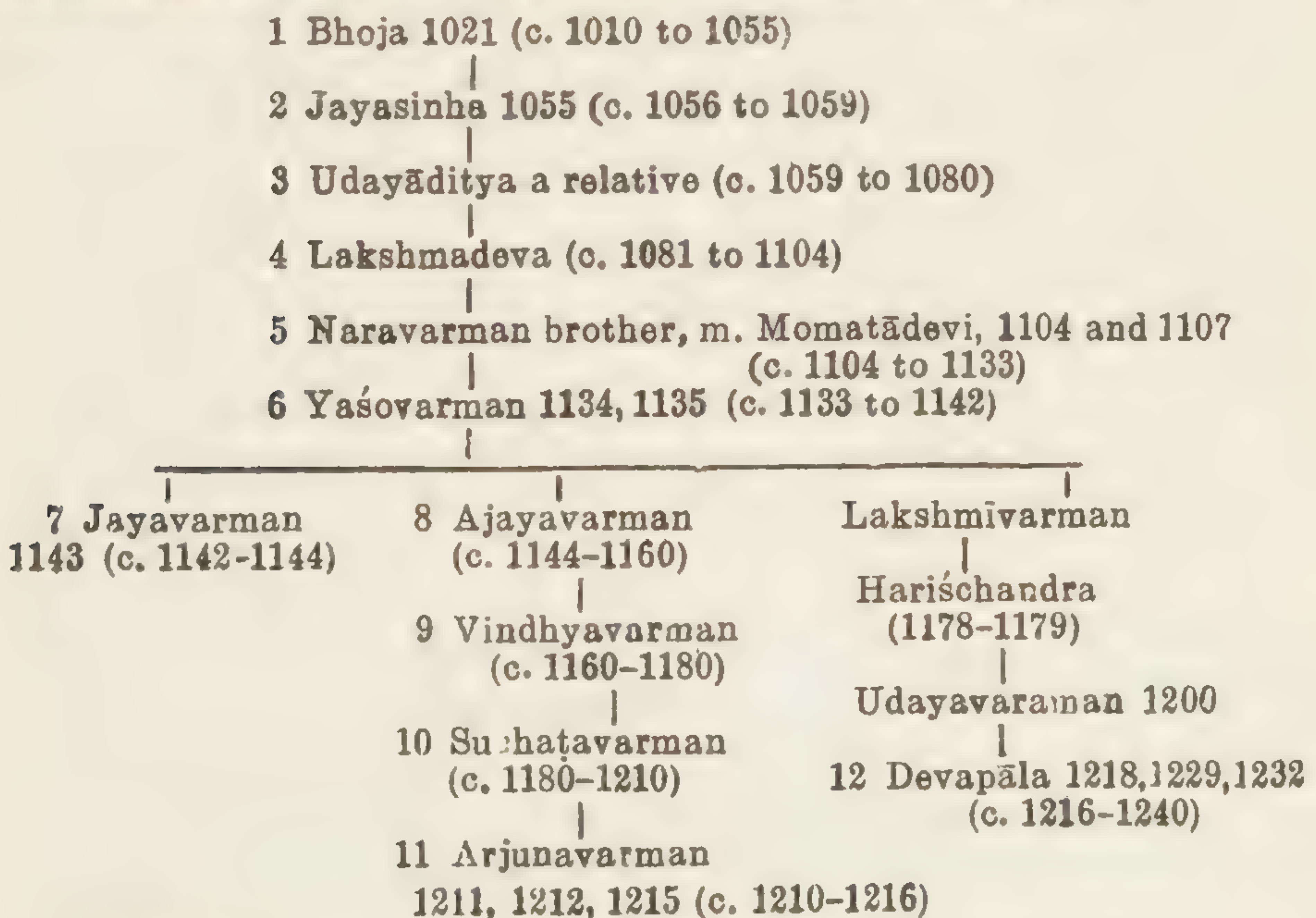
* काव्यगान्धर्वसर्वस्वनिधिना येन सांप्रप्तम् । भारवतारणं देव्याश्चक्रे पुस्तकवीणयोः ॥

Ep. Ind. IX p. 108.

great Paramāra line of Malwa after a brilliant career of four centuries. The present representative of the Paramāras are in Malwa the princes of Rajgadh and Narasinggadh of Umatwada (Bhopal agency) and the chief of Bijolia in Mewad (Gaurishankar Ojha in Tod's Rajasthan).

It remains to shortly notice the branch line started by Lakshmivarman in about 1144, at the time of Jayavarman's death or ceasing to rule. His son Mahākumāra Hariśchandra has left a grant dated 1178 A. D. and a grant of Udayavarman his son dated 1200 A. D. has been found. His son Devapāladeva became king of Malwa as stated above. The grants of this line were issued from near Bhopal and Hoshangabad in which parts of Malwa it appears to have ruled. Malwa usually comprised all the territory from the Nerbudda northwards, the Vindhya range and the plateau beyond as far north as Mandsaur and from Bhopal in the east to about Dohad in the west. Sometimes there was a diminution of this territory and sometimes an extension southwards as far as the Tapti; Berar and part of C. P. including Nagpur was also sometimes possessed by the Paramāras.

The genealogy of the family from Bhoja is as follows with known dates (Kielhorn's genealogies in Ep. Ind. VIII).



Thus 12 kings ruled from about 1010 A. D. to 1240 A. D. giving an average for each reign of nearly ($\frac{230}{12}$) 20 years the usual rate for Indian kingly families.

It may lastly be noted that among these kings Jayasinha son of Bhoja was unfortunate and had only a short reign, being tossed between Karna and Karnaṭa; while more unfortunate was Yaśovarman who was defeated, imprisoned and kept in a cage by Jayasinha Sidhharāja of Gujarat and Jayavarman was the most unfortunate as he was not only defeated and taken prisoner by Kumārapāla but his head was cut off and suspended at the gate of his palace. This treatment of Malwa kings by Gujarat no doubt struck terror in other kings' hearts* as stated in Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla; but it was certainly unlike, and unworthy of, Indian kings as we shall show later on and was probably borrowed from Mahomedan methods of treating captive monarchs.

* See दृष्यन्मालवभूपबन्धनविधित्रस्ताखिलक्ष्मापतिः।

CHAPTER V.

THE CHANDELLAS OF BUNDELKHAND.

The Chandrātreyā or Chandella Kshatriya family of Bundelkhand continued to flourish in this sub-period also (1000-1200 A. D.), though not with greater glory than before yet with the same vigour as in the preceding century (See Vol. II). The name of the family was a gotra name which was the ancient rule among Brahmins and probably among Kshatriyas also, the name being derived from the gotra ancestor Chandrātreyā as Pārāśara is the name of a Brahmin family descended from Parāśara, much like Peterson and Johnson among the English people. This kingdom is well described by Al-Beruni who mentions the two most important fortresses in it, Kālañjara and Gwalior and also gives its capital, Khajuraho; and other Arab writers call its king Chandrarai which plainly is their Hindi name Chandra used even by Chanda Bardai.

The greatest king in this family was Dhanga the ruler in Bundelkhand at the end of the preceding sub-period. Indeed he was so powerful and well-known that his aid was sought by Jaipal of Lahore against Sabuktigin and inscriptions of the Chandella family declare that he was the equal of Hammīra (Amir). It may be noted that inscription-writers, though they may exaggerate, rarely descend to falsehood and, as we have shown elsewhere, in the battle fought beyond the Indus by the combined Hindu forces against Sabuktigin, the result was victory for neither side and when Dhanga is described as equal to Amir, there is no falsehood in the declaration. Dhanga in extreme old age (about 100 years) burnt himself on a pyre of cow-dung cakes at the holy confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Prayāga.

Dhanga was succeeded by his son Ganda who was an equally powerful king also. He is said to have again given aid to Ānandapāla son of Jaipal in his fight with Mahmud. In this battle the Hindus were undoubtedly worsted. The course of events in this struggle of the Chandella family with Mahmud

we have described elsewhere. Ganda may be said to have come to the throne in 1000 A. D. and to have ruled till about 1023 as two inscriptions of his dated 1002 and 1022 A. D. have been found. We have a detailed account about the kings of this family in Sir Vincent Smith's article on the Chandellas in Ind. Ant. XXXVII and we take dates and facts from it with such additions here and there as we think necessary from the original records of the Chandellas and of others. The capital of the kingdom appears to be Mahoba henceforward.

Ganda was succeeded by his son Vidyādhara who ruled for a short time only (1025-1030). As crown prince he is recorded to have invaded Kanauj and defeated in battle Rājyapāla who had disgraced the Rajput name by submitting to Mahmud and accepting his overlordship. A Kachchapaghāta record shows that in this war he was assisted by his vassal king Arjunadeva of Dubhkund (in Gwalior) who is credited with having cut Rājyapāla's throat with arrows*. This established the fame of Vidyādhara as a warrior and a mutilated record of his states that he was served even by Bhoja (of Malwa) and the Kalachūri king as he lay in bed. Probably Bhoja and Gāngeya, both powerful kings of the time, were leagued with him in the task of opposing the Turks and driving them out of middle India where they must have remained to assist and overawe Rājyapāla king-emperor of Kanauj†. It appears very probable that noted Hindu kings of the time led by the Chandella king Vidyādhara attacked the Kanauj king who had humbled himself before the Turks who kept a contingent of theirs to protect him. The Chandella country was contiguous to that of Kanauj and Vidyādhara properly enough was the leader of the confederacy. The epithet Talpabhāja shows that he lay on his

* श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्रीराज्यपालं हठात् ।

कण्ठास्थिच्छिदनेकबाणनिवहैर्हत्वामहत्याहेवे ॥

(Ep. Ind. II p. 237).

† The wording in this inscription (Ep. Ind. I p. 222) is very important though somewhat obscure....विहितकन्याकुब्ज भूपालभङ्गम् । समरयुरुमुपास्त प्रौढभीरुत्वभाजम् । सहकलचुरिचन्द्रः शिष्यवद्भोजदेवः ॥ There is possibly a mistake in reading प्रौढभीः. It ought to be प्रौढधीः (of finished intellect). The word Praudha can scarcely mean anything with the word Bhi. The writer seems to suggest that even such a learned king as Bhoja acted as a pupil to this teacher in battle, together with Gāngeya the famous Kulachūri king of Tripura.

couch and sent his general and feudatory the Kachchapaghāta king of Gwalior. Probably both Bhoja and Gāngeya merely sent contingents in this war which acted under the orders of Vidyādhara.

Vidyādhara was followed by Vijayapāla who also had a short reign from 1030 to about 1040 (Smith) and he was followed by his elder son Devavarman. He reigned long from 1040 to 1060 and an inscription of his dated 1051 A. D. has been found (Ind. Ant. XVI p. 205). In this record Devavarman calls himself Lord of Kālanjara, taking the usual epithets of an independent king Paramabhattāraka etc. and makes a grant in a Sāmvatsarika (yearly śrāddha) of his mother Bhuvanadevi from his camp at Saharvāsa.

Devavarman was succeeded by his brother Kīrtivarman who had a longer reign and a greater fame. He reigned for forty years from 1060 to 1100, two inscriptions of his having been found one dated 1098 and the other an undated one which mentions Ganda, Vidyādhara contemporary of Bhoja, Vijayapāla contemporary of Gāngeya, and Devavarman contemporary of Karna. Karna of Tripur was the most powerful king of the Chedi line and had defeated and driven Kīrtivarman from his kingdom. But eventually the latter with the help of a Brahmin general named Gopāla defeated Karna "who had destroyed many princes" and regained his kingdom. This great victory is immortalised by the Prabodhachandrodaya drama composed by Kṛishṇamiśra and acted before the king about 1065. It is a drama based on Vedānta philosophy, all the *Dramatis Personæ* therein being allegorical representations of knowledge, devotion etc. Kīrtivarman also signalised his reign by striking the first Chandella coins. The form was copied from the coins of Gāngeya, the image of Hanūmān being substituted for that of Lakshmī. Hanūmān is not the tutelary deity of the Chandellas but was apparently their favourite deity; for we find an inscription of the Chandellas on the pedestal of a Hanūmān idol at Khajuraho. An inscription at Devagadh dated 1098 A. D. has been found (Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 238) which was recorded by his minister Vatsarāja who took the commanding fort of Devagadh from the Chedis, situated in a picturesque range of hills to the east of the present

Lalitpur district (Smith). This inscription shows that Kirtivarman's reign must have extended beyond 1098 A. D.

Kirtivarman was succeeded by his son Ballakshana who had a short reign from 1100 to 1110; it is recorded of him that he plundered the wealth of Mālwa and Chedi (Ep. I, 327); and he was followed by his son Jayavarman who had also a short and uneventful reign from 1110 to 1120. An inscription dated 1117 is mentioned against him by Kielhorn in his genealogies (Ep. Ind. VIII). But this is a mere re-recording of a Praśasti of his famous ancestor Dhanga by his Gaud Kāyastha writer (Ep. Ind. I p. 147). Jayavarman had no son and he was succeeded by his uncle Prithvivarman younger son of Kirtivarman and he naturally had a short reign from 1120 to 1125. All these three kings issued gold and silver coins which have been found, a copper coin of the last being also found.

We now come to the reign of the next illustrious king of the Chandella family namely Madanavarman son of Prithvivarman. He reigned long and vigorously from 1125 to 1165 A. D. Eight inscriptions dating from 1129 to 1162 are mentioned against his name by Kielhorn (Ep. Ind. VIII). According to Chand Bardai he defeated Siddharāja Jayasinha a famous king of Gujarat, while Gujarat chroniclers declare that he gave tribute to the latter. But they add the interesting story that even when Jayasinha arrived at his capital, Madanavarman remained so unconcerned that he did not stir from his pleasure garden. When informers told him of the arrival of Siddharāja, he merely said "the money-grabbing man wants some money; give him something". Siddharāja was struck with the character of Madanavarman and personally visited him in his pleasure garden where Madanavarman entertained him at a banquet. An inscription of Madana at Kālanjara, however, suggests that he defeated the Gujarat king. He is also said to have defeated Malwa and Chedi kings and to be in friendly relations with the king of Benares, the Gahadavala of Kanauj. Madanavarman built a tank at Mahoba with temples on its bank now known as Madanasāgara. In fact most Chandella kings built stupendous and splendid tanks and temples which we will notice in a note. Madanavarman also struck gold and silver coins which have been found in plenty.

As usual with kings reigning long, his elder son Pratāpavarman died before him and even his younger son Yaśovarman died and did not reign and Madana was succeeded by his grandson (Yaśovarman's son) Paramardideva or Paramala as he is commonly known who was the last famous king of the Chandella line. He reigned long from 1165 to 1203. His name is a household name in Bundelkhand together with the names of his warrior Sardars, Alha and Udalha of the Banāphara clan of Rajaputs, who sacrificed their lives for him in his war with Prithvīrāja Chauhan. The valorous and patriotic deeds of Alha and Udhala are sung by Chand Bardai in the Mahoba Khanda of Prithvīrāja Rāsā. They were killed fighting and Paramala was defeated by Prithvīrāja in the battle fought at Sistrāgadh on the Pahuj which is a tributary of the Kālīsindh. Prithvīrāja occupied Mahoba and left his sardar Pajjun in charge of it. This event is confirmed by an inscription of Prithvīrāja recorded at Madanapura a town founded by Madanavarman. But Chanda's account of Samarajit a son of Paramardin driving out Pajjun seems to be a fiction, since inscriptions show that Paramardin was succeeded by his son Trailokyavarman. (Perhaps Samarajit was another son of Paramardin probably younger).

Paramardin's defeat by Prithvīrāja must not have been serious according to Smith as he was able to oppose Kutubuddin when the latter invaded his kingdom in 1203 A. D. But Prithvirāja's fight with Paramardin was in 1182 and Paramardin must have recovered himself during the period of 20 years which intervened. Paramardin's power was, however, in our view, greatly crippled by this attack of Prithvīrāja which may be looked upon as a blunder and which caused the national disaster, as we shall elsewhere show, the Chandellas being one of the foremost Kshatriya clans in India. Paramardin opposed Kutubuddin and retired into the fortress of Kalanjar. Mahomedan historians relate that he eventually submitted and offered certain terms of submission such as payment of tribute and surrender of forts and elephants. But he died before these terms were put into execution and his general Ajapāla thought that he was strong enough to continue resistance and that Paramardin had unnecessarily submitted.

The siege of Kalanjar, therefore, went on. Ajapāla had eventually to surrender in consequence of a draught. The tanks on the fort were all dry and the garrison unconditionally surrendered and walked out in enfeebled condition. Kutubuddin annexed the kingdom and returned to Delhi after appointing a governor for the province. Thus closed the glorious career of the Chandella line of which Parmardin was the last and not the least king.

So many as seven inscriptions are mentioned against the name of Paramardin by Kielhorn (Ep. Ind. VIII) dating from 1167 to 1201. One more grant of Paramardin dated 1173 is since available (Ep. Ind. XVI) which mentions only two kings before him Prithvivarman and Madanavarman. On referring to these records we find that he was not only a great donor giving many villages to numerous Brahmins (Ep. Ind. IV p. 170) but was also a patron of learned men. In the inscription edited at p. 209 Ep. Ind. I the praise bestowed upon him is worth noticing. "There was no trace of any quarrel under his rule for he brought about friendship even between the goddess of learning and the goddess of wealth.* The prosperity of the country is also well described, a fact to which rarely a reference is made in inscriptions.† This inscription is dated 1195, thirteen years after Paramardin's defeat by Prithvirāja.

Although the glory of the Chandella line ended with Paramardin, it continued to rule in Bundelkhand for a long time after him. His successor Trailokyavarman is described in an inscription of his son Viravarman as the "uplifter of the land from the ocean of distress caused by the Turks." There is no doubt that he drove out the Turks from the fort of Kālanjar and regained possession of it together with a large portion of the former territory of the Chandellas (Ep. Ind. I p. 327).‡ The recapture of the fort is also attested by inscriptions on the fort (Smith). Trailokyavarman seems to have reigned long from 1203 to 1245. He was succeeded by his son Viravarman many of whose inscriptions have been found (Kielhorn gives five

* परस्परविरोधस्य तस्य राज्ये कथैव का । संगतं श्रीसरस्वत्योरपि येन प्रवर्तितम् ।

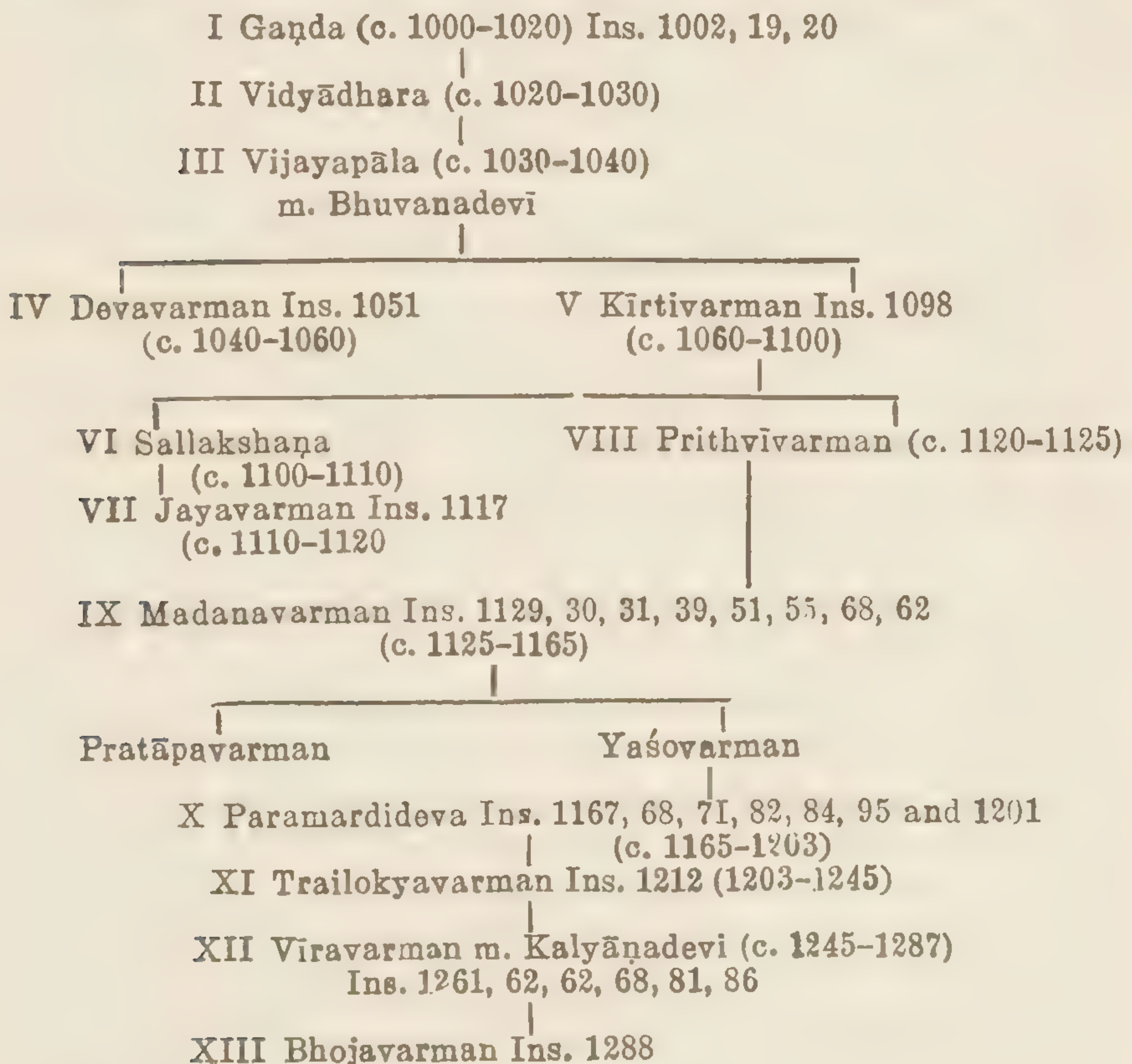
† उद्भूतुरधिकं मणिश्यामल-कौमल तृणानि सर्वशः ।

‡ त्रैलोक्यमल्लश्च शशास राज्यम् । प्रसिद्धदुर्गप्रविधानवेधाः ॥

तुरुष्ककुल्याम्बुधिममधात्री—समुद्धृतिं विष्णुरिव प्रतन्वन् ॥

dating from 1251 to 1286). In the inscription noted above (Ep. Ind. I p. 327) dated 1261 he is said to have married a princess named Kalyāṇadevi of Dadhīcha family of Rajputs (who are called Dahimas a gotra name again) and she built a well where the inscription was recorded. We do not know the extent of the territory which this king ruled though it seems that in Madanavarman's time it extended south as far as Bhaillasvāmin or Bhelsa (Ind. Ant. XVI p. 208). Vīravarman was succeeded by Bhojavarman two of whose inscriptions have been found, one dated 1288 A. D. We get no glimpse of the Chandellas hereafter till we come to Kīratasena who opposed Shershah and finally to the valorous queen Durgāvatī who opposed Akbar's generals and died on the field of battle as noticed in Vol. II (p. 133). The present representatives of the Chandellas of Bundelkhand are the well-known Mahārājas of Gidhaur in Bengal.

GENEALOGY OF THE CHANDELLAS OF MAHOBA.



NOTE :—KHAJURAH0 AND MAH0BA.

(From Sir V. Smith's article in I. A, XXXVII)

Khajuraho the former capital of the Chandellas is an insignificant village now to the south of Mahoba in Chhatarpur State. The still more ancient capital of Bundelkhand or Jajhoti (Jijāka-Bhukti) mentioned by Hiuen Tsang was Eran in Saugar District.* The boundaries of Jajhoti can be defined even now by the habitat of Jajhotia Brahmins. (As will be stated later on, Brahmins, from about the twelfth century, came to be divided into sections called after the land in which they resided; and Brahmins residing in Jajhoti were called Jajhotia as those residing in the Chedi country were called Tiwari from Tiwar its capital and those residing in Kanauj were called Kanojia). Khajuraho capital of Bundelkhand in the 11th century was out of the way of Mahomedan invasions, Mahoba being the capital in the 11th and 12th centuries; and hence fortunately, so to speak, its superb and stupendous temples still stand intact, exhibiting the wonderful art of that period and the prosperity and religious zeal of the Chandella kings. The largest temple in Khajuraho is the Kandaria Mahādeva temple built by Dhanga and next to it come the Viśvanātha and Lalji temples built by the same king and the Ramchandra temple built by his father Yaśovarman. Two Jain temples also built in the same period are noteworthy. Devi Jagadāmbi and Kunvar Math are among the best. These temples of Khajuraho " the finest in Northern India " are worthy of admiration for their harmonious design, massive dimensions and rich decoration. They are all remarkable for their curvilinear steeple which is raised without support of pillars.

At Mahoba also which became the capital of the Chandellas in this sub-period there are many remarkable structures. Especially Mahoba is distinguished for its many lakes built by many Chandella kings even in the second sub-period. Rāhilyasāgar was built by Rāhila in the former, and Kīratsāgar was built by Kīrtivarman in this sub-period. The great lake called Madanasāgar with the two fine granite temples on its bank and Kankaria Math were built by Madanavarman. Mahoba is a Tahsil town in the Banda district and can be reached from a station on the Jhansi-Manikpur line.

There were many notable forts in the Chandella territory and Al-Beruni has mentioned the two most important, Gwalior and Kālanjar. Kalanjar is an ancient fort and holy place noted as a sacred sthāna of Śiva from the days of the Mahābhārata. The wall surmounting the steep sides of the hill and the many strong gates placed at different places in the ascent are very ancient. Ajayagadh is another fortified place to which Trailokyavarman retired when Kalanjar was for a time taken by the Mahomedans. There are many inscriptions both at Kalanjar and at Ajayagadh.

* This is doubted by Hiralal in his paper at the Madras Oriental Conference (1924).

CHAPTER VI.

THE KALACHŪRI HAIHAYAS OF CHEDI.

The third important Rajput family which flourished in the previous sub-period and rose to greater power and renown in this sub-period (1000-1200) was the Kalachūri Haihaya family of Chedi. This family as stated in Vol. II p. 137 was a pure well-known Kshatriya family and not a newly created Kshatriya family as some suppose. It belonged to the lunar race and was believed to be descended from Sahasrārjuna of Māhiśmatī, well-known in Purāṇas for conquering even Rāvaṇa, as is distinctly mentioned in Chedi inscriptions even of this period. Indeed in one inscription (Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 216) their gotra Ātreya is given which is an unusual thing for inscriptions of this period. This shows that this family was very orthodox and religious as indeed its history also shows. Its tutelary god, as usual with Rajputs, was Śiva. Its capital was Tripura near Jubbulpur and Tripura or Tiwari Brahmins are a distinct well-known sub-caste of the Brahmins of Northern India.

Gāngeya was the king of this family ruling in Tripura about the beginning of this sub-period. His date of accession is given as 1020 A. D. in Vol. II computed from the average of 20 years for each king but he may have come to the throne much earlier. He was the most illustrious ruler of this line. He struck numerous coins of gold, silver and copper which are still found in numbers. Curiously enough his coins alone are found and none of his successors. Their style was copied by neighbouring kings and even by Muhammad Ghori (Gaurishankar's Tod). He made extensive conquests, taking advantage of the fallen condition of the Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj. The eastern dominions of Kanauj must thus have fallen away and been taken possession of by Gāngeya and Benares was in his possession (Elliot II Baihaki p. 129) as stated before when Nialtagin raided it. Probably he even conquered Telangana (Trikalanga) of the Eastern Chālukyas who had now been supplanted by the Cholas. He had a fight with Bhoja of Malwa in which he was apparently worsted though neither Paramāra nor Chedi inscriptions mention this event.

He does not appear to have been molested by Mahmud of Ghazni whose raids extended as far as Kālangar of the Chandellas and did not probably go beyond ; though Gāngeya's fame was so great that his name is mentioned by Al-Beruni. In Chedi inscriptions nothing particular is recorded about him but he is usually styled Vikramāditya (Ep. Ind. II p. 3). His one inscription found is dated 1037 A. D. (Kielhorn Ep. Ind. VIII) and he must have died about 1038 A. D. Inscriptions state that he retired in old age, resided at Prayāga and died there, one hundred queens burning themselves on his pyre as *satis*. This is probably an exaggeration but the fact is mentioned in a Chedi inscription (Ep. Ind. II p. 3).

He was succeeded by his son Karna who was a still greater king than he. His conquests were more extensive and his dominion extended into Bihar beyond Benares in which city he built a temple named Karnameru. He is often styled Lord of Trikalīga (Ep. Ind. II p. 305) in inscriptions of the Chedi family and he appears to have conquered large portions of Telāṅgaṇa from the Cholas. He founded the town named Karnāvati (now the village Karnabel close to Tewar) and gave it to Brahmins learned in the Vedas (Ep. Ind. II p. 3). He conquered many kings and the list as usual includes Chola, Pāṇḍya, Murala, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kālīga etc. and he is said to have devastated Champāranya (Ep. Ind. II p. 10). Kielhorn thought that Champāranya was some minor place in C. P. but Mr. Jayaswal has rightly shown that it is the ordinary Champāranya of Bihar and Karna's conquest extended as far as that place (Journal Bihar and Orissa 1924). He was waited upon by 136 princes (Gaurīshanker's Tod). His overrunning Malwa after the death of Bhoja and driving away his son has already been mentioned. This fact is noted in the Paramāra Nagpur Praśasti but strangely enough is not mentioned in any Chedi inscription. Probably Malwa was not long retained by him, being regained by Udayāditya and there is thus no mention of this victory in Chedi records.

Another inscription (Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 216) a hundred years after him gives the names of his opponents conquered in the south as Chola and Koṅga, in the east Hūṇa and Gauḍa and in the north Gurjara and Kīra carrying his conquests as far north as

the Himalayas. It seems, however, really probable that Karna in the north defeated the Gurjara or Pratihāra emperor who was an ally of the Turks and drove the Turks out of the country. This fact appears clearly from the way in which Karna's name is mentioned in an inscription of the Gāhadavālas already noted (Ind. Ant. XIV p. 103). This evidence coming from the records of a foreign state is very valuable. "When Bhoja went to heaven and when Karna remained only in renown and when the earth was being troubled, she found a refuge and protection in Chandradeva Gāhadavāla." We have already said that Bhoja here is Bhoja of Malwa and Karna is this Karna of the Chedis; they had successively fought against the Turks and freed the middle land from their oppression, Bhoja from 1020 to 1040 A. D. and Karna probably from 1040 to 1080 A. D. Chandradeva conquered Kanauj and supplanted the effete Pratihāras about that time. The words 'when the earth was troubled' must be referred to the trouble caused by constant raids of the Turks who having established their rule over the Panjab, from their capital Lahore, sent frequent incursions into middle India. A serious raid of this kind is recorded by Baihaki (who wrote in 1050 A. D.). He states that Ahmad Nailtagin, governor of Lahore, made a raid on Benares, a city to which even Mahmud had not gone and plundered the bazar in 1033 A. D. (Elliot Vol II.). The city was under Gānga i. e. Gāngeya; but probably not completely. Karna finally took Benares into his possession and made incursions as far north as the Kira country on the slopes of the Himalayas and removed the oppression of the Turks. He also conquered Champāranya and Bihar as stated before.

Like Bhoja whose illustrious example great kings tried to emulate, Karna was a patron of learned men also, a fact mentioned incidentally in an inscription. "His fame was greatly increased by poets who also enlightened his mind" (Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 216).^{*} The names of these poets have not yet been known. Perhaps this fact has not attracted the attention of researchers.

Karna is said to have reigned long and his reign is supposed to have lasted into the 12th century; but from the verse above quoted in a Gāhadavāla grant, Karna was dead when

* अनीयन्न परी वृद्धिं गशः संवेदनैः श्रियः । मनोविनोदनेयस्य कवीन्दैरिन्द्रियैरिव ॥

Chandradeva conquered Kanauj about 1090 A. D. We, therefore, take his reign to extend from 1040 to 1080 A. D. He raised the Kalachūri line to the pinnacle of its glory and fortunately his son was worthy enough to carry the glory on.

This son and successor Yaśahkarṇa, born of Karṇa's queen Avellādevī a Hūṇa princess, ruled long from 1080 to at least 1124, two inscriptions of his found being dated 1120 and 1122 A. D. He also ruled vigorously, for he is said to have defeated Āndhra again which probably now means the Chola kings of the south, or the Gangas of Kalinganagara. He is even said to have worshipped the Bhīmeśvara Śiva temple in Āndhra country on the mouth of the Godāvari (E. I. II. p. 3), a fact stated in his own inscription also dated 1122 A. D. As the Gāhadavālas had taken possession of Kanauj, his dominion and influence in the north must have diminished. Govindachandra in an inscription confirms a grant made by him in 1120, showing that a portion of his northern territory was then in the possession of Kanauj. Kashi or Benares was certainly in the possession of Chandradeva as stated in his inscription. Lakshmadeva of Malwa is also said to have fought with him and defeated him.

Yaśahkarṇa was succeeded by his son Gayakarnadeva who also appears to have ruled long and vigorously as inscriptions show. He married Ālhanadevī a princess of the Guhilot family of Mewad. An inscription recorded by her gives her pedigree as follows (Bheraghat inscription Ep. Ind. II. p. 10): "In the Gobhilagotra was Hansapāla whose son was Vairisinha, whose son was Vijayasinha. He married Śyāmalādevī daughter of Udayāditya king of Dhārā and their daughter was Ālhanadevī." This description is important in many respects. First, the Rajputs had begun to look upon their family or clan as gotra, Gobhila being of course Gohila. They probably began to count their Rishi gotra as of no importance, the theory being propounded that their Rishi gotra was the gotra of their Purohitas. The family namegotra is found in many inscriptions of this period. Secondly, the line of the Guhilot kings is correctly given as Hansapāla, Vairisinha and Vijayasinha in Mewad chronicles and inscriptions, of which we had some doubt (see Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 216). Thirdly, instead of Mewad, the word Prāgvāta

is here used. It is difficult to determine what *Prāgvāta* meant though unquestionably it included Malwa. Fourthly, *Udayāditya Paramāra* was king of Malwa. He is said to be king of *Dhārā* which thus clearly appears to be in his possession. It is lastly important to note that this Haihaya family of Chedi was considered of the best Rajput blood as it had marriage relations with the *Guhilots* of *Mewad* and the *Paramāras* of *Malwa* two best Rajput families and with *Prithvirāja Chauhan* whose mother the queen of *Someśvara* was a *Kalachūri* princess, as will be noted later on, probably a daughter of *Ālhanadevī* herself or her son *Narasinhavarman*.

This inscription is dated 1155 A. D. and probably *Ālhanadevī* was regent for her son *Narasinhavarman*. *Yaśahkarṇa*'s rule ended about 1024 A. D. and *Gayakarṇa*'s rule ended about 1054 A. D., his inscription found being dated 1151 (*Int. Ant. XVIII* p. 210). He was succeeded by his son *Narasinhavarman*, three inscriptions of whom have been found, dated 1155, 1158 and 1169. He seems to have died young though his reign does not seem to have been without importance. For from the time of his inscriptions, the form of the title of Chedi kings appears to have changed. He and his successors call themselves "lords of three kings *Narapati*, *Aśvapati* and *Gajapati* by the power of their own arm."* They also call themselves *Vāmadevapādānudyāta* which is wholly inexplicable as their ancestors are mentioned the same *Gāngeya*, *Karṇa*, *Yaśahkarṇa* and *Gaya-karṇa*. It seems that the Chedi kings took the first title from *Gāhadavāla* kings of *Kanauj* who also use the same title in their inscriptions from about this time onward (See *Govindachandra's grant Ind. Ant. XV* p. 7 dated 1168). Now it will be remembered that the *Pratihāra* emperors of *Kanauj* were called *Hayapatis*, lords of horses and the kings of *Bengal* *Gajapatis*, lords of elephants (See *Vol. II App. VI* p. 349, 350). Probably the kings of *Āndhra* were called *Narapatis* or kings of men and whoever conquered these countries may claim the title, conqueror of three kings *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati* and *Narapati*. The *Gāhadavālas* had conquered *Kanauj*, *Bengal* and even *Āndhra* and so had the *Chedis*. They, therefore, both appear to have taken

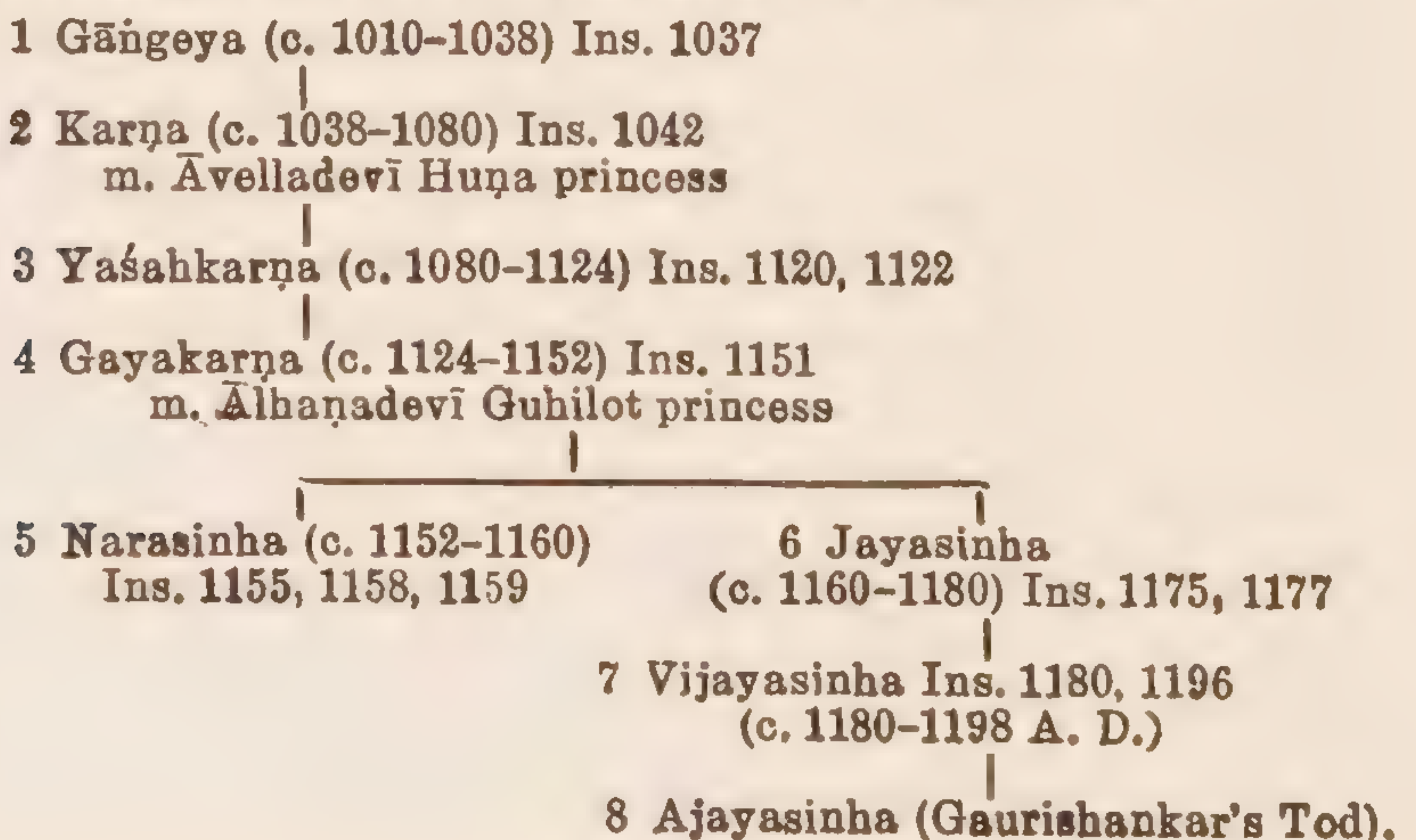
* स्वभुजसंपादित-नरपति-गजपति-अश्वपतिराज्यत्रय ।

this title, bombastic though it clearly was. Narasinhavarman appears to have been brave and probably fought with Āndhras only, though his ancestor Karna had undoubtedly conquered all the three Kanauj, Bengal and Āndhra. Curiously enough this title does not appear in Karna's inscriptions but first appears in that of his great-grandson Narasinha.

Narasinha is called in his inscription dated 1159 (Ind. Ant. XVIII. p. 214) Dāhāliya Mahārāja which seems to suggest he was king of Bundelkhand or part of it at least. In his time a temple was constructed at a ghat near Kauśāmbi on the Jumna upto which river his dominion may have extended.

Narasinha may be taken to have ruled from 1152 to 1160 and he was succeeded by his brother Jayasinha who takes the same title in his two inscriptions found dated 1175 and 77 A. D. Jayasinha ruled probably from 1160 to 1178 A. D.; for in 1180 we get an inscription of his son Vijayasinhavarman. Another inscription of his dated 1196 has been found (Ind. Ant. XVII p. 228, the exact date herein given is 27 Oct. 1195). Gaurishankar gives two more kings viz. Ajayasinha, a son of the last, mentioned indeed in Vijayapāla's inscription dated 1180 A. D., and Trailokyavarman whose inscription dated 1241 has been found. How this line ended does not appear. Probably it fell before Mahomedans in the days of Altamash or his successor. The seal of the family exhibits two elephants with the goddess Lakshmi between them and their banner ensign was a bull.

GENEALOGY OF THE HAIHAYAS OF TRIPURA.



NOTE—TEWAR OR TRIPURA, CAPITAL OF
THE KALACHŪRIS.

(Jubbulpore Gazetteer 1908).

Tripur, capital of the Kalachūris, was a well-known town in ancient India, but is now in ruins and it is represented by the modern village of Tewar about 10 miles from Jubbulpore near the marble rocks. Inscriptions from the 3rd century A. D. are found in and near Tewar. The town Karṇā-vati founded by Karṇa near Tripura is also now in ruins and is the modern village called Karṇabel composed of Karṇa and bel, the latter being the name of the Bilva tree which abounds here. (Perhaps the Brahmins settled by Karṇa in this town were all Śaivas and planted many Bel trees the leaves of which are required for the worship of Śiva). Very little remains even of the ruins except beautifully carved images; for bricks and stones have all been removed and used in the construction of ghats and temples and railway bridges and even culverts in modern time. An ancient step-well has been discovered, however, under brush-wood and it now supplies drinking water to the villagers and there is also an old extensive tank near the ruins.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAULUKYAS OF ANHILWAD.

The history of the Chaulukya (Solankhi) kings of Gujarat has been well told and in detail in Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part II, from Jain records as also inscriptions found till then. The chief authorities are of course the former viz. Hemachandra's *Dvyāśraya* and the *Vichāraśreṇi* of Merutunga (which gives specific dates for the reigns of kings). But these and other Prabandhas contain fanciful accounts, often fictitious, intended to impress the marvellous (*Adbhutarasa*) and sober history has to reject many of their tales which further are not important from the point of view of the general history of Hindu India. We will, therefore, confine our attention to important and well-authenticated events and also incorporate information derivable from epigraphic records discovered since the date of the Gazetteer.

The first thing which requires to be pointed out is that this Chaulukya family and the Chaulukya family of the Deccan are not one and the same family, though the name is the same and though they are treated as the same by even ancient poets and story-tellers. As stated in Vol. II we attach great value to the recorded gotras of these several Rajput families and though names may be the same as among Brahmins, so even among Kshatriyas whose gotras are their family gotras and not the gotras of their Purohitas as propounded in later times by Vijnāneśvara and others, a difference of gotra indicates a difference of family. The Chaulukyas of the Deccan gave their gotra as *Mānavya* even in records as early as the sixth century A. D. and the later Chaulukyas Tailapa and others were of this family though they do not usually give their gotra in their records. The Chaulukyas of Gujarat unfortunately do not also give their gotra in their records. Yet we may be certain that their gotra was *Bhāradvāja* as given in a Chedi record (Ep. Ind. I. 253) of the 10th century and the same gotra is given by Chand in the *Prithvirāja Rāsā*. Even now the Solankhis of

Rewa and of Gujarat profess the same gotra and we may be sure that Bhāradvāja has been their gotra all along. The Chaulukyas of Gujarat are, therefore, a distinct family from the Chaulukyas of the Deccan of the 6th and 10th centuries, though it must be admitted, like the Gazetteer the opposite opinion is entertained by Pandit Guarishankar Ojha.

Secondly, the reader must note that the part of the country where the Chaulukyas founded their rule was not called Gujarat yet. Anahilwād Pātan was situate in what was then called Sārasvata Mandala, and we, therefore, still continue in the title of this chapter the mention of Anahilwād and do not use the name Gujarat though it is used by the Gazetteer. A record of Mūlarāja himself, the founder of the dynasty states that he acquired (I. A. VI. p. 1) Sārasvata Mandala and it was only towards the middle of the twelfth century that Chaulukya records begin to speak of this land as Gurjarabhūmi (See Ind. Ant. VI No. 4 dated 1280 St. or 1223 A. D). This is a view which Mr. Divatia also maintains. Gujarat was the name of the territory about Jaipur still in 1030 A. D., when Al-Beruni wrote his India. Why the name Gurjarabhūmi descended from that region southwards and began to be applied first to northern Gujarat and later on southern Gujarat which was called Lāta has yet to be explained. But it is certain that the name was not given to this country because the rulers of it the Chaulukyas were Gurjaras or Gujars. We still adhere to the view expressed in Vol. II (page 32); for we find that the Chaulukyas or Solankhis do not call themselves Gurjaras in any of their records. They are called Gurjara kings no doubt in the records of other kingdoms and they call themselves kings of the Gurjarabhūmi or land from the middle of the 12th century onwards, but they do not style themselves as Gurjaras by caste or race in any of their records and hence we may be certain that this country came to be called Gujarat for other reasons.

The third thing which requires to be pointed out is that these kings were Śaivites or devotees of Śiva and were never converted to Jainism as is often supposed. They were no doubt tolerant kings as Hindus generally are. They even went beyond tolerance and admired and venerated Jain Sadhus

and learned men, yet they, like other Kshatriyas of the Hindu period, remained Hindus and were devotees of Śiva. They never call themselves Jains in their records and these never begin with the praise of Jina but always begin with the praise of Śiva. Even Kumārapāla who was a devoted disciple of Hemachandra, the great Jain pandit of this period, styles himself devotee of Śiva, is described as having obtained power by the favour of Śiva and builds temples to that god; in fact the deity of the family was Somnath whose famous shrine was situated in their country and was under their rule. Jain writers have no doubt tried to prove that Kumārapāla was a convert to Jainism. Indeed they represent even the Chāvadās as also Solankhis as Jains; but the inscriptions drawn up under the government of the Solankhis do not support their statements and we may believe that they continued to be Śaivites though they favoured Jainism which, no doubt, prospered under their rule as we shall show later on.

Having noted these three important points of difference, we will give in substance the history of the Chaulukya kings of Anahilwad, chiefly from the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part II. Mūlarāja was the founder of this family and he was sister's son of the last Chāpotkata king of Pātan. Probably there was misrule in the country and Mūlarāja acquired the kingdom by force as the inscriptions generally represent and restored order, though chroniclers give the story of his seizing the kingdom wrongfully by putting his uncle to death. He ruled from 961 to 996 A. D. justly and vigorously as founders of kingdoms usually do. He had wars with the neighbouring kings such as those of Cutch and Sind. He had seized a kingdom which was already large and had necessarily to make good his claim to it by his prowess. He is said to have defeated one Gṛiharipu assisted by the Khengār king of Cutch and also by Arabs from Sind and obtained possession of Somnath. The word Gṛiharipu probably shows that he was a rebel, being a subordinate of the previous Chāvadâ kings. Mūlarāja had also to fight with kings of north and south, viz. Vigraharāja of Sambhar and Bārappa of Lāta. The latter probably was a general of king Tailapa of Kārṇāṭa, as Kārṇāṭa and Lāta even in Paramāra records are usually leagued together, Lāta being a dependency of Kārṇāṭa.

ruled by a governor usually a scion of the reigning family. Bārappa is said to have been killed in battle and Mūlarāja fought battles separately with these invading forces and secured his dominions. Mūlarāja devoted himself in old age to a holy life. He built a Śiva temple at Pātan. He invited learned Brahmins from different parts of India and settled them at Sidhpur and elsewhere. Many Brahmins of Gujarat such as Audichyas and Gaudas believe that they came to Gujarat in his reign.

Mūlarāja was succeeded by his son Chāmunda who reigned from 997 to 1010 A. D., according to the chronicles. Sindhurāja of Malwa was killed in a battle with this king as is stated in the Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla and this event is placed by Pandit Gaurishankar in 1010 A. D. (See Vol. II. p. 122). It cannot be later than this year but may have happened earlier. For, as stated already, Bhoja of Malwa might have begun to rule before 1010 A. D. The story that Munja insulted Mūlarāja when he was going on a pilgrimage to Benares via Dhar and Chāmunda revenged the insult is probably a fiction.

Chāmunda had three sons Vallabha, Durlabha and Nāgarāja and the eldest succeeded and reigned for a short time only and his name is consequently often omitted in inscriptions. His brother Durlabha succeeded him and ruled for twelve years from 1010 A. D. to 1022 A. D. Nothing particular is recorded of him by chroniclers or in inscriptions. He was succeeded by his nephew Bhīma I. son of Nāgarāja. Bhīma certainly was a powerful king and ruled long (43 years) from 1022 A. D. to 1064 A. D. He was contemporary with king Bhoja of Malwa and king Karna of the Chedis both of whom were also powerful and able. His wars with Malwa have already been described. It is said that Karna of Chedi had a golden palanquin presented to him by Bhoja who was defeated by him and Bhīma defeated both Bhoja and Karna and took from the latter the golden palanquin and presented the same to his tutelary god, Somnath of Prabhāsa Patan. Whether these stories are true or not, it is true that all the three kings were equally powerful and had consequently constant fights, relieved by periods of friendship and amity. We have already

said that Bhīma did not invade Malwa along with Karna and avail himself of the opportunity of crushing Malwa after Bhoja's death. Malwa records distinctly show that Karna of Chedi alone invaded Malwa and the version of the Gujarat chronicles in this respect is not true.

It was during this king's reign that Mahmud of Ghazni made his famous raid on Somnath. Whether such an event did take place or not we have discussed elsewhere. But an inscription at Somnath records that Bhīma built a stone-temple for Somnath in place of the wooden one which existed before. We have seen that the Udepur Praśasti states that Bhoja built the Somnath god's temple. No reference is given by the Gazetteer for the inscription and hence we have not been able to estimate its value. We may suppose that the work was the joint work of Bhoja and Bhīma. Indeed Bhoja could not have done the work without Bhīma's consent and collaboration.

Bhīma was succeeded by his second son Karna, the eldest Mūlarāja having died in his father's life-time. He had a peaceful reign from 1064 to 1094. He built a large tank called Karnasara and he also founded a city, named it Karṇāvatī and made it his second capital. This city is modern Ahmedabad. As usual with Hindu powerful kings, he built many temples to Śiva and Durgā. He had very few conflicts with neighbouring kings, but the Hammīra-Charita states that he died in a battle with Dussala of Śākambhari.

Kielhorn in his genealogies (Ep. Ind. VIII) gives only one inscription each against Bhīma and Karna. The first dated 1029 A. D. does not give much information about Bhīma (I. A. VI p. 193) and the second dated 1091 A. D. also gives no information about Karna (Ep. Ind. I. p. 317). The Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla also does not furnish much information about either. Bhīma is said to have conquered Dhārā, the capital of the Mālava-*Chakravartin* (Bhoja) by means of his efficient cavalry versed in five modes of moving (Dhārā) or versed in the use of five-weapons (Dhārā); and of Karna it gives the usual praise. The inscription of Karna dated 1091 A. D., however, shows that the Gujarat chroniclers are not wrong when they assign him a reign from 1064 to 1094 or 1093 A. D.

Karna was succeeded by his son Jayasinha born of a Karnāṭa Kadamba princess married when he was old. Jayasinha was a minor when Karna died and the government was carried on by his mother with the aid of capable and devoted ministers. Jayasinha surnamed Siddharāja proved to be the most powerful king of Gujarat in the Chaulukya line. He was a great builder and every ancient structure in Gujarat is popularly attributed to him. He built the famous Rudramāl (Rudra-mahālaya) temple of Śiva at Siddhapura parts of which only remain; yet they attest the stupendous dimensions and the fine workmanship of the temple. He built the Sahasralinga lake at Pātan. His wars were also great. He had a long war with Malwa lasting for twelve years beginning with an invasion of Malwa in the reign of Naravarman and ending with the defeat and imprisonment of Yaśovarman as related before. He is said to have attacked Dhârâ and from thence to have gone against Madanpāla Chandella and exacted tribute from him though a Chandella Kalanjar record states that Jayasinha was defeated (J. B. A. S. 1848 p. 319). Certain it is that he conquered Malwa and a large part of the country remained under the rule of Gujarat for a long time. He is usually called in inscriptions Avantīnātha. From an inscription it appears that he also conquered Cutch and annexed that kingdom ruling it through a governor. In inscriptions he is said to have conquered Barbaraka, a word which has given rise to various legends and various surmises. The legends declare that Barbaraka was the king of demons or devils. And Jayasinha Siddharāja is said to have acquired such power over devils and goblins that he could accomplish anything. Such tales being absurd, antiquarians have attempted to explain the word by supposing that Barbaraka meant some aboriginal or even Mlechha people. Bühler thought that they were Bhils now known as Bābaras settled in south Kathiawar (Gazetteer). It is also suggested that they may have been the Berbers of the Hindu Purāṇas to be identified with Vara or the Berbers of Africa. The last suggestion seems acceptable with this difference that Berbers are to be identified with Arabs (See Vol. II p. 354). It is quite possible that Jayasinha defeated a formidable Arab invasion from Sind.

Jayasinha was, like Bhoja whose example was catching, a patron of learned men and many great pandits, Jain and Hindu, were patronised by him. The greatest of them was, of course, Hemachandra the Jain Pandit whose grammar of Sanskrit is called *Sidhdha Hema* because it was dedicated to this king and whose poem *Dvyāśraya* gives a history of the Chaulukyas and also contains illustrations of grammatical rules. The king was also fond of disputations being held between pandits in his presence and in one such dispute a Digambara Jain pandit is said to have been defeated by a noted Śvetāmbara Sūri from Cambay as the former propounded that women could not obtain salvation, nor clothed ascetics. This story may perhaps emanate from a Śvetāmbara source, Śvetāmbaras being predominant in Gujarat.

Not only poets but warriors flocked to the court of Sidharāja for patronage and the most famous of them was Jagadeva Paramāra, youngest son of Udayāditya. Marvellous stories are told of him by chroniclers but his bravery need not be doubted.

Jayasinha Sidhharāja has, therefore, been properly described by the Gazetteer as most powerful, most religious and most generous. At the intercession of his mother who was grieved to see the despair of devout pilgrims unable to proceed to Somnath on account of the heavy tax on them, he remitted the tax altogether, though its income was about 1 Lakh of rupees. Even in the Vadnagar Praśasti it is declared that he paid off the debts of all debtors in his kingdom and thus deserved the title of Chakravartin and a Śakakartā or founder of an era. It is indeed a common belief in India that the founder of an era must pay off the debts of all debtors in his kingdom and it seems from the Vadnagar Praśasti that Jayasinha actually accomplished this great feat of generosity. That he founded an era cannot be doubted for inscriptions in Kathiawar and Gujarat have been found dated in that era. The last mention is probably in the Verawal inscription (Bhav. Ins. p. 214) which gives its date in four eras viz. Vikrama 1320, Valabhi 945, Sinha 151 and Hijri 642.* In short Jayasinha

* This shows that four eras were current in Gujarat indicating four prominent rules in succession. Mahomedan rule was just commencing at the time of that inscription though it mentions Arjundeva Vaghela as ruling in Gujarat.

amply deserves the titles Siddharāja and Chakravartin bestowed upon him even in inscriptions.

Kielhorn in his genealogies mentions two inscriptions of Jayasinha dated 1138 and 1139 A. D.; the latter is not a Chaulukya inscription but one of their subordinate kings and in its first verse it simply states that king Jayasinha imprisoned the kings of Saurāshtra and Malwa. In the various inscriptions of his successors he is usually described as Avantīnātha, Tribhuvanaganda, Barbarakajishnu and Siddha-Chakravartin (See I. A. VI. No. 6 &c.). Jayasinha ruled long from 1093 to 1143 as stated by chroniclers which is not improbable, as he came to the throne a minor and as the inscription noted above is dated 1139 A. D. proving a long reign. In spite of his supposed magical powers and Siddha-rasa or powerful medicines or of his highly meritorious works and actions, Jayasinha had no son and the succession went to Kumārapāla, son of Tribhuvanapāla who was a grandson of the third son of Bhīma I named Krishnarāja. The succession was naturally contested and foreign kings intervened in the quarrel. But Kumārapāla by his energies and the assistance of Jain ministers succeeded in defeating Arṇoraj of Ajmer and Ballāla of Malwa as stated in the inscriptions. And Kumārapāla like his predecessors ruled justly and wisely for a long time i. e. thirty years from 1143 to 1173 according to the chroniclers. It is indeed rare to find four capable vigorous and justice-loving kings reigning successively as Bhīma, Karna, Jayasinha Siddharāja, and Kumārapāla undoubtedly did. Stories of Jayasinha and Kumārapāla of Naharwala are told even by Arab writers as early as 1225 A. D. and we have no hesitation in identifying Jayasinha of Jamiyat-ul-Hikayat of Ufi who even mentions his power over spirits, with Jayasinha Siddharāja and Gulpāl with Kumārapāla whose just rule is attributed to the fact that this king, before he came to the throne, had travelled much and passed through adversity. Gujarat chroniclers also state that Kumārapāla, as a possible successor, came under the disfavour of Jayasinha and departing from Gujarat travelled in southern and eastern countries by the advice of Hemachandra who is said to have foretold his greatness. This explains his extreme reverence for that

famous Jain pandit and also his regard for the Jain religion. His self-restraint and high moral character may be attributed indeed to the influence of Jain philosophy. Further, Kumārapāla was also fifty years old when he came to the throne and therefore past the age when kings are often led to become addicted to vice and oppression.

His first war was with Arnorāja of Ajmer to whom his sister was married. Perhaps he moved against him, he being in favour of his brother. Absurd tales are told of this war but from inscriptions it seems clear that in this battle Kumārapāla exhibited personal bravery and drew blood from Arnorāja's chest with an arrow.* His usual title in inscriptions is "the conqueror of the king of Śākambhari in battle by the strength of his own arms". Probably the king of Malwa named Ballāla in Vadnagar Praśasti was an ally of Arnorāja and was killed in battle. He sent his general twice against Mallikārjuna king of Konkan and in the second battle Ambada his general climbed his elephant and cut off his head. A king of Chedi was proceeding against him when by accident the king was strangled by his own necklace being caught in a branch as he was riding an elephant. His inscriptions are found in the temple of Udepur in eastern Malwa showing that Gujarat still ruled a large part of Malwa. His inscriptions are also found at Balmer in Western Rajputana and at Chitod itself in Mewad. This is a little inexplicable as it is not possible that he conquered Chitod and the Guhilot king there. The inscription seems to mention that he went there to see the famous fort when returning from an expedition against Karna. The king of Chitod probably treated him as an honoured guest. Perhaps the legend that one of Kumārapāla's queens was a Guhilot princess may also explain his friendly reception at Chitod as also the recording of an inscription on the capital fort of the Guhilots. Kumārapāla had extensive dominion no doubt but the Jain chronicles exaggerate his power, probably because he was the most ardent admirer of their religion and represent him as ruling a territory the northern boundary of which was conterminous with the dominions of the Turks.

* अर्णाराजनराधिराजहृदयक्षिप्तैकबाणव्रणात् च्योतल्लोहैततर्पणादमदयच्चण्डीं भुजस्थायिनीम् ॥

Vadnagar Praśasti Ep. Ind. I.

Kumārapāla like his predecessor was a great builder and many Jain vihāras are said to have been built by him or his ministers. He is certainly described by Jain chroniclers as building the temple of Somnath and it is said that Hemachandra himself, when asked by the king what was the most meritorious thing for him to do, replied that he should rebuild the temple of Somnath and the king built the temple of stones. We have already seen that Bhoja is credited with building the temple of Somnath as also Bhīma. Jayasinha is distinctly recorded to have done the same. Probably the temple was so contiguous to the sea that sea-waves dashed against the base of the temple and former builders only put up wooden pillars into the basin of the sea. The building of a stone-temple by Kumārapāla cannot be doubted; for an inscription in the Bhadrakālī temple without the precincts of Somnath dated 1169 A. D. mentions this fact in detail. A Kānyakubja Brahmin ascetic from Benares moved about in India, making Sthānoddhāra and came to Somnath via Malwa. He requested Jayasinha to build the Somnath temple and the latter began the construction. The work was, however, finished by Kumārapāla. This inscription gives the credit of inducing the kings of Gujarat to build the temple to the Brahmin ascetic Bhāva Brīhaspati, a saint of the Lakulīśa sect. But the Jain chroniclers take the credit to themselves and attribute Kumārapāla's action to the advice of Hemachandra. We may give credit to both, for indeed Kumārapāla appears to have honoured both Hindu and Jain ascetics and learned men. On this inscription we have commented elsewhere.

It remains to consider how far we may believe that Kumārapāla actually became a Jain towards the close of his career. When the temple of Somnath was being built, he is said to have made a vow, at Hemachandra's suggestion, to abstain from flesh, wine, and woman. And for two years he observed the vow and when the temple was finished he went there and worshipped the god and even Hemachandra bowed to the idol. That vow is not a Jain vow only, being prescribed even by Manu.* But perhaps the king was equally divided

* न मांसमक्षणे दोषो न मद्ये न च मैथुने । प्रवृत्तिरेषा भूतानां निवृत्तिस्तु महाफला ॥

The abstention from the three M's is described as leading to great fruit.

between his devotion to his tutelary deity and his devotion to his preceptor Hemachandra. The Hindus are in this respect most tolerant and even now devout Hindus are known to be followers of Mahomedan fakirs. It is, therefore, not at all strange that Kumārapāla worshipped Jain ascetics or built Jain vihāras. Even Hemachandra like his tolerant disciple bowed to the Somnath idol, declaring that it may represent even Jina. It does not seem probable, however, that Kumārapāla at last gave up his tutelary deity and turned a Jain since in inscriptions of his time and those of his successors, he is always described as 'prospering through the favour of Śiva' (Umāpati) and is nowhere described as a Jain, as Harsha is described in his inscriptions as a worshipper of Sugata (Parama Saugata) while his father is described as worshipper of Śiva (Parama Māheśvara).

There is, however, reason to believe that Kumārapāla was so far impressed latterly with the doctrine of Ahimsā specially preached by Jainism that he, like Harsha, used his political power to suppress slaughter of animals, though not wholly, yet on certain days at least. Jain chronicles relate that he prohibited killing of animals altogether and even gave strained water to his horses and elephants like Śīlāditya of Molapo (See Vo. I. p. 23). But even if we do not believe this, inscriptions record that slaughter was prohibited by subordinate kings on certain days. There are two inscriptions of this kind, at Ratanpur and Harsoda, both in Marwad (Bhav. Ins. p. 206) which were recorded in the time of Kumārapāla by subordinate kings prohibiting slaughter on Ashtami, Ekadaśi, Chaturdaśi and Amāvāsyā days and prescribing a penalty of five dramma as fine. If subordinate princes prohibited slaughter, it must have been done with the consent of the suzerain, probably a similar order must have been promulgated by the suzerain himself though this does not necessarily follow. But even this Ratanpur inscription describes Kumārapāla as prospering through the favour of Pārvatīpati (Śiva). And the Vadnagar Praśasti relates that Kumārapāla built the wall round Vadnagar the home of Nāgar Brahmins who are well-known worshippers of Śiva. The conclusion appears to be that while Kumārapāla still remained a staunch worshipper of Śiva as his forefathers

had been, he admired Jainism so far and was so far under the influence of Hemachandra that he prohibited killing of animals on certain days sacred to the Jains. Such prohibitory orders were issued by Akbar also in response to Jain feeling, in certain towns, as sanads prove, during Pachosan fast days of the Jains.

Kielhorn gives seven inscriptions against Kumārapāla (genealogies E. I. VIII) ranging from 1145 to 1160 A. D. and this supports the length of his reign (30 years) given by the chronicles from 1143 to 1173 A. D. Kumārapāla had no son and he was succeeded by his nephew Ajayapāla who had a short reign as he was of a violent temper and vigorously persecuted Jains and oppressed even Hindu ministers. He was slain by his own door-keeper in 1179 A. D. He is credited in inscriptions with having brought under tribute the king of Śākambhari which does not seem likely.

He was followed by his son Mūlarāja who was then a minor and who is, therefore, often called Bāla Mūlarāja. His mother Naikidevi was the daughter of a Permādi Kadamba king in Karnāṭaka and acted as regent. It was during the reign of this king that Muhammad Ghori invaded Gujarat and was defeated. This defeat was certainly creditable to the Hindus and it is but natural that many Chālukya inscriptions should describe Mūlarāja as "the conqueror of the difficult to be conquered king of Gurjan (Ghazni)." * The credit belongs to the king no doubt but in one inscription the credit is given to his mother. Rajput ladies are certainly famous throughout history for their contempt of death and for their high regard for their honour and religion. It is a matter of pride further that this queen was a Rajput lady from the Karnāṭaka. She must have been present at the battle and led the forces of Gujarat against the Ghazni king.† The battle is not described anywhere but seems to have been won by the valour of the Gujarat army composed, as it was, of cavalry and elephants, the latter being properly handled by Gujarat generals. It is said by Gujarat chroniclers that rain came to the help of the conquerors; but why rain

* म्लेच्छतमो निचय छन्नप्रद्योतनबालार्क आहवपगमत्तुर्जयगुर्जनाधिराज

(I. A. VI p. 194)

† चौलुक्यराजान्वयगुजितस्य । यस्यानुभावादबलापि संख्ये । हम्पीराजं तरसा जिगाय
etc. Verawal Inscription (Bhav. Inscript. p. 24).

should have helped them only is not obvious. It must also be conceded that Ghori must have had an insufficient force in comparison with the large army of Gujarat, as he is said to have come via Multan and across the desert. Whatever the reason of it, this defeat saved Gujarat from Mahomedan conquest for a hundred years more and established the reputation of the kingdom of Naharwala for valour. The battle was fought in 1178 A. D. and at Gadarar Chatta (B. Gazetteer p. 195). Mahomedan writers do not generally mention this battle, but they mention one with the successor of Mūlarāja named Bhīma which is probably a mistake (Gaurishankar's Tod). Perhaps it may have been another attempt to retrieve his honour by Muhammed Ghori who tried to imitate Mahmud of Ghazni with less success in the beginning yet more complete success in the end.

Mūlarāja also ruled for a short time only and he was succeeded by his brother Bhīma who was also a minor then, his mother carrying on the regency. Bhīma II called Bholā ruled long, like Jayasinha, from 1178 to 1241 A. D. a period of 63 years which is not unbelievable, if we remember that he came to the throne when a boy. Like Jayasinha also he called himself Siddharāja or rather new (Abhinava) Siddharāja, though his attainments were not as great. There are many inscriptions of his time found dating from 1199 to 1238 A. D. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that he reigned till 1242 A. D. as stated by chroniclers. His power was, however, usurped by his nobles and feudatories, though they always acknowledged him as king of Anhilwad. Thus an inscription of one Jayantasinha, to be noticed further on, states that Bhīma ruled in Anhilwād. Subsequently the Vaghela chieftain Lavaṇaprasād and his son Vīradhavalā became powerful and Bhīma II is said even to have declared that Vīradhavalā was his successor. The Vaghela chieftains were a scion of the Chaulukya family itself and Arṇorāja the founder was a son of Kumārapāla's mother's sister. He assisted Kumārapāla in obtaining the throne and the latter gave him the village of Vyāghrapalli near Anhilwad, whence the family obtained the surname Vaghela. Lavaṇaprasāda, son of Arṇorāja was a great general under Bhīma II and eventually Vīradhavalā, his son, established himself at Anhilwad in place of Bhīma's effete successor

Tribhuvanapāla, who seems to have ruled for about four years after Bhīma (Gaurishankar's Tod). A copper-plate of Tribhuvanapāla dated 1299 St. or 1242 A.D. has been found and it seems that this king did for a time rule. But Viradhavala who was virtual master must have soon set him aside and founded the Vaghela kingly family at Anhilwad which lasted for four generations after him viz: Visaladeva, Arjunadeva, Sārangadeva and Karṇa (1286-1304) in whose time Gujarat was finally conquered by the Mahomedans. The Vaghela kings were a powerful family and their two great Jain ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla built the famous Jain temples at Abu and Girnar. The modern representative of the Vaghela family is the family ruling at Rewa; while the Chaulukya family of Mūlarāja is represented by the chiefs of Rūpanagar in Mewad and of Kot in Marwad (Gaurishankar's Tod). There are some Maratha families such as Dubals of Karhad in Satara district who represent themselves as descendants of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, their gotra being Bhāradvāja.

It remains to consider who Jayantasinha was whose inscription dated 1260 St. or 1202 A. D. has been found (I. A. VI No. 4 p. 197). In this inscription he is described as a Chaulukya, but what relation he bore to Bhīma is not stated; it, however, makes it clear that this king ruled in place of Bhīma while he was away, (*tadnantaram sthāne*). It further praises Jayantasinha as the extricator, like Varāha, of the Gurjara land sunk in the waters of the ocean of evil times and the nourisher, like rain, of the seed of Gurjara land burnt in the forest fire of calamities. He also takes to himself all the epithets taken by Gujarat kings and describes himself as established in Anhilwad. This contains, most probably, a reference to the invasion of Gujarat by Kutubuddin Aibak in 1197 A.D. (B. Gazetteer p. 195-7). It seems probable that like his former namesake Bhīma I when invaded by Mahmud of Ghazni, Bhīma II at the time of the invasion by Kutubuddin forsook Anhilwad and retired to some distant fortress. Kutubuddin who had come to Ajmer advanced on Anhilwad and defeated the force which opposed him at the frontier under the mount of Abu, Dhārāvarsha Parmāra and other generals of Gujarat being defeated (Gaurishankar), Gujarat lay prostrate and was plundered. Perhaps this valiant

Chaulukya prince Jayantasinha remained in the city and eventually cleared the country of any forces that may have been left in the country by Kutubuddin. The eloquent description of these services given in the inscription* are not a mere hyperbole and Jayantasinha appears he have ruled vigorously in Anhilwad for at least three years, his inscription being dated 1202 A. D. Bhīma's grant dated 1199 A. D. (Bhādrapada or September) was issued from Anhilwad (Ind. Aut. XI p. 71) and discovers the fact that he was still there though the Mahomedan forces were in the country troubling the people. He must have left the capital of sheer necessity hereafter. Bhīma must have returned when the country was clear and ruled again in Patan for a long time till 1242, his last inscription found being dated 1239 A. D. The titles which Bhīma II takes are indeed grandiloquent as he calls himself not only Abhinava Siddharāja but also Saptama Chakravartin. Why he calls himself the seventh Gujarat emperor of India cannot be explained unless we confine the enumeration to the Chaulukya kings of Anhilwad and begin it with Bhīma I. Unquestionably the kings of this line were almost all able and valorous kings with the exception of this last king who was indeed properly called Bholā or guileless as he did not sufficiently realise the absurdity of the praise bestowed upon him by inscription-writers. We give the genealogy of the Chaulukya kingly family of Anahilwad below with probable dates of accession and definite dates of their inscriptions. Jayantasinha may be omitted as he clearly ruled in place of Bhīma II during his absence (though Kielhorn gives his name in the genealogy of the Chaulukyas), following Gaurishankar Ojha in his note in Tod and the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, part I.

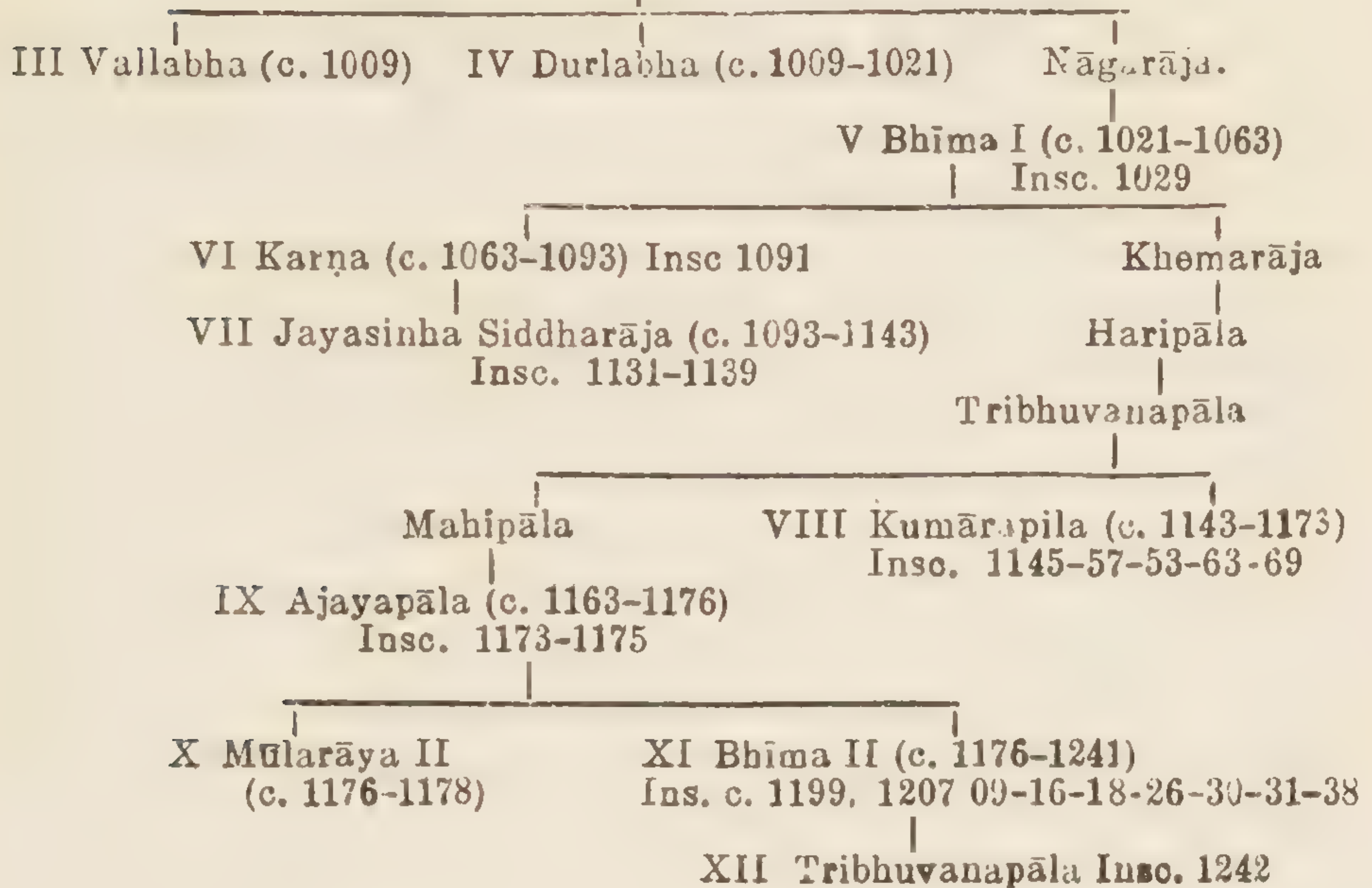
* भीमदेवः तदनन्तरं स्थाने परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर चोलुककुलकल्पवल्ली-विस्तारणदीप दुःसमयजलधिजलमग्नेदिनीमंडलोद्धरणमहावराह दुर्दैवदावानलदग्धगर्जरधरा-बीजप्ररोहेकपर्जन्य एकांगवीर (I. A. VI p. 197).

GENEALOGY OF THE CHĀLUKYAS OF ANHILWAD.

(Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part II and Kielhorn's genealogies E. I. VIII)

I Mūlarāja son of Rāji (c 961-996 A. D.).

II Chāmunda (c. 997-1009).



CHAPTER VIII.

THE GĀHADAVĀLAS OF KANAUJ.

Of the new Rajput clans which came to the front in the third sub-period of Hindu history (1000-1200), the most noted as well as the most powerful was the Gāhadavāla family of Kanauj. The Gāhadavālas are considered to be a branch of the Rathods or Rāshtrakūtas but this fact is often disputed and we will examine this subject later on; it is also uncertain whence the Gāhadavālas came and we will give our view on this point also later. From inscriptions of this family found in scores, however, it appears certain that Chandradeva son of Mahiyala Gāhadavāla, 'by the prowess of his arms obtained the sovereignty of Kānyakubja and freed the country from trouble'. This praise is bestowed on Chandra in almost every Gāhadavāla grant. In what year this exploit is to be placed is not quite clear. Fortunately we have, since Kielhorn gave genealogies of Northern Kings in 1908 (E. I. in VIII), found three inscriptions of Chandradeva himself and the eulogy of him in the two later records is more detailed; but unfortunately the epithets in them cannot be well understood. It seems that Chandra conquered Narapati, Gajapati, Triśankupati and a king of Pāñchāla which must be identified with the kingdom of Kanauj (E. I. XIV p. 192). These inscriptions are dated from 1093 to 1099 A. D. and there is another inscription of him dated 1091 with the usual epithets (E. I. IX p. 302). It seems thus certain that Chandradeva conquered Kanauj before 1091 A. D. In an inscription of a later king (I. A. XIV p. 103) it is stated that Chandradeva freed the earth from trouble which had come upon it after the death of Karṇa of Chedi. This king we have taken to have ruled up to 1080 A. D. It hence follows that Chandradeva conquered Kanauj some time after 1080 A. D. In this inscription it is also stated that Chandradeva defeated many enemy kings and then made Kānyakubja his capital. Kanauj was the Rome or Constantinople of India from the days of Harsha and whoever took it was considered as the emperor of Hind. Chandra must, therefore, have found

many opponents to his occupation of Kanauj as his capital, though he must have defeated the last effete representative of the fallen Pratihāra line easily. The word 'chapala' or mobile applied to Pāñchāla king in these two Chandra records (E I. XIV) probably shows that he had to pursue the fugitive Pratihāra last king from place to place.

Having conquered the kingdom of Kanauj, Chandra freed the country from the Turks whose officers must have been present in the country in several places to collect the tribute paid to Ghazni by Kanauj as stated before, and as immortalized in the Gāhadavāla records by the word 'Turushkadanda'. Chandra further obtained possession of the chief sacred places in Northern India viz. Kāśī, Kuśika (Kanauj), Uttara Kośala (Ayodhya) and Indrasthāna (perhaps Indraprastha or Delhi) and as a Hindu king protected these sacred places from the incursions of the Turks (I. A. XIV); a praise bestowed upon Chandra in almost all Gāhadavāla records. He also made tulādānas or gifts of gold of his own weight by scores to learned Brahmins. In short Chandra was not only a powerful king but also a most orthodox Hindu and his conquest of Kanauj may be looked upon as a strong religious effort by the Hindus to free Āryāvarta from the troubles of Mlechchha inroads and Mlechchha domination. Bhoja had rendered the same service (1040) and Karna later (1060) but Chandra (1080) established firmly Hindu rule in Northern India by conquering and consolidating the kingdom of Kanauj and thus ensured the life of Hindu India for a century more.

He was succeeded by his son Madanapāla who is also praised in his documents and in those of his successors but the praise is apparently conventional and we do not get any historical details from the praise. He was succeeded by his son Govindachandra who is undoubtedly the most famous and powerful king of this line, as usual the third from the founder. He is often described as 'strengthening the newly founded kingdom by his arms as with ropes and creepers'. His war elephants are described as moving in three directions without rest. Probably like Harsha, Govindachandra kept this arm at great strength and constantly used it east, south and west. (In the north was the Himalaya mountain, the safe

boundary of his kingdom which perhaps did not require much attention). He first takes the new epithet 'conqueror of the three kingdoms of Aśvapati, Narapati and Gajapati'. To what kings or kingdoms these terms refer it is difficult to state and has not been discussed. Probably the kingdom of Hayapati meant the kingdom of Kanauj, of Gajapati the kingdom of Bengal and of Narapati the kingdom of Chedi. The first two terms have already been used elsewhere and explained by us as above in Vol. II (p. 350) and Narapati may refer to the Chedi or Telingana kingdom whose king is said to have kissed his feet i. e. entered into subordinate alliance with him. The Giripati mentioned in two Chandradeva's inscriptions may refer to the Āndhra kingdom or the Chedi, as both are full of mountains and the former is actually so described in the verse noted in Vol. II (p. 350). In any case it may be taken that Govindachandra extended his domination in all directions and thereby reduced the extent of the territories of the kings of Bengal, Āndhra and Chedi. He held Benares undoubtedly and much of the territory to the east of it, as he has made many grants of villages in the country round Benares, from Benares itself, which appears to have usually been a second capital with the kings of Kanauj. Indeed Jayachandra and others are often described by Mahomedan writers as kings of Benares and hence supposed by some as coming originally from that city itself.

In the same way as he had to fight with the Gauda kings in the east (and Chedi in the south), Govindachandra had necessarily to fight with the Mahomedans of Lahore in the west and we actually find these fights referred to, correctly and without boast, in an inscription of his which was recorded* while he was yet a Yuvarāja or heir apparent. The verse is very important and may be translated as follows:—(he was at the time on the Jumna at Āsatikā a place not identified but probably in the North-west and he makes the grant while Madanapāla was still ruling) "Terrible by breaking open the temples of the war-elephants of Gauda difficult to be opposed and compelling the Hammīra to cease hostilities by his game of unequal fighting,

* दुर्वारस्फारगौडद्विरदवरघटाकुंभनिर्भेदभीमो । हम्मीरं न्यस्तवैरं मुहुरसमरणक्रीडया यो विधत्ते ॥ शश्वत्संचारविलग्नरुगखुरपुटोल्लेखमुद्रासनाथक्षोणीस्वीकारदक्षः स इह विजयते प्रार्थना कल्पवृक्षः ॥

he accepted the kingship of the earth stamped, as it were, with seals in the form of the imprints of the hoofs of his horses constantly moving about". This shows the nature of his fights with the Turks of the Panjab who had constant tussels with Govindachandra and who, it appears, had eventually to make truce with him. This verse also shows that, like Bhoja Pratihāra of Kanauj, Govindachandra also kept a very large force of efficient cavalry which was always on the alert and constantly moving about.

Govindachandra was not only a powerful king but following the example set by Bhoja of Malwa and being himself a learned man, patronised learned men at his court. His epithet in most Gāhadavāla records is 'Vividha-Vichāra-Vidyā-Vāchapati' a very Brihaspati (teacher of gods) in different sciences and philosophies. It is also stated that his Sāndhivigrahika (minister for war and peace), Lakshmīdhara by name, composed Vyavahāra-Kalpataru a treatise on law and procedure. Govindachandra thus can be placed in the same category of great kings as Samudragupta, Harsha, Bhoja, Mahmud, Akbar or Shivaji who were both great conquerors and patrons of learned men.

Govindachandra ruled long from about 1114 to 1155 A. D. Sir Vincent Smith, it appears, inadvertently includes the years 1104 to 1114 in the reign of Govindachandra (E. H. I. p. 384, 3rd Edn.). And Gaurishankar Ojha has rightly given the date of Govindachandra's accession as 1114 A. D. This discrepancy of dates was striking and we specially looked into the inscriptions concerned and it appears that these grants from 1104 to 1109 A. D., Govindachandra signs or makes as heir apparent while Madanapāla was still ruling and hence these years must be included in the reign of Madanapāla. Kielhorn has also given the inscriptions of 1104, 1105, 1107 and 1109 as belonging to the reign of Madanapāla. The first insc. of 1104 is published in I. A. XIV (p. 103) and is the well-known Basāhi grant of that village in the Etawah District. Govindachandra is described therein as Mahārājaputra, meaning literally son of the Mahārāja, and in the last sentence the writing is said to be done with the consent of Purohita Jāgūka, Mahattaka (minister) Vālhaṇa and Pratihāri (chamberlain) Gautama. The inscription of 1105 is published in Ep. Ind. II (p. 358) and is similar

in form to the above on which we will comment at length later on. It grants a village in the Pāñchāla country while the donor was encamped on the Ganges and in the end the writing is said to be made with the consent of the above officers as also of the queen-mother Rālhadevi. The third insc. dated 1107 is published in short in J. R. A. S. 1895 (p. 786). It was made in Benares by queen Prithviśrīkā for Madanapāla. And the fourth insc. dated 1109 is published in I. A. XVIII (p. 15.). The grant was made on the Jumna at Āsatīkā mentioned above, on account of a solar eclipse, by Govindachandra Mañārāja-putra ' while Madanpāla was ruling ' and it does not contain at the end mention of any consent by any state officers. We have detailed these facts purposely as some points of importance appear clearly therefrom. Madanapāla, it must first be stated, did not come to the throne in 1097 as is sometimes supposed, for we have now an inscription of Chandra himself dated 1099. The insc. of St. 1154 or 1097 A. D. is given even by Kielhorn as belonging to Chandra. That insc. (I. A. XVIII p. 11) was recorded by Madanapāla to certify a grant made by Chandra in 1097 (St. 1154); when this certification or the inscription itself was recorded is not mentioned but it must have taken place after 1099 A. D., when Chandra was still ruling. We may take, therefore, the date of the rule of Chandra as circa 1080 to 1100 ; in which year Madanapāla may be taken to commence his rule. Strangely enough, the above noted four grants in the year 1104, 1105, 1107 and 1109 are made during his rule by his son Govindachandra and one by his mother queen Rālhadevi and one grant is consented to by his own queen Prithviśrīkā when the grantor was in Pāñchāla country. It may be inferred that Madanapāla by reason of illness or for some other cause did not rule personally during these years and authorised his son and queen to make grants and do other acts which are solely the function of royalty. It further appears that Rajput queens were often invested with power to act for the king as regents. In the last grant of 1109, Govindachandra was so far advanced in age and also in power that his act did not require the consent of the queen mother. Govindachandra's first grant in his own behalf found is dated 1114 (Kielhorn and Gaurishankar) and we may take it that he came to the throne in 1110 A. D.

Govindachandra coming to the throne when young naturally ruled long. About 21 copper plates were found in one place near Benares out of which 14 belong to Govindachandra dating from 1114 to 1154 A. D. and are published by Kielhorn in E. I. IV. In all about forty grants of Govindachandra have been found; but the latest date yet found is the one above given, viz: 1154 A. D. Though Vijayachandra the next king is mentioned first in a grant of his dated 1161, we must take Govindachandra to have ruled from 1110 to 1155 and not later for reasons which will presently appear. Govindachandra had two queens named Nayanakelidevi and Gosalādevi and from the former he had a son Rājyapāla who as Yuvarāja made a grant dated 1142 A. D. He, however, seems to have died before his father.

Vijayachandra who succeeded Govindachandra was also a powerful and able monarch. He is described as having made a Digvijaya in inscriptions of his son. His name appears as Bijepal in the Prithvirāj Rāsā and he is therein also said to have conquered the world. His fight with Hammīra is described in his grant dated 1168 A. D. as more effective than that of his father; for it is said that he quenched the burning heat of the people's grief by the tear-flow drawn from the eyes of the women of Hammīra who had wantonly harrowed the world*, a strange method usual with Sanskrit poets of describing a victory over the enemy. At this time Khushru the Hamir was settled in Lahore (1152), abandoning Ghazni for fear of the Ghorī and the Ghazni kingly line, in its decline, was nearing extinction. His defeat, therefore, need not excite surprise. Vijayachandra's son Jayachandra was already in 1168 A. D. a grown up man and Yuvarāja as appears from this very record (I. A. XV p. 7). The date of the coronation of Jayachandra is actually given in an inscription of his as 31st of June 1170; and we may, therefore, take Vijayachandra as ruling from 1155 to 1170 A. D.

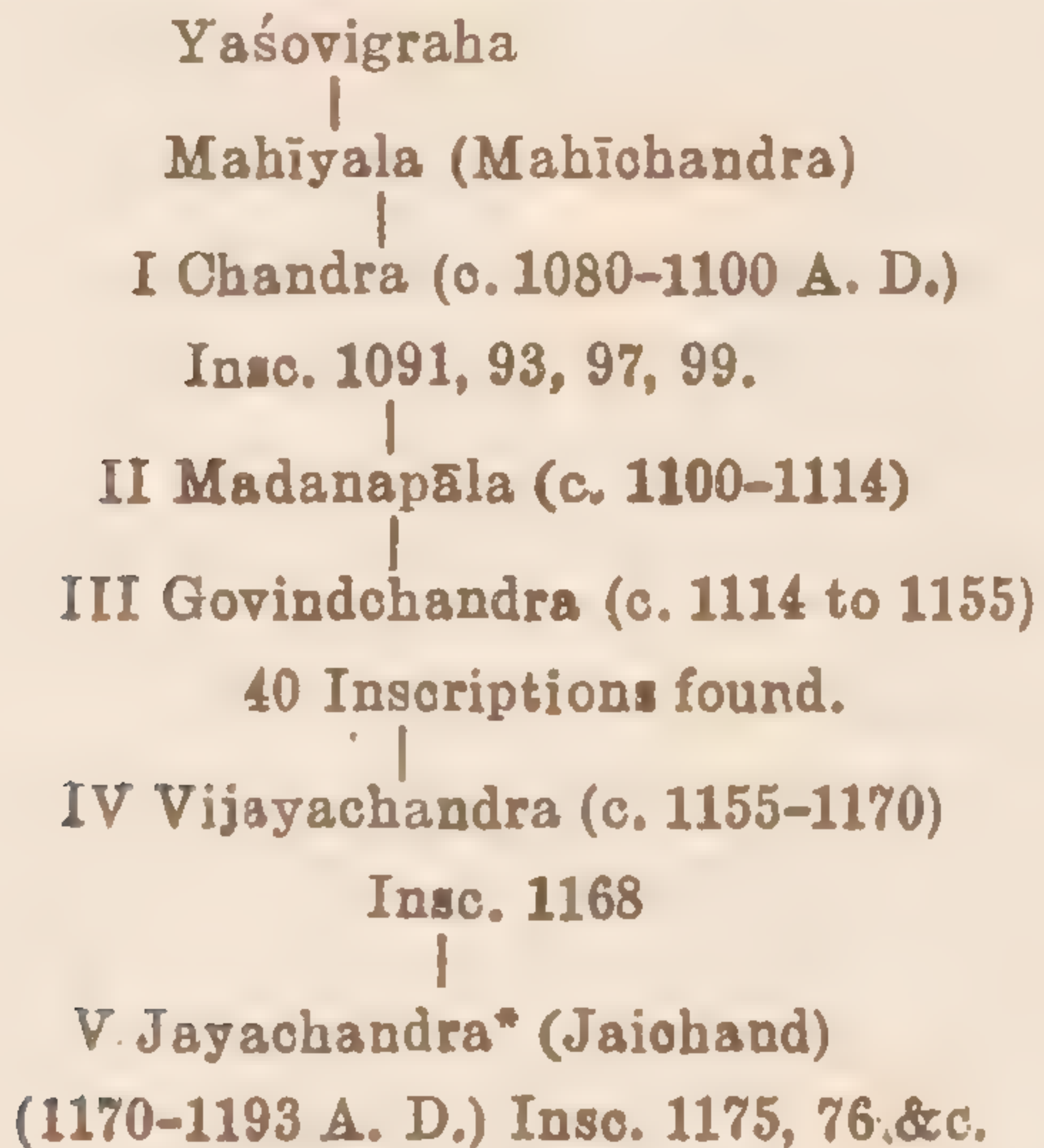
Jaychandra was also a powerful monarch; but it seems that the Chāhamānas of Ajmer had wrested the vaunted overlordship of India from the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj, even in the days of Vijayachandra, as we find that Vigrahapāla of Ajmer had already conquered Delhi and recorded an inscription there dated

* भुवनदलनेहलाहर्म्यहम्मिरनारीनयनजलदधाराघौनभूतोपनापः ॥

1163, boasting that he had conquered the land between the Himalayas and Vindhya and cleared Āryāvarta of Mlechchhas. The Digvijaya of Vijayachandra must, therefore, be placed long before 1162 and hence his reign must be taken to have commenced in 1155 A. D. and his extensive victories placed between 1155 and 1160 A. D.

The epic poem Naishadha, one of the five great epic poems in Sanskrit, is the work of Śrīharsha who was a poet at the court of Jaichand, who was also a great king and, as related in a subsequent chapter, died an honourable death, drowning himself in the Ganges when wounded in fighting with the Mahomedans. The valiant Rathods of Jodhpur claim descent from the Gāhadavāla family of Kanauj, as the Guhilots of Mewad claim descent from the Maitrakas of Valabhī and the Bhonsles of Satara claim descent from the Guhilots of Mewad. Whether this claim of the Rathods is well founded or not, we proceed to examine in the following separate note.

GENEALOGY OF THE GĀHADVĀLAS.



* This name is usually spelt as Jayachchandra in inscriptions apparently a miswriting of engravers of inscriptions.

NOTE 1—RATHODS AND GAHARWARS.

The tradition of the Rathods of Jodhpur is that their ancestor Sihaji who first came to Marwad was a grand-nephew (some say a great-grand-son) of Jayachand and the Gaharwars of U. P. whose chief representative at present is the Raja of Kantit in Mirzapur District consider themselves the direct descendants of Jaichand. Now when the family name Gāhadavāla was actually found mentioned in some of the grants of the kings of Kanauj, the question was discussed whether the Rathods of Jodhpur and the Gaharwars of U. P. are really one clan and were descended from the Gāhadavāla kings of Kanauj. Dr. Hoernle in I. A. XIV discussed this subject and expressed a doubt for two or three reasons. The first is that the gotra of the Gaharwars is Kāśyapa and that of the Rathods is Gautama. Secondly, these two clans intermarry. And thirdly, Gaharwars are despised as not of good family by other Rajputs. Although these facts may or may not be true, they do not go to prove that the Rathods of Jodhpur are not descended from the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj as tradition asserts for the following reasons.

In the first place, in the oldest inscription found of Chandradeva himself, the race of the family is given as the solar race (Asīdasītadyuti-vansajatas &c.) and Chandradeva gives his name as Chadrāditya in his next two inscriptions. The Rathods of Jodhpur consider themselves all along as solar race Rajputs. (Strangely enough the Gaharwars look upon themselves as lunar race Rajputs though descended from Jaichand). They are, therefore, distinct from the Rāshtrakūta kings of Malkhed described in Volume II who plainly were lunar race Rajputs. We have already noted that their name Rāshtrakūta is an official position name meaning head of the country and is used as such in Eastern Chālukya inscriptions (See Vol. II p. 144) and the name may be borne by different clans and even castes like the modern names Deshpande or Joshi. This Rāshtrakūta clan which ruled in the north is, therefore, distinct from that which ruled in the south though the former may have originally belonged to the Deccan as Jodhpur tradition asserts and Gāhaḍa may have been a town in the Deccan somewhere. Secondly, let us see what the name of Gāhadavāla means and how it is mentioned in the documents of these kings of Kanauj. The modern name Gaharwar of which the original form Gāhadavāla is known only recently has been fancifully explained as meaning gharbāhaḥ (out of home) or grahavarā (subduer of the planet Saturn, Mirzapur Gazetteer p. 204); but now that we have to explain the original form Gāhadavāla, taking a hint from the similar name Jammuwal among Kshatriyas and Agarwal among Vaiśyas we think that Gāhadavāla means belonging to the town of Gāhaḍa. It seems thus to be not a clan name but a family name based on town of residence. Probably the name was given to dis-

tinguish this family of Rathods from other families and the name was a popular one. In most of the inscriptions of the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj it is not given but simply the *vamśa* viz. the solar, is mentioned, as noted before even in the oldest inscription of Chandradeva. The name Gāhadavāla is found in the inscriptions which were written when Govindachandra was a young man acting as Yuvarāja under Madanapāla. It is curious to note that these inscriptions depart from the settled form of the inscriptions of these Kanauj kings. Instead of beginning with invoking blessings of Śrī, they begin with a salutation to Dāmodara and say that in the Gāhadavāla *vamśa* was born king Mahīyala (I. A. XIV p. 103 and E. I. II p. 358) or Mahītala (I. A. XVIII p. 15. Probably here also the reading should have been Mahīyal which is the more popular form of the name). These inscriptions were drawn up in the Pāñchāla country and use the popular name of the family Gāhadavāla. Apparently it was not the clan name of the family and it has not been used in records drawn up in the usual style adopted by the court.

But the strongest reason which appears to prove to our mind conclusively, that Gāhadavāla was not the clan name of the family, is that this name does not appear in the list of the 36 royal clans of India accepted throughout the Rajput world. When this list was made and the number 36 fixed can be surmised with tolerable certainty. We have already shown in Volume II (p. 22) that Kalhaṇa who wrote his *Rājataranginī* in 1154 A. D. mentions the number 36 of the royal clans of Rajputs. The list must have been made before this date. Secondly as the list contains the name of the Kachhawāhas who came to the front about the end of the 10th century, it is clear that the enumeration was made in the 11th century A. D. Why such an enumeration was made we shall have to discuss later on when describing the social condition of India in this sub-period; but we may state here that while in the preceding sub-period (800-1000) caste was fluid and intermarriages between the Indian castes on Anuloma basis took place (Vol. II p. 179), such intermarriages ceased in the third sub-period (1000-1200) and every caste began to consolidate itself and introduced rigid rules of marriage. It was natural that the Rajputs also should consolidate their sub-caste at this time and we are, therefore, doubly sure that this enumeration of 36 clans was made during the 11th century. Nay we even surmise from the very interesting verse noted later on in one of these inscriptions of Govindachandra (I. A. XVII p. 15 made as Yuvaraja, which contains more popular ideas than any other inscription quoted in the appendix), that the consolidation of the solar and lunar race Kshatriya clans must have taken place in the orthodox revival under Chandra the first Gāhadavāla king. Now as the enumeration of 36 families was made at this time, if Gāhadavāla had been a clan name, it would most assuredly have been enumerated in the list separately. The supposition may be made that the enumeration was made before the rise of the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj, say, in the first half of the 11th century and it is hence that the name Gāhadavāla does not appear in the list. But surely Chanda Bardāi

recited the names of the 36 royal families at the time of Prithvīrāja and Jaichand when the Gāhadavālas were in their glory, and most assuredly the name could not have been omitted from this list of Chand. It was impossible that such a powerful Rajput family as that of Jaichand should have been omitted by Chand when even minor families found mention in the list. We hold this list in the Rāsā to be the oldest we have (Vol. II p. 22); but supposing that the Rāsā is a fabrication throughout of the sixteenth century A. D. (we think it is an amplification of an original nucleus made about that time) and that Gaharwar being not considered good Rajputs were omitted in the list of the 36, we have still two other lists, viz. the Jain list and the Kumārapāla-charita lists given by Tod which are very old but later than the rise of the Gāhadavālas, as the date of Kumārapāla, we have seen, is 1143-1173 and Kumārapāla-charita must be necessarily later. But these lists also do not mention the Gaharwar as a separate clan. In the days of Jaichand and at least a century or two later the Gāhadavālas must have been famous in India and their name could not have been omitted from the lists, which again had ample opportunity to mention their name as the names enumerated therein fall short of 36, the accepted number. Indeed in the Rambhā-manjarī drama by Nayachandra dated about 1400 A. D. in which Jaichand is the hero, in the very first epithet applied to him by the Sūtradhāra we have a reference to this list. Jaichand is said to be the forehead ornament of the 36 royal clans* of Ikshvākuvamśa. It is, therefore, certain that Gāhadavāla was not the name of a clan but of a family based on the town of residence. To what principal clan did these Gāhadavāla kings belong? Very probably to the Rathod clan whose name is included in the list of 36. There is, in our view, a strong indication of this in the Badaun Rāshtrakūta inscription the date of which has not been ascertained but which certainly is anterior to the fall of Jaichand; as it mentions that one king of the line, Madanapāla, made incursions of Hamīra impossible (See E. I. I, p. 64). Now this inscription opens with† the expression "protected by the arms of the kings belonging to the famous and Akhila (all-pervading) Rāshtrakūta clan". This suggests that the Rāshtrakūta kula consisted of many branches and they protected or reigned over the whole of Pāñchāla which included Kanauj. Indeed the kingdom of Kanauj was always known as the kingdom of Pāñchāla (Al-Beruni states that Kanauj was famous for Pāñdavās meaning the Pāñchālas who were their foremost supporters and Draupadi belonged to their country). The word Akhila in this verse would be meaningless if it did not refer to the other Rāshtrakūta branches ruling in Pāñchāla itself. This is a very old authority dating from before the last days of Jaichand to hold that Jaichand was also a Rathod as he is everywhere represented to be in later history. And there is no other family among the 36 clans to which the Gāhadavālas have been assigned as a branch in any tradition

* षट्त्रिंशद्राजन्यवंशभालस्थललायमानश्रीक्ष्वाकुवंशविभूषणस्य

† प्रख्याताखिलराष्ट्रकूटकुलजक्ष्मापालदोःपालिता । पांचालाभिधदेशभूषणकरी वोदामयूता पुरी ॥

or record and we may conclude that the Gaharwars of U P. and the Rathods of Jodhpur are one clan viz. Rāshṭakūṭa.

The reasons which are alleged as going against this conclusion are according to our view, of no great validity. The gotra of Gaharwars is now no doubt Kāśyapa, but it is likely that the Gāhadavāla direct descendants being deprived of their greatness could not maintain regular Purohitas as kings do and can, and gradually lost memory of their gotra. When on rare occasions the gotrotchāra becomes necessary, to those who do not recollect their gotra, the Kāśyapa gotra is usually assigned. Or more probably the Gaharwars took other Purohitas in their days of adversity and following the dictum of Vijnāneśvara that Kshatriyas have no gotras of their own but have to take the gotras of their Purohitas adopted a new gotra, viz. Kāśyapa. Perhaps the descendants of Sihaji in Jodhpur may have adopted a new gotra (Gautama) similarly, the original gotra of the Gāhadavāls being Kāśyapa; but the probability is otherwise for in the Rambhā-manjarī drama of Nayachandra king Jaichand addresses his queen as 'ornament of the Kāśyapa gotra'. (Among Rajput kings it is usual to address queens by their paternal gotra or kula as Chauhāni &c.). The inscriptions of the Gāhadavālas do not unfortunately mention their gotra; indeed inscriptions of the Rajput families of the time do not usually mention their gotras. We personally made careful enquiries at Kanauj to find out, from some Brahmin family, this gotra or to discover some old paper relating to the much-talked-of Rājasūya sacrifice performed by Jaichand at which the ancestors of noted Kanaujia Brahmin families acted as priests but no clue could be got to the gotra of Jaichand. The difference of gotra for the above reasons does not, in our view, invalidate the conclusion we have arrived at.

Nor does the fact that Rathods and Gaharwars intermarry. The fact is disputed by many; but even if it is admitted, we cannot thereby suppose that they were not one clan before. Indeed some Kshatriya clans have begun to marry within the clan itself especially in the Panjab and we were told at Jammu that even in the same gotra, after 25 generations, a Smṛiti text allowed inter-marriage. Though this is incorrect, it is undeniable that inter-marriages have begun to take place in the same clan. And as Gaharwar has later become practically a separate clan being mentioned in the fourth list of Tod, such rare intermarriages might take place now and then. It may, however, be noted that the rule of exogamy is strictly observed by the Rajputs of Rajputana based on the enumeration of 36 clans though perhaps the gotra rule is not observed. Thus, for instance, the Jadejas and the Chūdāṣamas intermarry though of the same gotra and both are outside the older three lists of 36 clans, being mentioned in the fourth as separate clans.

Lastly, the suggestion that Gaharwars are looked down upon by other Rajputs is not correct. And if they are, there must be other reasons which apply to the Gaharwars of the present day. The fact now known

that the ruling family of Kanauj was Gāhadavāla must finally set at rest such an idea, for Jaichand and Govindachandra and Chandra were considered best Rajputs of their days. It is suggested by Sir Vincent Smith that the Gāhadavālas were originally Bhars. There is no proof whatever of this supposition. There is an important verse* in the interesting inscription of Madanapāla-Govindachandra already noticed (I. A. XVIII p. 15) which may be quoted in this connection. The verse may be translated thus; "When the two famous races of Kshatriyas born of the Sun and the Moon were desolate, the creator thinking that the whole world is nearly void of the sound of Veda recitation inclined his mind to incarnate himself to re-establish the ways of religion as also to rehabilitate the two famous races of Kshatriyas". "Then there was born in the above family king Śri-Chandradeva crest-jewel of kings and he dispelled the darkness caused by the insolent soldiers of the enemy". This shows that Chandra, the founder of the Gāhadavāla family, was then popularly considered as having rehabilitated the solar and lunar race Kshatriyas and the Vedic religion. It seems clear that he was looked upon as an orthodox Kshatriya who was well-versed, like Rāma, in both Veda and the Dhanurveda-vidyā. This also shows that there was a great slaughter before that time of Kshatriyas by the forces of Mahmud and his successor Masa'ud and also a great relaxation in the observance of the Vedic religion in the conduct of the remnant. Chandradeva Gāhadavāla was, therefore, properly enough looked upon as an incarnation of Brahmā himself, the first reciter of the Veda and the creator of Brahmins and Kshatriyas. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that the Gāhadavāla family of Kanauj could in those days have been looked down upon as lower grade Kshatriya; and it ought to have been enumerated among the 36 royal clans; and was in fact included under the chief clan name Rathod.

Before closing we may mention two other inferences which arise from the above verses, viz. that in the first half of the 12th century the Kshatriya races were looked upon as only two and not three including the Agni-vamśa. The word vamśa again is used in two senses, viz. race and clan as it is used in these two senses in the above verses as also in the verses from the Rāsā quoted in Vol. II p. 22, enumerating the 36 vamśas. And thirdly at this period the theory that there are no Kshatriyas in the Kali age had not come into existence or into currency in northern India at least where this inscription was recorded wherein Brahmā is described as actually rehabilitating the solar and lunar races of Kshatriyas by incarnating himself as Chandradeva. This corroborates the view we have maintained in Volume II Appendix IV p. 312-317.

* प्रध्वस्ते सूर्यसोमोद्भवविदितमहाक्षत्रवंशद्वयेऽस्मिन् । उत्सन्नप्रायवेदध्वनिजगदाखिलं मन्यमानः स्वयंभूः ॥
कृत्वा देहग्रहाय प्रवणमिह मनः शुद्धबुद्धिर्धारित्र्याम् । उद्धर्तुं धर्ममार्गान् प्रथितमिह तथा क्षत्रवंशद्वयं च ॥
वंशे तत्र ततः स एष समभूद्भूपालचूडामणिः । प्रध्वस्तोद्धतवैरिवीरतिमिरः श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः ॥

NOTE 2—DO THE RATHODS OR GĀHADAVĀLAS BELONG TO THE DECCAN ?

The Rathods of Jodhpur and Bikaner are, according to our view, distinct from the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed described in Volume II, as they in their inscriptions describe themselves as Chandravamśī, being descended from Sātyaki. But the Rathods of Jodhpur-Bikaner and also the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj are Suryavamśī from their records and inscriptions. If they, therefore, came from the Deccan, they must have belonged to a separate clan bearing the same official name Rāshtrakūta. Did they, however, come from the Deccan as is generally believed? We will discuss this question in this note from bardic records as also from the Rambhā-manjarī Nāṭikā in which Jaichand is the hero.

The Gāhadavālas in their inscriptions do not say that they came from the Deccan as the Senas of Bengal in their inscriptions distinctly say that they came from Karṇāṭa and call themselves Karṇāṭa-Kshatriyas. But non-mention is not conclusive unless the mention is necessary. The official bardic record book in the Bikaner State Library states that the Rathods originally belonged to Ayodhyā and a king thence went direct to Kanauj and took possession of it. This is, however, not quite reliable, as Kanauj is known, in historic times from about 400 A. D. to the 11th century A. D., to have been in the possession of the Maukharis, the Vardhanas, the Varmās and the Pratihāras (see Vol. I and II). Moreover, this record mentions Jaichand and his father Bijepāl, but not Govindachandra and his ancestors. The bardic record at Jodhpur does not also give Govindachandra and his predecessors. In one bardic book at Jodhpur, no reference is made to the Deccan as at Bikaner, but in another it is stated that a king named Nandapāla son of Vipula became king of Karṇāṭaka and his descendants came to Kanauj and Jaichand son of Bijepāl is given as the last. Bijepāl's father's name is given as Abhaichand (which may be another name of Govindachandra). His father's name is given as Brahma and Chandra is stated in inscriptions to be an incarnation of Brahmā. This tradition, therefore, may be taken to indicate that the Gāhadavālas came from the Deccan Karṇāṭaka. But the name of Kalyan city is not mentioned even in this record.

In the corresponding record with the Rājapurohita, the heading of the whole record is given as "Ayodhyā, then Konkana Deśa, Gada Kalyāṇa Karṇāṭaka deśa, then Kanauj". This is again ambiguous; for there is a Kalyan both in the Konkan as also in Karṇāṭaka. The latter Kalyan was, however, founded by Someśvara Chālukya about the latter half of the 11th century and the Gāhadavālas could not have come from there. It may, however, be that they first went to Konkan, and thence to Karṇāṭaka, and finally thence to Kanauj.

Notwithstanding this ambiguity, there are indications that the Rathods alias Gāhadavālas came from the Deccan. In the first place, the word Rāshtrakūta as the name of an officer is found in southern inscrip-

tions only. In fact the word Rāshṭra as denoting a kingdom or province is found in the Deccan only (see the Malla Rāshṭra, Gopa Rāshṭra and Pandu Rāshṭra of the Mahābhārata and Rāshṭrika of Aśoka inscriptions). Secondly, the tradition at Jodhpur is that the family goddess idol was brought from the Deccan by a Rathod prince named Khes (ancestor of the Jodhpur family) and is called by the Deccani name Nāganechi. Thirdly, it is strange to discover a Marathi passage in the Rambhā-manjarī Nātikā of Nayachandra Sūri who wrote this drama about 200 years after Jaichand who is the hero. The customary eulogy of Vaitālikas in the beginning of the first act in which the praises of Jaichand are sung is, strangely enough, in Marathi, though nearly the whole of the drama is in the courtly Mahārāshtri or Śauraseni Prakrit. This passage is worth quoting and we do it below.* It may indicate that Nayachandra was a Jain pandit from the Deccan; but it is more indicative of the probability that the family bards of Jaichand must have belonged to the Deccan and that it was customary to sing these praises in Marathi. The Gāhadavāla family thus seems to have come from the Deccan and the tradition was still current in Nayachandra Sūri's time. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Kshatriyas of the south and north were not differentiated and the Deccan Gāhadavālas were indeed looked upon as best Rajputs, as the very first epithet of Jaichand in this drama proves. This Deccan Rāshṭrakūta clan seems to have spread over the whole of Northern India from Badaun to Mithila as inscriptions of the 11th century A. D. prove, and one branch of it which conquered Kanauj was called Gāhadavāla. We must indeed state here that these Rāshṭrakūtas of the Deccan must have come there from the north originally, as all Kshatriyas or Aryans came to the Deccan from the north-west. We even find the name Rāshṭrika in the north in an edict of Aśoka, and the Rāshṭrakūtas must have come to the Deccan from the Panjab originally.

Before concluding we may draw the attention of the reader to two important facts which appear from this drama though we have noticed them elsewhere. The very first epithet is that the Gāhadavālas were considered the forehead-ornament of the 36 royal clans, thus showing that the Gāhadavālas, if they had been a separate clan, ought to have found a mention in the old lists of the 36 royal families. Secondly, Jaichand addresses his chief queen as Kāśyapa-kula-nandinī in this drama. As among the Rajputs queens are distinguished by their parent's family names, such as Chauhani, etc., even in modern times, this indicates that the queen's father belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra and that, therefore, the gotra of the Gāhadavālas could not have been Kāśyapa or Śāndilya.

* जरि पेखिला मस्तकावरि केशकलापु । तरि परिखता मयूराचे पिच्छप्रतापु ॥

जरी नयनविषयु केला वेणीदण्डु । तरी साक्षाज्जाला भ्रमरश्रेणीदण्डु ॥

जरी दृगोचरी आला विशाल भालु । तरी अर्द्धचन्द्रमण्डल भडल ऊर्णायुजालु ॥

भ्रूत्रगल जाणूं द्वैर्वाकृत कन्दर्पचापु । जयननिर्जित सुजला खंजन निःप्रतापु ॥

मुखमण्डलु जाणू यशांकदेवताचे मण्डलु । सर्वांगसुन्दर मूर्तिमंत कामु । कल्पद्रुम जैसे सर्वलोक आशा विश्रामु ॥

CHAPTER IX.

THE PĀLAS OF BENGAL.

We gave the history of the Pālas of Bengal during the second sub-period of our history in Vol. II Chap. IX ending with Mahipāla I. The Pāla dynasty continued to rule throughout the third sub-period (1000-1200) also, a remarkable case of long-lived kingly line as Sir Vincent Smith rightly remarks. We may, however, divide it into two portions which curiously enough fall at Mahipāla I about the beginning of this sub-period. It is a fact mentioned in most Pāla records that Mahipāla or his father lost the kingdom about this time. It is usually stated that Mahipāla won back the paternal kingdom which had been taken possession of by persons who were not entitled to it.* (See Sarnath inscription dated 1026 A. D. I. A. XIV p. 136). Sir Vincent Smith has given in I. A. 1906 a list of Pāla kings with detailed information of all their records found till then and has also given their genealogy as also probable dates of accession of the Pāla kings. We give at the end this genealogy from Mahipāla I onwards with the dates of each king. Now the accession of Mahipāla is placed by Smith in 980 A. D. as Mahipāla is said to have reigned long and in Insc. No. 17 the regnal year of this king is given as 48. If then we take Mahipāla's accession as 980 A. D. we must also hold that his kingdom must have been seized by outsiders or false claimants about this time and not earlier. Unfortunately, no Pāla inscription mentions the nature of the usurpation or the name of the usurper. We made a surmise in the last volume (p. 141) that the shock given by Mahmud's invasions may have reached Bengal. Of course it is not possible that Mahomedan Turks came in those days so far east, but it is possible that dispossessed Rajputs of the Panjab or the North-western province may have sought for some territory to rule so far east, as dispossessed Rajput kings always did in Indian history (witness the Sisodias going to Nepal after being driven by Allauddin

* अनाधिकृतविलुप्तं राज्यमासाद्य पित्र्यम् ।

out of Chitor or the Rathods going to Marwad from Kanauj after Jaichand's defeat). Now the Dinajpur inscription published in J. R. A. S. Bengal 1911 mentions a Kāmboja king of Gauda building a temple of Śiva* in Dinajpur and it is suggested that its date Śaka 888 or 966 A. D. brings it near this event and that a Kamboja king (Kamboja is western Tibet) might have invaded Gauda and founded his power there. From this king or his successor Mahīpāla must have recovered the kingdom of Gauda belonging to his father. This, however, is too early; for this dispossession is not mentioned as taking place in the time of Vīgrahapāla who ruled probably from 960 to 980. This inscription does not state that the Kamboja took possession of the kingdom of the Pālas, nor do the Pāla inscriptions mention that their kingdom was seized by a Kamboja king. It is further possible that some Gauda feudatory may have caused this trouble and he may eventually have been ousted by Mahīpāla.

Whatever the true account of this dispossession, Mahīpāla I began a new life of the Pāla dynasty and ruled justly and vigorously for 48 years and more. Of all the Pāla kings he is the best remembered and "songs in his honour are still to be heard in remote corners of Orissa and Kuch Bihar." His kingdom extended to the west over Magadha and Bihar and included northern and eastern Bengal and even Orissa and Assam. His reign was marked by the revival of Buddhism and Dharmapāla and other holy men from Magadha went to Tibet in 1013 and did much to restore the religion of Gautama to honour in that country (Smith p. 400). Atiśa, another missionary from Vikramaśīla went to Tibet in the reign of Nayapāla the successor of Mahīpāla in 1042 A. D. Mahīpāla I reigned according to Smith from 980 to 1038 when his son Nayapāla succeeded him and he was succeeded by his son Vīgrahapāla III in 1059 and he is credited with having defeated Karna of Chedi who was extending his power during the decline of the Pratihāra emperors to the east of Benares and particularly in Champāranya. His Āmagāchhi inscription has been noticed in Vol. II and has been thrice edited once by Kielhorn (I. A. XXI p. 97) correcting Dr.

* काम्बोजान्वयजेन गौडपतिना तेनेन्दुमौलेर्यं । प्रासादो निरमायि कुञ्जरघटावर्षे जगद्भूषणः ॥

Hornle's edition (I. A. XIV p. 164) and lastly by H. D. Bannerji. In 1090 Vīgrahapāla died and he was succeeded by his oldest son Mahipāla II. The Pāla line in its second life had flourished for a hundred years and its power began to decline. Mahipāla II imprisoned his brothers and began to rule oppressively. This led to a rebellion of the Kaivartas headed by one Divyoka. Mahipāla was killed in this rebellion and he was succeeded for a short time by his younger brother Śurapāla. But the power of the Kaivartas in Varendra (North Bengal) was unbroken and Divyoka was succeeded there by his son Bhīma. But Rāmapāla who was the youngest son of Vīgrahapāla III was a vigorous and capable king and succeeding Śurapāla made preparations to conquer Varendra (his seat of government was still probably Monghyr in Gauda or Western Bengal). And assisted by his maternal uncle Mahana, feudatory king of Mithila, a Rāshtrakūta by clan and other feudatories and some allies one of whom was Devarashita king of Pithi, Rāmapāla conquered Bhīma who was eventually killed and established his power in Varendra. These details are found from a poem every verse of which is double-meaning composed by Sandhyākara Nandi son of the minister for peace and war of Rāmapāla himself and thus almost a contemporary record. It is written from Paundravardhana capital of Varendra and it relates the story of Rāmapāla by one meaning and of Rāma the demigod and ruler of Ayodhyā by another meaning. There is a commentary on the poem which enables one to understand the first canto only. The other three cantos remain unexplored and Tārāprasād Shāstri who gives these details in his paper published in Proceedings R. A. S. Bengal 1900, on this Rāma-charita, is right when he observes that much historical information remains buried in these cantos of double-meaning verses (p. 73).

But fortunately for us, these facts are confirmed by the very important Sarnāth inscription of Kumāradevi queen of Govindchandra published in E. I. IX (p. 319). This inscription is extremely important as it furnishes valuable information about three Rajput families, the Pālas, the Rāshtrakūtas and the Gāhadavālas. We will give it in detail in respect of these kingly

families beginning with the Pālas. It is stated that Rāmapāla's prosperity was secured by his maternal uncle Mahana, king (feudatory lord) of Anga, by conquering Devarakshita king of Pithi who had troubled him.* Where this Pithi was cannot be decided though Stein Konow who publishes this inscription thinks it is Pithāpura in Vengi country. Mahana is described as a fearless warrior in Gauda and therefore was a feudatory of Rāmapāla, king of Gauda and is also called Angapa or ruler of Anga or Mithila. Now he had a daughter named Śankaradevi whom he gave to Devarakshita after defeating him in the usual Rajput manner. From them was born the famous queen Kumāradevi who founded the Bauddha Vihāra commemorated by the inscription. It seems, therefore, that Devarakshita was a Buddhist and his daughter Kumāradevi was also Bauddha. She was married to Govindachandra though a staunch Hindu, whose family is described as Gāhadavāla family and whose father was Madanachandra and grand-father Chandra†. The word Kshatravamsa applied to the Gāhadavālas shows that they were then considered as good Kshatriyas. Similarly Mahana is also described as crest-jewel of Kshatriyas and hence was also a Rajput. In the Rāmacharita above noted he is stated to be a Rāshtrakūta or Rathod. His sister was Rāmapāla's mother which shows that Rāmapāla was also a Kshatriya. Devarakshita to whom Mahana's daughter was married must also have been a Rajput. It will be noted that this relation does not contradict the theory propounded by us that Rāshtrakūtas and Gāhadavālas were one clan; for here Devarakshita's daughter by a Rāshtrakūta-born princess married a Gāhadavāla i. e. the daughter's daughter of a Rāshtrakūta married a Gāhadavāla and thus there was no inter-marriage between Rāshtrakūtas and Gāhadavālas. An important fact, though not connected with the Pālas, may be noted here about

* गौडेऽद्वैतभटः सकाण्डपटिकः क्षत्रैकचूडामणिः ।

ग्रख्यातो महणोऽक्षपः क्षितिभुजांमान्योऽभवन्मातुलः ॥

तं जित्वा युधि देवरक्षितमधात् श्रीरामपालस्य यो ।

लक्ष्मीं निर्जितपैरिरोधनतया देदीप्यमानोदयाम् ॥ ७ ॥

† जगान गहदवाले सबबंझे पमि.द । इजनि नगपतिचन्द्रअन्धनामा नन्द. ॥

Govindachandra who was in possession of Benares as we already know. In this inscription it is stated that he was an incarnation of Hari who was asked by Hara to protect Vārāṇasī defiled from Turushka soldiers.* Stein Konow thinks that this indicates that there were raids on Benares in the days of Govindachandra. But the sense of the above line may be taken as protecting Benares polluted (already) from Turkish soldiers. It would not be proper to connect "from Turkish soldiers" with the word protect; for the word polluted as applied to Benares would be unmeaning unless we take the above expression with the word 'polluted' and say that the pollution came from Turkish soldiers. This inscription no doubt confirms the fact that Benares was raided once by Turkish soldiers but it refers to past pollution and we may well take this as a reference to the raid by Ahmed Niatagin. In the translation given by Konow the word 'dushtām' or polluted seems to have been omitted by oversight (verse 16 p. 327).

Although this inscription is not dated, the relations mentioned viz. that Rāmapāla was Mahana's sister's son and Kumaradevī queen of Govindachandra was his daughter's daughter make it clear that Rāmapāla preceded Govindachandra. His accession is placed by Smith in 1080 A. D. properly and he ruled vigorously over the whole of Bengal for a long time. His conquest of Mithila as also his fight with Bhīma are mentioned in the Kamauli inscription of Vaidyadeva (E. I. II, p. 350) wherein his son Kumārapāla is mentioned as the overlord of Kāmarūpa in a double-meaning verse stating that he like Rāma killed Rāvaṇa in the form of Bhīma and had also obtained the land (daughter) of Mithila.† This shows that the rebellious Bhīma was a very powerful chieftain and fighting him was as difficult as the crossing of the ocean by Rāma. This rebellion is also referred to in J. R. A. S. Bengal LXIX p. 68 to be noted further on in speaking of Kumārapāla.

* वाराणसीं भुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको । दुष्टां तुरुष्कसुभटादावितुं हरेण ॥

उक्तो हरः स पुनरत्र बभूव तस्मात् । गोविंदचन्द्र इति सुप्रथिताभिधानः ॥

† तेने येन जगत्त्रये जनकभूलामायथा तद्यशो ।

क्षोणीनायकभीमरावणवधाद्युद्धार्णवोल्लंघनात् ॥

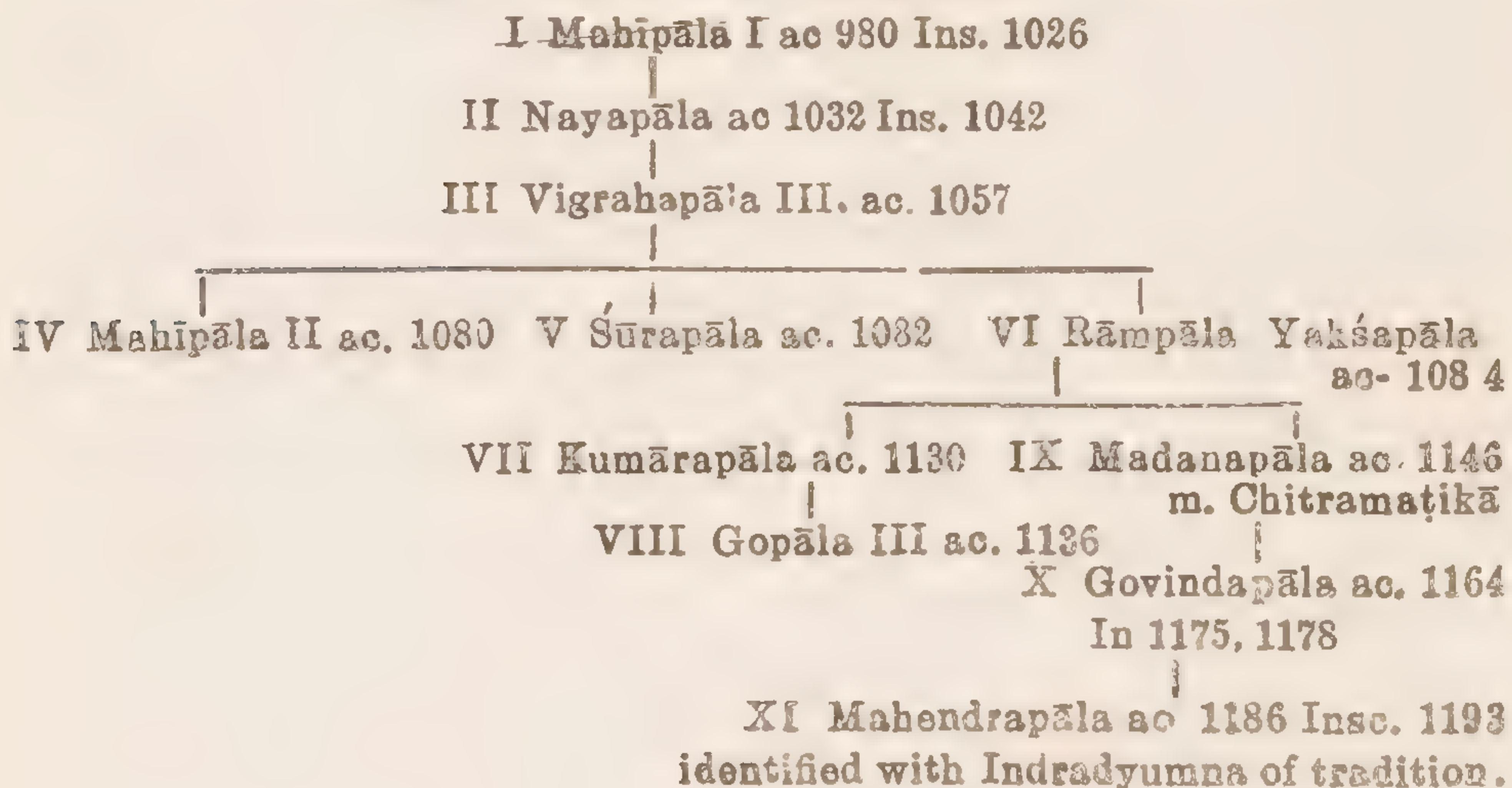
Rāmapāla was succeeded in 1130 by his son Kumārapāla referred to above in E. I. II and he was succeeded by his son Gopāla III in 1136 A. D. Nothing particular is found recorded of them and the name of the last has only been known recently from a record of Madanapāla (his uncle) who succeeded him in about 1140 A. D. A copperplate grant of his has been found and published in J. R. A. S. Bengal XIX part I (p. 66) which makes the interesting statement that the village was granted as Dakshinā to a Brahmin for reading the whole Mahābhārata to his queen Chitramatikā; which shows that the king though a Buddhist was favourably inclined towards Brahmins and that his queen was a Hindu who heard the whole Mahābhārata recited to her by a Brahmin. We find that these Pāla grants are usually made in the Paundravardhana Bhukti or Varendra i.e. North Bengal where Sena grants are also made. The Sena kings enjoyed power chiefly in Eastern Bengal and probably divided power in Northern Bengal, West Bengal and Magadha with Bihar being probably under the Pālas. We do not know much of the political events in Madanapāla's days, but it is probable that the power of the Pālas must have declined in his time. Madanapāla was succeeded by his son Govindapāla in 1161 A. D. definitely, as an inscription in V. S. 1232 in the 14th year of his reign has been found (Smith's list J. A. 1909 No. 30). He was succeeded by a king named Mahindrapāla mentioned in inscriptions, the last one found being dated 1193 A. D. He is identified with the king Indradyumna of local tradition who is said to have been destroyed by the Mahomedan invader Mahammad Bakhtyar Khilji.

It is a pity that Bengal was in the 12th century divided into two strong kingdoms opposing each other, that of Monghyr or West Bengal ruled by the Pālas and that of Gaur or Eastern Bengal ruled by the Senas. The division of authority in the same province, practically self-contained and united by race and language, led to the weakening of both and the difference of religion must have contributed to the same effect. That effect was the almost easy and bloodless conquest of both by a foreign power and of a different faith as we shall have to show later on.

The chronology of the Pālas fortunately is not much in dispute and we give the genealogy of this second section of the Pāla line with dates of inscriptions found and probable dates of accession of each king suggested by Sir Vincent Smith (I. A. 1909). These dates will help us to tolerably settle the vexed chronology of the Sena kings of Eastern Bengal.

GENEALOGY OF THE PĀLA KINGS OF BENGAL.

(Sir V. Smith. I. A. 1909 p. 244).



CHAPTER X.

THE SENAS OF LAKHNAUTI (BENGAL).

The Sena kings of Bengal, though only principally three, have been the subjects of much controversy; not only are the facts meagre and ambiguous, but historians and antiquarians have also unfortunately looked at them with one bias or another. The Mahomedan historians have written with great exaggeration, perhaps in this case only, heightening the audacity of Mahammad Bakhtyar and the pusillanimity of Lakshmanasena of Bengal; while Hindu researchers have written about the Senas with a bias naturally in favour of this last Hindu king of Bengal. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar again with his usual bias in favour of the non-Aryan origin of Rajputs, looks upon these Senas as foreign Brahmins or priests turned into Kshatriyas, while the modern Senas of Bengal who are Vaidyas by caste (a sub-caste born of the mixture of Brahmins and Vaiśyas) look upon these Senas as Vaidyas. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss these points in detail giving first the history of the Sena family so far as is practicable in this state of divergence of views.

The initial history of the Senas is given clearly in the Deopara stone inscription published in E. I. I (p. 300). The inscription states that a chief from the Deccan (a Dākṣiṇātya) named Sāmantasena who was a feudatory under a Kārṇāṭa king and who had fought with and killed there those who had come to plunder Kārṇāṭa territory retired in old age to the banks of the Ganges and founded a small kingdom at Kāshipur in Eastern Bengal.* His son Hemantasena was a powerful king and from him and queen Yaśodevi was born Vijayasena the first powerful king of the dynasty. He is said in the inscription to have conquered the king of Gauda who had troubled the king of Kāmarūpa and also conquered the king of Kalinga. Gauda king here means the Pāla king of Monghyr

* Kāshipur is Mayurbhanj territory. Smith. M. M. Harprashad Sastri believes that the Senas were settled in Birbhum and Guswa and from there they spread (Lew).

in western Bengal and he and the king of Kalinga or Orissa were the really powerful kings opposed to the Senas. Vijayasena was an orthodox Hindu, while the Pāla kings were Buddhists and this establishment of Sena power may be looked upon as an assertion of Hinduism, a revival of Hindu orthodoxy in Bengal. Indeed the Deopara inscription relates that Vijayasena performed many sacrifices. Sir Vincent Smith rightly observes that Vijayasena was the first independent king of this line and that he wrested much territory from Pāla kings. But it may be said that Sir V. Smith may not be right in assigning 1119 A. D. as the date of his independence. It may have been earlier than this. 1119 A. D. is the initial date of the Lakshmanasena era, as Kielhorn has proved from several inscription dates given in that era and the Śaka era; and as Abul Fazal gives the starting year of the Sena era as 1041 Śaka. Kielhorn believes that the people of Tirhut are wrong in treating the Sena era as starting from 1028 Śaka (I. A. XIX p. 7). But though this point may be taken as settled, the question who started this era and when is one on which a great divergence of opinion prevails. Smith proposed the following dates for the commencement of the reigns of the three kings, Sāmanta 1080, Hemanta 1100 and Vijaya 1119 (E. H. I. 3rd Edn. p. 419) which means that he looks upon the Lakshmanasena era as founded by him commencing from Vijayasena his grand-father's reign. Gaurishanker Ojha, however, states that the era was founded by his son Ballālasena on hearing of the birth of his son Lakshmana when he had just conquered the Mithila country (Prachīna lipimālā p. 42-45 and Hindi Tod p. 536). Mr. D. R. Bannerji in publishing in E. I. XIV (p. 159) a new grant found of Ballāllasena thinks that the era was founded to commemorate the beginning of the reign of Lakshmanasena. The last opinion would seem to be the natural and proper interpretation of the starting of the era, and indeed Mahomedan evidence, almost contemporaneous, states (Tabakat-i-Nasiri) that Ballālasena died leaving his queen pregnant and Lakshmanasena was crowned even in the womb of his mother. This may be an absurdity like the other absurdities recorded by the Tabakat; but it is at least historically correct to say that Lakshmanasena was born in

1119 A. D. after the death of his father. And it is natural that he should have dated the era founded by him from his birth which was also the date of his coming to the throne. But a doubt arises when one takes into consideration the fact that Lakshmanasena makes a grant in the 7th year of his reign in which he calls himself Parama Vaishṇava (J. R. A. S. Bengal XLIV part. 1 p. 7). It may easily be supposed that as he reigned from birth, he might make a grant when a child of seven through his regent. But it cannot be explained how he could then be a Parama Vaishṇava as his father and grandfather appear to be Śaivas. The whole question must, we fear, remain unsolved owing to the absence of any Vikrama or Śaka date in the grants of almost all the Sena kings, as indeed of the Pāla kings, and the grants only give regnal year figures for the donor kings. The chronology of these kings can, therefore, be given only conjecturally in a double set and we give two series of dates as proposed by Sir V. Smith and by Mr. R. D. Bannerji. Some also have suggested that there were two Lakshmanasenas. But following the Mahomedan tradition we will take it that there was only one Lakshmanasena and that he died in 1199 A. D. when he was 80 years old.

Barring dates which we give in the genealogy, the history of the Sena kings so far as it is undisputed may be given in brief as follows. Vijayasena was the first independent king who ruled over a large portion of Eastern Bengal, the Pālas ruling over Western Bengal. His son Ballālasena was a still more powerful king. He conquered Mithila and further reduced the power of the Pāla kings of Bengal by conquering the Kaivartas who had rebelled against them and had imprisoned the Pāla king Mahīpāla II or Rāmapāla. He was an orthodox Hindu king and like other Rajput kings of his time he was a learned man himself and a patron of learned men. He wrote the work named *Dānasāgara* and commenced another work which his son Lakshmanasena finished. In old age he retired with his queen to Prayāga and there drowned himself in the sacred confluence of the two rivers (Gaurishanker).

He was succeeded by Lakshmanasena who was as great a king as his father. The capital of the Senas was Gaura a town in the present Malda district in Bengal (which is indeed

an ancient town). But Lakshmanasena built another town outside its wall and named it Lakshmanāvati in the same way as other great kings in this sub-period founded towns after their names viz: Karṇa of Chedi founded Karṇāvati and Vikramānka of Kalyāṇa founded Vikramapura, both near their former capitals Tripura and Kalyāṇa. Lakshmanasena was powerful enough to found an era of his own like Vikrama of Kalyan or Jaisimha of Anhilwad. The starting year of this era is 1119 A. D. as settled by Kielhorn and the era, unlike the other two eras, is still prevalent in Tirhut.

Like his father, Lakshmanasena was himself a learned man and a patron of learned men. Noted Sanskrit pandits whose works still survive, floating on the surface of the ocean of time, sat in his court such as Halāyudha, Umāpatidhara, Śaraṇa Govardhanāchārya, Dhoyī, Jayadeva (author of Gītagovinda) and Śrīdharadāsa. The king was a Vaishṇava as he distinctly calls himself so in his records while his ancestors were Śaivas and the modern poets who sing the praises of Hari in Bengal perhaps go back to his time. He was the pioneer of the worship of Hari in Bengal as his father was the rehabilitator of the Varṇāśrama Dharma as also the founder of the curious system of Kulīna marriages, both of which facts we shall have to notice in our general survey of the country in this sub-period. "Lakshmanasena was a monarch of exceptional personal qualities. Trustworthy persons affirm that no one, great or small, suffered injustice at his hands and his generosity was proverbial" (E. H. I. p. 400, Smith.)

About the end of this king we will speak in another chapter; but the Sena power as the overlords of the whole of Bengal came to an end with him, the country being mostly conquered by the Mahomedans. But Sena kings continued to rule in further Bengal till about the end of the thirteenth century. Mādhavasena, Keśavasena and Viśvarūpa Sena, three sons of Lakshmanasena ruled in Vikramapura and grants of Keśava and Viśvarupa have been found. It appears from the Tabakat that when Nasiruddin invaded Lakhnauti, the Khilji rebellious governor had gone eastwards against the Rajas of Bang or Eastern Bengal (who could have been none but Sena kings). Pandit Gourishanker states (Hindī Tod p. 438) that Lanuis-

mādhava who perhaps for the above cause had left Vikramapura and settled in Chandradvipa assisted Balban to punish the rebellious governor of Lakhnauti by preventing his escape by water, and that four kings ruled in succession after Danujamādhava in Chandrapur, the last being Jayadeva with whom the Sena dynasty ended.

Having given this short sketch of the Sena kings so far as their history has been made out, we will conclude with noticing the disputed question as to who these kings were by caste. The other disputed question as to how Lakhnauti fell we will, as stated before, discuss in our last chapter. It is maintained by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar that these Sena kings belonged to the Brahmakshatra caste which is even now found all over India. But it is clear that these Sena kings were Aryan Kshatriyas or Rajputs belonging to the lunar race. They were neither Brahmakshatra by caste as Dr. Bhandarkar maintains nor Vaidya as the modern Vaidyas of Bengal believe. For the Deopara inscription noted above distinctly begins with the statement that Sāmantasena was born in the lunar vamsa. Now this statement can only be made about a Rajput, for neither Brahmakshatras nor Vaidyas have any solar race or lunar race distinction. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, obsessed with the bias noted in the beginning, directs his attention only to the word 'Brahmakshatriyāṇam' in the verse about Sāmantasena and omits to notice that in the very preceding verse, these kings are said to be born in the lunar race. The word Brahmakshatriyāṇam requires to be construed consistent with the above statement so as only to apply to Rajputs. We have already noted in Vol. II that the word is often used in connection with Rajputs of the orthodox faith and mode of living. It is true that the translation given by Kielhorn is wrong as Brahmins cannot be brought into this epithet which really means "the head garland of the families (not of Brahmins and Kshatriyas but of Kshatriyas alone) who are endowed with Brahma or Vedic greatness (Brahmopeta-Kshatriyāṇam). In fact the epithet 'Brahmavādin' in the preceding line applied to Sāmantasena leads to the same meaning. The orthodox Kshatriyas, as opposed to the Buddhists or other Kshatriyas, often pulled themselves upon being called Brahma-Kshatriya.

There is no reference to any caste in this epithet as the caste is settled by the preceding verse which states that they were born in the lunar race and therefore could be none else but Rajputs.

But even granting that this epithet indicates the particular caste Brahmakshastra, as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar believes, what ground is there for the further observation which he makes and which is quoted by Sir Vincent Smith with approval (E. A. I. 3rd Edn. p. 420) viz: "In my opinion, as stated elsewhere, these were Brahmins of new tribes afterwards turned Kshatriyas before their final mergence into the Hindu society"? The suggestion is wholly gratuitous and has no basis. It is impossible to argue that because they were called Brahma-kshatriya and were a separate caste, therefore, they belonged to new and foreign tribes and were originally Brahmins who subsequently became Kshatriyas and this change took place before they were recognised finally as Brahmakshatras. We have already discussed this question at length in Vol. II and can only say that this inference arises from bias and Sir Vincent Smith has also accepted it from the same bias in favour of the theory of the foreign origin of many Rajput families.

The matter is not left to mere inference from the lunar vamśa mentioned of these Senas, but is settled by the express word Kshatriya used in the Mādharinagar grant of Lakshmanasena published in Proceedings Bengal R. A. S. Vol. V. p. 467 where the birth of Sāmantasena is stated to be in the Karnātakshatriya family of Virasena. Whether Virasena the founder of the family was a Dākshinātya or Karnāta is not of much moment. Dākshinātya, the word used in the earlier Vijayasena record of Deopārā, means usually a Maratha-country Brahmin or Kshatriya. But the distinction between a Maratha and a Karnāta Kshatriya is illusory. And in those days even the distinction between a northern and southern Kshatriya had not become acute as intermarriages continued to take place between these Kshatriyas. And when these Kshatriyas went to Bengal, they became for all practical purposes Bengali; for they not only married with northern Kshatriyas but their servants and officers were entirely drawn from Bengal. A Karnātaka or Maratha Kshatriya founding a

kingdom in Bengal in those days was vastly different from a Maratha chief like Scindia in modern days founding a kingdom in northern India which is principally governed by men from the Deccan with which their marriage relations still continue. The Sena kings, therefore, were completely Bengalis though they preserved the memory of their having come from the Deccan. Curiously enough, two noted northern Kshatriya families preserve the tradition of their having come from the Deccan-Karnāṭaka especially from Kalyāṇa. This is, however, of no moment as Kshatriyas then all over India were one and we may conclude by reiterating that the Sena kings of Lakhnauti were Rajputs and Kshatriyas* by caste and not of the modern Brahmakshatra nor of the Vaidya caste. The word Brahmakshatra applied to them indicates their orthodoxy. Indeed Sir Vincent Smith himself states that "his (Lakshmanasena's) family, we are told, was respected by all the chiefs of Hindustan and he was considered to hold the rank of hereditary Khalif or spiritual head of the country."

*The Senas are thought to be Dravidians and probably Cholas but Dravidas are entirely distinct from Karnāṭakas and they cannot have been descended from the Cholas.

NOTE:—CHRONOLOGY OF THE SENAS.

The question of the dates of the Sena kings, three only in importance, bristles with so many difficulties that one almost despaired of arriving at truth in connection with the dates of kings who ruled only eight hundred years ago. We have, therefore, decided to give the chronology of these kings in a double set of dates as follows.

GENEALOGY OF SENA KINGS.

		According to Sir V. Smith.	According to Mr. R. D. Bannerji.
Sāmantasena			
Hemantasena			
1	Vijayasena	Ac. 1119 A. D.	Ac. 1080 A. D.
2	Ballālasena	„ 1159 „	„ 1100 „
3	Lakshmanasena	„ 1170 „	„ 1119 „
4	Mādhavasena		
	Ac. 1205 (?)		
5	Kośavasena		
	Ac. 1205.		
	7	Suddhasena	
		ac. 1225	
	8	Lakshmanasena	
		ac. 1243.	
6	Viśvarūpasena		
	Ac. 1220.		

The name of the last king we take from *Ain-i-Akbari* which gives the traditional catalogue of Sena kings as it was accepted in the days of Akbar (1556-1605) i. e. about three hundred years after the last king. It gives the years of the rule of each king and to Suddhasena it assigns 18 years and to Lakshmaniyā the last three years. Now the *Tabakat* was written about 1250 A. D. i. e. some years after the death of this second Lakshmanasena. It is, therefore, possible that there were two Lakshmanasenas and in the oral exaggerated account which the author of the *Tabakat* heard from two illiterate Afghan soldiers in the army of Mahammad Bakhtyar, the two Lakshmanasenas were jumbled. The existence of two Lakshmanasenas has been questioned and we incline to the belief that there was only one king of that name; especially as Pandit Gaurishanker does not give this name but gives the name Danujamādhava. But if we believe that there was another Lakshmanasena, a great-grandson of the first and that he started the era known as Lakshmanasena era, many of the difficulties which otherwise appear are removed. Of course we must

324] that he started the era not from his own coronation but from the establishment of the Sena power by Vijayansena as taken by Sir Vincent Smith. This is not a new suggestion and it solves, according to my view, many problems connected with the disputed chronology of these kings. The era was started by the last king or by Danuja-Madhava and named after the greatest king of the Sena line.

This first explains why no Saka grant uses this era. We find that even Lakshmanasena's grants do not use this era but that they use regnal years. Nay even the Bakerganj grant of Kesavasena does not use this era. Secondly, Lakshmanasena died in the 80th year of this era and was, therefore, supposed by Mahomedan informers that he was 80 years old when he died and that he was crowned even when he was in the womb. Thirdly, the expression *śatābdeśvaramānasa* occurring in a Buddha Gayā inscription noted by Kielhorn in I. A. XIX (p. 2) is well explained. Kielhorn treats this date as given in Lakshmanasena era. We may note here that this is the earliest date supposed to be given in this era. But what seems to us proper is that the word *stīta* would not have been used in this sense. The wording would have been merely *śatābdeśvaramānasa* if it referred to an established era (the words *śatā* and *śvaramānasa* need not have been used). If the figure was intended to refer to regnal years, the words 'Kājyavarsha' or 'Vardhamāna Rājya' would have been used. The expression means, as some have well-contended, that 74 years had elapsed since the death of the illustrious or revered, prosperous Lakshmanasena. Lakshmanasena's rule was, as we have already said, prosperous and blessed and he was remembered throughout Bengal. Hence it was natural for people to assign dates from the end of his rule as that was the end of Swarājya in Bengal. The date would thus be in our view 1273 A. D. This of course does not take cognisance of the Lakshmana era started by his descendant and counted from 1119. A. D. It is probable that this document in Gayā takes no cognisance of an era started in a distant part of eastern Bengal. Fourthly and lastly, we have no record to show specifically that Lakshmanasena the elder started this era; and if so in what year of his reign. Jayasinha of Gujarat started an era after himself and it was called Sinha Samvat. Lakshmanasena's grant published in Ep. Ind. XII (p. 8) mentions at the end only Sam. 3. and not Lakshmana Sam. 3.

Even if, however, it is supposed that the second and insignificant Lakshmanasena started the era from a previous king's reign, the question still remains whether the initial year of the era was taken from the date of Vijayasena's accession or that of the illustrious Lakshmanasena. There is unfortunately no definite data to settle the dispute. The Sena records give no Saka or Vikrama date; and only contain regnal years as do Pāla records. The Saka year given in Dānasāgara, a work written by Ballālasena is given by some as 1019 and by others as 1091 (शशिनवदशमिते शके): i. e. some take it as 1091. A. D. while others take it as 1168 A. D. Sir Vincent Smith thinks that Ballāla was alive on this date and hence takes

Lakshmanasena as commencing to rule in 1170 A. D. My R. D. Bannerji believes that Ballāla ruled upto 1119 from 1100; and Lakshmanasena ruling from 1119 A. D. from whence his era counted, probably finished the Dānasāgara in 1168 A. D. How Dr. Smith takes 1159 as the initial year of Ballāla's reign is not quite clear. There is, however, one argument which favours the chronology adopted by Smith viz. that the victories of Ballāla and even of Vijayasena in Mithila could not have taken place in the days of Rāmapāla, a victorious and powerful king of the Pāla line of Bengal who began his rule in 1084 (see p. 228). Secondly, it appears from Kumār's paper on Lakshmanasena era (I. A. 1913 p. 187) that Lakshmanasena must have come to the throne at about the age of 22, as he is said to have fought as Yuvarāja with Kalinga in the Mādharinagar copperplate (J. A. S. B. 1910). If Lakshmanasena's accession in 1119 is accepted his death in 1199 being certain, he must have come to the throne when quite a child. Indeed his inscription of Sam. 3 or 7 would have to be assigned to his childhood and as said before, he could not have been described as Parama Vaishṇava. As learned Bengali researchers are still not unanimous on this subject we leave this subject as undecided yet.

We may take this occasion to mention a few more facts which may perhaps help us in fixing the dates of these kings. In Bengal J. R. A. S. XXXIV (p. 134) we find Halāyudha, a descendant of Bhatta Nārāyaṇa author of the well-known drama Venīsamhāra was the Dharmādhikārī of Lakshmanasena. He was a son of Dhananjaya of the Vatsa gotra. His brother Paśupati wrote a treatise on Śrāddhas and also Āhnikapaddhati or the daily duties of Brahmins. In the Brāhmaṇasarvasva are mentioned kings Vijaya, Ballāla, Lakshmaṇa, Mādhava, Keśava and Lakshamaṇeya.

From Proceedings Bengal V (p. 467) we find that Ballāla conquered Benares as also Kāmarūpa which is also mentioned in Madanapārā inscription of Viśvarūpasena. Ballāla appears to be alive in 1169 A. D. or Śaka 1091 which is the date of Dānasāgara and in the end of this treatise Ballāla is said to have conquered Kāmarūpa by his prowess (विक्रमवशीकृतकाम-रूपावनीमण्डल).

It may finally be added that the Deopārā inscription found in Varendra (Rājashāhi Disluct) is undated but it is believed to be recorded from its appearance about the end of the 11th century A. D. Vijayasena is therein said to have conquered a king of Gauda who had troubled a king of Kāmarūpa (the epithet अपाकृतकामरूपभूष should be taken with Gaudendra and can not be applied to Vijayasena himself). This would suggest that Vīrasena defeated a Pāla king before the end of the 11th century.

The reader will have a sufficient idea of the difficulties in settling decisively Sena chronology from the above facts.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF THANA.

Of the kingdoms of Southern India we will speak about the kingdom of the Śilāhāras of Thana first which in this sub-period of Hindu Indian history (1000-1200 A. D.) rose to greater importance and enjoyed practical independence. Theirs was an ancient country known as "Aparānta" in Mahābhārata days and Sopārā (Surpāraka) its capital was a well-known place to which Buddha had sent his disciple Pūrṇa to preach his religion of peace and where in pre-Christian days Arab and Greek ships came to export and import goods and ideas. The kingly line of the Śilāhāras was also very old, the stone records of which begin with a king Kapardin who was a feudatory of Amoghavarsha Rāshtrakūta and who made donations to Buddhist monks and recorded them (Sāka 765 or 843 A. D.) in the famous Kanheri (Kṛishṇagiri) caves of the Thana District, wherein Buddhist records are to be found from the days of the Śātavāhanas and Buddhist monks lived from about 100 B. C. down to about 1500 A. D., the days of the Portugese. This Śilāhāra line ruled for about five hundred years from roughly 800 to 1300 A. D., first as feudatories of the Rāshtrakūtas and then as independent kings from the time of Aparājita whose inscription dated 997 A. D. has been found and published (Bhadan charter E. I. III p. 257). In this document Aparājita still calls himself Mahāmandaleśvara and gives the whole of the Rāshtrakūta kingly line, his overlords, and states that the last king Kakkala was destroyed by Chālukya Tailapa. We quoted in Vol. II from an unpublished grant of the same king dated four years before (993 A. D.), a passage wherein the Rāshtrakūta line is given with the same fullness and with an expression of sorrow over the fall of the Rāshtrakūta kings. Probably Aparājita assumed independence hereafter though he used the title Mahāmandaleśvara from habit and from respect for the past, much as the Vaziers of Oudh or the Nizams of Hyderabad or the Peshwas of Poona continued their old titles indicative of subordination even after they

became independent. Aparājita is given other titles in later records of the family such as Mṛigāṅka and Birudankarāma and he is said to have sumptuously received king Goma (?), fought with Aiyapadeva (?) and assisted Bhillama (of Sèundeśa). It thus appears that he ruled like an independent king. The country was called Konkana with fourteen hundred (villages), capital Purī. The old extent and the old capital are here mentioned though a larger country including both the present Thana and Kolaba districts and even a part of the Ratnagiri district including Chiplun and the hilly territory above the ghats called Mawal appears to be under his sway from the yet unpublished grant referred to above. This territory at present contains certainly more villages than 1400 and we believe that the number 1400 was an old traditional number attached to the name Purī which was the former capital of Konkan and the extent of territory under the later Śilāhāras was much greater, using the same name Konkana but with capital at Thana or Sthānaka. Under these Śilāhāras the country was also very prosperous as an Arab writer (976 A. D.) had recorded that "the country from Cambaya to Saimur, the villages lie close to one another and there is much land under cultivation" (Vol. II p. 166).

Commencing from Aparājita, therefore, the Śilāhāras became independent and more prosperous and began to be counted among the important ruling families of India. The family grew to greater renown still during the reign of succeeding kings ending with Aparāditya II, two inscriptions of whom dated 1185 and 1187 are found (J. R. A. S. Bombay XII p. 333). The latter calls himself, as others before him, Konkana Chakravartin, a high sounding title indicative of independence and power. There were 11 kings from Aparājita to Aparāditya as shown in their genealogy and a period of about two hundred and ten years (990 to 1200 A. D.) roughly which gives the usual average of twenty years per king. Using this average generally, but keeping in view the dates of the known inscriptions of particular kings, we will assign probable dates for the reign of each (see the genealogy given at the end.). The first king Aparājita thus we take to have ruled from 990 to 1010 A. D. He was succeeded by his elder son Vajjada

and the latter was succeeded by his brother Arikesarin whose inscription (Thana plates A. R. I. p. 357 and Kielhorn's genealogies) has been found and is dated 1017 A. D. We may, therefore, assign a short reign to Vajjada from 1010 to 1015. We have also to assign a short reign to Arikesarin in whose reign we may place the defeat of Konkan by Bhoja Paramāra mentioned in a grant of his dated 1020 A. D. (Vol. II p. 123 and E. I. XI p. 81), as his successor Chhittarāja, son of Vajjada, has left an inscription dated 1028 A. D., the well-known Bhandup inscription (I. A. V. p. 277). We, therefore, assign to Arikesarin a reign of ten years from 1015 to 1025 and to Chhittarāja a reign of twenty years from 1025 to 1045. The Bhandup grant of Chhittarāja is important in many respects which we will notice later on. His brother Nāgārjuna reigned after him and we assign a reign of ten years to him and to his successor his younger brother named Māmvānī a reign of 30 years from 1055 A. D. to 1085 A. D. An inscription of his time dated 1060 A. D. has been found in the well-known temple of Āmranātha (now pronounced Ambernath) near the G. I. P. station of that name about 6 miles from Kalyan. The king's name is given as Mahāmvānī (sometimes given as Mamvani or Mammuni) and the record states that the temple was built of stone, in place of an old temple, by the Rājaguru or royal preceptor (Bombay J. R. A. S. IX p. 219). And there is another inscription found near the temple which records the erection of a building near it by a local officer (J. R. A. S. Bombay XII p. 329). This inscription is also of the same date viz. 1060 A. D.

Māmvānīrāja was succeeded by his nephew Anantadeva (son of Nāgārjuna) who appears to have been a great king as we find him first calling himself Konkan Chakravartin in his inscription dated 1094 A. D. This grant (Kharepātan plates I. A. IX p. 33) was published by the well-known Sanskrit scholar K. T. Telang, who has given the genealogy of these Śilāhāra kings with further remarks from records found till then. This grant remits customs duty on ships of a certain minister Śresṭhi (merchant) coming into the ports of Konkan. This king who is sometimes called Anantapāla may be taken to have reigned long from 1085 A. D. to 1125 A. D. His son

Aparāditya I was the well-known king who sent an ambassador to a congress of pandits held in Kashmir as mentioned by Mankha in his Śrīkanthābharana to be shortly noticed. He may be taken to have ruled from 1125 A. D. to 1145 A. D. His son Harapāla has left inscriptions so late as 1149 A. D., 1150 A. D. and 1153 A. D. We, therefore, allot forty years to Anantapāla, twenty years to Aparāditya and ten years to Harapāla.

Harapāla ruled from 1145 to 1155. The dates for Harapāla are found in stone records which are not now available to us for inspection but they are referred to in the history of Konkan given in Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part I which first gives the available information about the Śilāhāras in a connected form. This account mentions that there were many civil strifes in the country in the reign of Anantapāla which harassed gods and Brahmins. It is difficult to understand what these disputes were and whether they proceeded from Mahomedans who were apparently settled in large numbers in this part of the country, the Rāshtrakūṭas being friendly to the Arabs and not at all intolerant like the northern kings (see Vol. II. 166). There were Arab settlements in almost every sea-coast town from Somnath-Patan and Kambāya down to Cheul (Saimur) and they had even built mosques in each town. We have indeed mention of a dispute between fire-worshippers viz. Parsis and Moslems whose prayer time was loudly announced from a mosque at Cambay. The dispute was taken to king Jayasinha in Anhilwad and he is said to have personally gone to Cambay to inspect the demolished mosque and to have built it at his own expense (E. II p. 163). This dispute, however, appears to have been between the king and some of his relatives as appears from the inscriptions (I. A. IX. p. 17) and Mahomedans allying themselves with the latter must have oppressed gods and Brahmins as they were then doing in the north. But the king Anantapāla was successful and suppressed the rebellion, sternly punishing his opposing relatives and the oppressors of gods and Brahmins. Konkan remained Hindu for two centuries more.

We have not much information about Harapāla but we may take him to have ruled from 1145 A. D. to 1155 A. D. so as to include his last known record dated 1153 A. D. in his reign.

His son Mallikārjuna must have ruled long. He assumed the title Rājapitāmaha or grandfather of kings and this offended the Gujarat Chālukya king Kumārapāla who hence sent his general Ambada to conquer Konkan. A battle was fought near Balsad wherein Ambad was defeated; but Ambad returned again and Mallikārjuna was not only defeated but killed in battle by Jagadeva Paramāra as has already been told in Gujarat history. Mallikārjuna may be taken to have ruled from 1155 A. D. to 1175 A. D. He has left two grants dated 1156 and 1160 A. D. (Chiplun and Bassein) of which mention has been made by the Gazetteer but without reference as to where they are published.

His son Aparāditya II is the last king of this line in this sub-period; he is also the greatest in this line. He does not call himself Mahāmandaleśvara, but Mahārājādhirāja and also Konkan Chakravartin. He undoubtedly ruled independently and over a large tract in the Konkan which retained its independence long after him. Marco Polo who visited Konkan nearly a century later also states that the king in his days was independent. Aparāditya like all great Hindu kings was also a great scholar and the well-known commentary on Yājñavalkya Smṛiti known as Aparārka, a work of recognised authority on Hindu law, was written by him. It is strange that this work is considered authoritative in such a distant country as Kashmir, showing the great intercourse that went on in the different kingdoms of India even in those days. Pandits and classical works especially travelled far and wide. As already noted, we are told in the Śrikanthacharita of Mankha, a Kashmiri poet (1135-1155 A. D.), that a congress of learned men held in Kashmir was attended by Aparāditya's ambassador a Konkan pandit named Tejahkantha. This may also have made it possible that the second Aparāditya's work on Hindu law was soon known in Kashmir. Aparāditya's record dated 1184 has been found and published (Bombay J. R. A. S. XII p. 333), and his reign may be placed between the years 1175 and 1200 A. D.

We are not concerned with, nor do we know much of, the later kings of the Śilāhāra kingly line of Thana. Only one name Someśvara is mentioned by Kielhorn in his genealogies

(E. I. VIII) whose inscription dated 1259 A. D. has been found and one more name Keśideva is given in the Gazetteer. But the line must have continued long after Someśvara till in the 14th century Thana was conquered by the generals of Mubārak after Malik Kafur had conquered the Deccan about 1328 A. D. The legend of a king named Bimba coming from Pātan (Somnath or Anhilwad) and some Kshatriyas from Paithan referred to in the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part II and described in detail by Mr. V. K. Rajwade, the well-known historical researchar of Mahārāshtra, is also outside the scope of this work ; but it may be stated that their coming to Konkan must be placed after the fall of the Śilāhāras, at least after 1260 A. D.

There are some very important general remarks which we have to make regarding these Śilāhāra kings and their inscriptions. The first thing to point out is that these kings do not assign themselves in their inscriptions to the solar or lunar vamśas to which all Kshatriyas assigned themselves in those days. They derive their descent from Jīmūtavāhana, a Vidyādhara or heavenly being who in ancient legend is said to have offered his own body for being devoured by Garuda in order to liberate a Nāga or serpent. It is, therefore, natural to suppose that these Śilāhāras were not Kshatriyas. But that these Śilāhāras were Kshatriyas and were looked upon as Kshatriyas there is not the least doubt as their name is included in the list of the 36 royal clans. As related before, this enumeration appears to have been made about the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century A. D. during the reign of the orthodox emperor Chandra Gāhadavāla of Kanauj, "the rehabilitator of the solar and lunar races of Kshātriya" or in the days of Govindachandra at the latest and this inference about its date is strengthened by the inclusion of the Śilāhāras among the 36. The Vidyādhara vamśa itself suggests to our mind, that they were Kshatriyas; for a Kshatriya alone could sacrifice himself in this manner and cut off flesh from his body (one is reminded here of Karṇa's legend in the Mahābhārata and possibly the Kshatriya Śilāhāras had assisted the Nāga race people of Southern India). The Śilāhāras always declare in their descrip-

tions that they came from Tagarapura, a town mentioned by Pliny in Southern India on the Godavari east of Paithan. Thus the Śilāhāras were Kshatriyas from the very centre of the Maratha country. They became famous throughout India as independent powerful kings under Anantadeva or Anantapāla who ruled from 1085 A. D. to 1125 A. D. and the list of 36 royal families which appears to have been made from Kshatriya ruling clans (Rajputs) at the time, properly included the Śilāhāras of Thana. They were Kshatriyas and Rajputs though they called themselves Vidyādhara-vamśa-born, and their fame had gone as far north as Kashmir where at the congress of pandits called by Mankha the ambassadors of two kings in India are mentioned as attending, Tejahkantha, ambassador of Aparāditya I of Konkan and Subala of Govindachandra of Kanauj. Kanauj, Konkan and Kashmir thus came together in about 1085 A. D. (B. B. R. A. S. XII extra number p. 51) and we need not wonder that we have a clear reference to the 36 Royal clans of India, in which number Śilāhāras have a place, in Kalhana's Rājataranginī of 1154 A. D. The Śilāhāras are the only people in this list who do not figure in Northern India and who have a kingdom in the south only. Rathods and Chālukyas are both northern Rajputs and southern Rajputs but Śilāhāras are only southern Rajputs or Marathas.

That these Śilāhāras though Marathas have always been considered best Rajputs appears also from a grant of Bhoja Śilāhāra dated Śaka 1113 (1191 A. D.) quoted in extenso at p. 105 in Siddhānta-Vijaya recently published at Kolhapur in which the Śilāhāra king styles himself Kshatriya-Śikhā-Chudāmaṇi (crest-jewel of the Kshatriyas). 4. The Śilāhāras are now Śelars counted among the 96 kulis of Marathas and are looked upon as born in the Yādava or lunar vamśa.

The second peculiar thing in these inscriptions is that in every one of them along with the name of the grantor king his five ministers are always mentioned by name. That ministers should be considered to be of so much importance in this Konkan kingdom alone is really strange. It is possible that the modern maxim that kings are not responsible but ministers was known and acted upon in this kingdom. The prime minister's name is always prefixed by the epithet Sar-

vādhikāri 'having all authority' (I. A. V. p. 227) or Rājyachin-tābhāra-samudvāhana Mahāmātya 'the great minister who bears the burden of the care of the kingdom'. There are sometimes two ministers for war and peace and a minister for land register Śrīkaraṇa, and always two treasurers (Bhāndāgarikas) possibly one for the public treasury and another for the private one or one for land-tax in kind and the other for cash. The collections in kind must always have been difficult for accounting, being kept in each division or even village. The ministers are usually stated to be five; when Sivaji introduced the Ashtapradhāna system, he was in 1660 in fact resuscitating a practice in the country which was as old as 1000 A. D. and even the word Pradhāna which is constantly used in these inscriptions.

The third peculiar thing is that the names of these ministers always end in the termination Aiya which has led scholars to believe that these Śilāhāras, come from Tagara, were people from the Āndhra country and brought with the kings or that they always employed ministers from the Āndhra country where names usually end in Aiya. Now we do not believe that Tagara was in the Āndhra country, on the contrary, we have already said that it was in the heart of Mahārāshtra. But even if it were so, the Śilāhāras had been settled for so many centuries in Mahārāshtra, particularly in Konkan, that they were every inch Marathas, by relationship, by sympathies and by language. It is, therefore, unbelievable that their sympathies in 1000-1200 A. D. could have lain with the people of Āndhra who were entirely different in manners, in marriage relations and in language. We do not, therefore, think that the ministers could have been people from Āndhra. Nor can it be believed that officers from Karnāṭa must have been employed as the Śilāhāras were subordinate to the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed who were practically kings of Karanāṭaka though they were Marathas. For we think that the termination "Aiya" is peculiar to Āndhra only, not Karanāṭaka. We do not find in Rāshtrakūṭa or later Chālukya records names of donees or others ending in Aiya. The riddle, to our mind, is however thus solved. In this tract of the country on the westcoast, as in Āndhra on the east coast, it was

usual to designate higher people as Ārya of which "Aiya" is plainly the Prakṛit. The Konkan is generally inhabited by non-Aryan Koli population and these lower people always addressed the superior people of Āryan descent who came to the country later and who both subjected and civilized it, as 'Āryas'. In Ptolemy's geography this part of the country is particularly called Ariake; the cultivating population, being non-Aryan. In the country above the ghats it is mixed Aryan or Maratha and hence there did not arise the practice of addressing the higher caste people as "Aiya", as we see in Āndhra where the cultivating population was and is non-Aryan still. We may give our own evidence on this point and state that we have heard even in these days a Konkan Koli villager address a clerk of higher caste as "Ajjā". This word of address was simply astonishing as it revealed the old practice still alive of addressing higher caste people as Ārya. The names which end in Aiya are not always of Brahmins; for in the Kharepatan grant we have Mahā-devaiya Prabhu and Śri Somanaiya Prabhu. The Prabhus are apparently the ancestors of the modern Kāyastha Prabhus of Konkan as also Ananta Pai Prabhu mentioned in Aparāditya's grant dated 1187 (B. B. R. A. S. XII p. 333). Brahmin names sometimes also end in Bhatta while Kshatriya names are sometimes distinguished by the epithet Bhata and Rāula.

Lastly we have to explain the inexplicable expression 'Hanjamana Nagara-paura Trivarga prabhṛitīn' occurring in more than one record of these Śilāhāras. Hanjamana or Han-yaman is no doubt a town and may be identified with Sanjan of modern days and of the Arab writers of the 10th and 11th centuries. But why should the grant orders be addressed to the people of the town of Hanjamana only and why are the people three-fold? Along with the usual officers of towns and talukas and provinces these orders are addressed to these particular people only. It is suggested that Hanjamana was the old capital town; but it does not appear so and the capital was either Puri or Thana and the inhabitants of neither are specially addressed. The expression can be explained only on the supposition that the three kinds of people there were very important. It appears probable that this particular part of the country was specially popular with foreigners for settlement. It is unfortunate that

unlike China and Japan, India did not keep strict watch over the ingress of foreigners and allowed any people of any religion to enter the country and settle and even to enjoy jurisdiction of their own magistrates. These settlements were three and very important. There must have been Parsis, Arabs and Jews or perhaps Negroes. As important trading communities trading with the whole country and perhaps as very troublesome communities, they had special jurisdictions of their own as related by an Arab writer. The three classes of citizens of the town of Hanjamana had thus a special importance which required these orders to be addressed to them and brought to their notice also.

There are some other points of interest in these inscriptions relating to the general condition of the country which we will notice in our general survey. The country contained many towns to which foreign trade came such as Sanjan, Sopara, Baesein, Thana, Kalyan, Cheul and Chiplun and the customs revenue of the country must have always been very great. It appears that the fort of Thana was built by these Śilāhāras as in digging a foundation therein the copper plate of Ananta-rāja dated 1017 was found. The notable beautiful cave temples of Elephanta we will describe in a note.

GENEALOGY OF THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF THANA.

(Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I Part II, Kielhorn's Genealogies

E. I. VIII and Gaurishankar's Tod).

I Aparājita Insc. 997 A. D. (c. 990—1010)

II Vajjada (c. 1010-1015)

III Arikesari Insc. 1017 (c. 1015-1025).

IV Chhittarāja Insc. 1026
(c. 1025-1045).

V Nāgarāja
(c. 1045-1055).

VI Māmvānirāja
Insc. 1060 (c. 1055-1085).

VII Anantadeva Konkṣa Chakravartin Insc. 1094 (c. 1085-1125).

VIII Aparāditya I Insc. 1138 (c. 1125-1145)

IX Harapāla Insc. 1149, 1150, 1153 (c. 1145-1155).

X Mallikārjuna Insc. 1156 (c. 1155-1175).

XI Aparāditya II Konkṣa Chakravartin Insc. 1184, 1187 (c. 1175-1200).

Keśideva Insc. 1203, 1238

Someśvara Insc. 1259.

NOTE 1—HANJAMANA NAGARA.

The identification of Hanjamana with Sanjan proposed by many has been accepted above. But this is doubted by Dr. Fleet who has republished the Bhandup grant of Chhittarāja in E. I. XII p. 275. Sanjan is the place where the Parsis allege that they came in 766 A. D. from Divin Kathiawar, in their migration from Persia. And they say that the name Sanjan is the name they gave to their settlement. Dr. Fleet thinks that Hanjamana original cannot be changed into Sanjamana and further that Sanjan mentioned by the Arab travellers is Sindan on the coast of Cutch near Cambay and not this Sanjan. These are not unsurmountable difficulties and Dr. Fleet has not suggested any other town as the Hanjamana of the inscriptions. He suggests that it was some administrative head-quarters town of the Śilāhāras beside their capital (p. 59). But this does not fit in with the description *Hanjamana Nagara*. Nor can Trivarga mean the three higher castes, for donations must be known by all classes. Our interpretation is that there were three classes of foreigners at Sanjan who had their own jurisdiction and who had dealings with the people of the land and who, therefore, were required to know of the grant of inam villages which enjoyed many rights. The name Hanjamana is no doubt a difficulty. It seems to us that Sanjan was a new settlement made by the Parsis near a village which must have existed at the place. The position of Sanjan is very favourable as a safe though small harbour just contiguous to the sea, and at present we are told there are remains of a fort near the harbour and also of a wall round the town of Sanjan. The remains are worth exploring. The Parsis appear to have come during the overlordship of the Chālukyas of Badāmi and in the Konkan there were many feudatories one of whom may be the Jādhava who gave permission to the Parsis to settle near the harbour. The place became probably a place for foreigners to settle and they managed their own affairs and had their own magistrates. The name Sanjan was probably given by the Parsis and the country people of the Konkan pronounced it Hanjamana or Haiyamana which appears to have been used in the inscriptions. Whether Sanjan is the Sindan of the Arab writers or not does not matter at all. It is almost certain that Sanjan is a Persian town name and it was given to their new settlement by the Parsis and not Hanjamana. This was the local pronunciation and it was naturally used in Konkan inscriptions.

It is not necessary to look upon Hanjamana as a separate name given to the town as J. J. Mody tries to do. The difficulty no doubt is to explain how m-got into the name Sanjan which was really the name given by the Parsis. Secondly, Trivarga may mean Parsi, Mahomedan and Hindu inhabitants also. The Parsis do not consist of three grades. Lastly, from Al-Beruni's description given with distances Sindan is identifiable with Sanjan and is to be placed north of Sopara immediately and it

may be suggested that the word Hanjamana-Nagara may be interpreted to mean the city of i. e. belonging to (not named) Hanjamana or the Anjuman (community) of the Parsis.

NOTE 2—THE ELEPHANTA CAVES OF GHĀRĀPURĪ.

A few miles from Bombay by sea, in an island in the wide creek of Thana and Panwel are these caves with many beautiful carvings in stone and also statues. There were two stone elephants at the entrance of the principal cave which were visible from the sea and this fact gave rise to the name Elephanta caves given by the Portugese who first saw them. The town of Purī is now in ruins, but that there was once a great town which was then the capital of Konkan, was in fact, the Bombay of the 6th to 10th century A. D, is proved by the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras which always mention "Purī Konkan, 14 hundred" as the name of the country. The island of Purī must have attracted attention in ancient days as a suitable site for a capital, being at the entrance of a large creek which is the natural harbouring place for ships trading along the coast as well as with distant Arabia. There are some Buddhist remains also in this island but most of the structures are Brahmanical, and these appear to belong to the days of the Śilāhāra rule which began probably about the 8th century A. D. The style of the architecture and the beautiful figures carved, according to Bhagvanlal Indraji, belongs to the period of the Elora carvings and therefore may be dated from the 8th to the 9th century A. D. The Rāshtrakūta king Kṛṣṇa excavated the Elora temple and it is probable that the Śilāhāras excavated these figures in imitation of their overlords the Rāshtrakūtas. And Purī was the capital of these earlier Śilāhāras from the 8th to the 10th centuries. It is possible that the Āryā Dvaipāyanī (island goddess) mentioned in the Bhāgavata as visited by Balarāma in his pilgrimage refers to the statue of the goddess of Pārvatī in one of the caves in this island, and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa may be held from this reference to belong to the 10th century. The most impressive Traimurti statue carved in the principal cave is, however, the most important work of art in the Elephanta caves and it is not known to which Śilāhāra king the credit of it belongs. Purī fell into ruin in consequence of the capital being removed to Thana which is a more inland and safe harbour. An account of the Śilāhāras of Thana would not be complete without this short description of Purī and the Elephanta caves and we have consequently given this short note on them.

CHAPTER XII.

I. LATER CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYAN.

In the Deccan ruled in this sub-period the later Chālukyas who became as powerful as the earlier Chālukyas of Badāmi in the first sub-period described in our first volume or the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed in the second. Both Rāshtrakūtas and Chālukyas were Maratha Kshatriyas. The former were the most ancient inhabitants of the Deccan of the Aryan race. They were supplanted by the early Chālukyas and these in their turn were conquered by the Rāshtrakūtas. These Rāshtrakūtas were again conquered and supplanted by the later Chālukyas who in their Yevur inscription (I. A. VIII p. 19) have given the whole genealogy from the earlier Chālukyas down to Tailapa the conqueror of the Rāshtrakūta last king Kakkala. It is sometimes doubted if the later Chālukyas are really descendants of the earlier Chālukyas; but there is no sufficient reason to deny this claim which they lay forth in their inscriptions; copying as they do the same titles and taking the same Mānavya gotra (E. I. IX p. 206). The tradition that they were lunar race Kshatriyas and ruled for 59 generations in Ayodhya, they appear to have taken from the eastern Chālukyas of Vengi; as stated in Vol. I the earlier Chālukya records do not mention these facts. However, we may believe that these statements are also true and that the Chālukyas came to the Deccan sometime about 400 A. D. Their descendant Tailapa was son of Vikramāditya and Bonthādevi daughter of Lakshmana, king of Chedi. (The Tripura Haihayas seem to have usually given their daughters to the Chālukya and Rāshtrakūta Maratha Kshatriya kings of the Deccan). Tailapa was probably originally a powerful feudatory under Kakkala; it is not clear where he had his sway; possibly it might have been in Badāmi itself; but Chālukya inscriptions do not mention his original capital. Seizing the opportunity of the decline of Rāshtrakūta power, Tailapa defeated Kakkala and established once again the Chālukya line of kings in the Deccan. He is said to have destroyed two great warriors or generals of Kakkala

on the battle-field on whom he relied and who were his associates in oppressing the people. (Yevur grant I. A. VIII p. 17). He is also said to have conquered Cholas, Āndhras, Utkalas as also the Maratha feudatory chiefs of the Deccan and ruled justly and vigorously in the country of Kuntala as is expressly stated in an inscription of the family (I. A. VIII p. 18) thus "securing happiness to the people" who were probably oppressed during the misrule which usually characterises the days of the decay of a dynasty. The Chālukya country is called Kuntala in most inscriptions and Kuntala is identical with what is now called the Southern Maratha country though the present language of the people is Kanarese. Indeed the three Mahārāshṭras of Pulakeśin (Vol. II p. 275) have already been noticed as Vidarbha, Mahārāshṭra proper and Kuntala and these, forming together the greater Mahārāshṭra, may again be described as Northern Maratha country the basin of the Tāpti and the Wardhā, the Central Maratha country the basin of the Godāvari and the Southern Maratha country the basin of the Kṛishṇā river which distinguishes Kauntala (I. A. VIII p. 18); and here Mahārāshṭra and Karnātaka meet, the Karnātaka proper lying beyond the Tungabhadra and being then under the Gangas and later under the Hoyasalas.

Tailapa ruled for 24 years from 973 to 997. A. D. His wars with Munja have been related in Volume II and he is said to have finally killed Munja ignominiously. We have already expressed a doubt about this story of Gujarat story-tellers; and Munja probably died on the battle-field. But the Yevur inscription and the Miraj plates refer, in our view, to the imprisoning of a great poet-king. As the Miraj record is dated 1024 A. D. and is very near the event, it may be believed that Munja was imprisoned after being made captive in war, though we may still disbelieve his being kept in a cage or made to beg from door to door and finally beheaded. This is too cruel for any Indian king and there is no hint of this in this record. (We understand the verses here differently from the way in which they are taken in the translation in I. A. XIII p. 17). When it is further stated that he conquered a king of Hupas and kings of Marwad, Chedi and Utkala, it is probably an exaggeration. But there is nothing improbable in it if we remem-

ber that Tailapa was now the master of the whole power of the Rāshtrakūṭas who in their palmy days had carried their arms as far north as Kanauj. There is not the least doubt that his general Bhārapa held Lāta and opposed and fought with Mūlārāja Solankhi who about the same time founded the northern Chālukya kingly power at Patan.

Tailapa had by his queen Jākabbā, a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, two sons Satyāśraya and Daśavarman; the former of whom succeeded him. There is nothing particular recorded of him in the Miraj and Yevur records; but the Kharepatan grant (published in B. B. R. A. S. I.) was made during his reign by a Śilāhāra prince in Southern Konkan. Now this grant discloses two or three facts which are worthy of notice here. In this grant the Śilāhāra prince Rattarāja distinctly mentions the name of Satyāśraya his overlord. But in the grant of the Śilāhāra kings of Northern Konkan no overlord is mentioned though in their earlier grants they mention the then ruling Rāshtrakūṭa king. It seems, therefore, that Northern Konkan was not under the later Chālukyas. Secondly, the names of ministers are not mentioned in the grant as they are mentioned in the grants of the Northern Śilāhāras. Thirdly, we find the name of the grantee Brahmin with the termination Ārya but not 'Aiya' as in the others. It is inferrable that in Karnāṭaka, people used the termination Ārya at least in Sanskrit.

Satyāśraya ruled from 997 to 1008 A. D. and dying childless he was succeeded by Vikramāditya, son of his brother Daśavarman or Yaśovarman and Bhagavatl. He has left an inscription dated the year of his succession (J. B. R. A. S. IV p. 4). He ruled for a short time only and he was succeeded by his brother Jayasinha whose inscription dated 1019 A. D. has been found (I. A. V. p. 17). It mentions that he was a very sun to Bhoja lotus and that he defeated the Malwa confederacy. It may be taken for truth that Bhoja of Malwa was defeated by this king and Bhoja's efforts to wreak vengeance on the Chālukyas of the Deccan for killing Munja were frustrated. But the story told by Gujarat chroniclers that Bhoja took drastic vengeance on Tailapa himself and killed him is absurd (as the Bombay Gazetteer itself points out), as Bhoja came to the throne after Tailapa's death. Nor is it possible, as suggest-

ed by the Gazetteer, that the story relates to the successor of Tailapa, Vikramāditya who ruled from 1008 to 1018. His reign no doubt falls in the early years of Bhoja's rule but this fact is not mentioned in any record of these Chālukyas of the Deccan nor of the Paramāras of Malwa. We, therefore, think that it is the usual vengeance story, as imaginary as the vengeance story of Prithvirāja killing Shihabuddin concocted in the Rāsā. Bhoja may have gained some success over these Chālukyas but in the end he was defeated by Jayasinha.

But Vikramāditya must have suffered extremely from the invasion of the rising Chola king Rājarāja who is said to have devastated the whole country by his vast army consisting of nine lakhs of men and spared not even women and children. But this seems also to be a hyperbole of poets though Vikramāditya's defeat may be accepted as a fact. This hereditary fight between the Chālukyas and Cholas or rather between the Deccan and Madras continued long and Jayasinha is said to have defeated the Chola king Rājendra son of Rājarāja who had defeated Satyaśraya or his successor Vikramāditya. The Miraj grant distinctly states that after conquering the Cholas in the south and the seven Konkanas in the west, the king was encamped at Kolhapur in his march for conquering the north when the grant was made. The seven Konkanas have already been enumerated. They are not seven kings and probably they did not include Northern Konkan. This grant is dated in 1024 A.D. (946Ś) and after this Jayasinha alias Jagadekamalla seems to have ruled long and defeated even Bhoja of Malwa. Gaurishankar surmises that he was finally killed in battle with Bhoja but this surmise may be true of the earlier king Vikramāditya (if the story of revenge is to be taken as true) and not Jayasinha. The Yevur record which was drawn up in the days of Vikramāditya makes no mention of any such sad end of Jayasinha.

Jayasinha is believed to have died about 1040 and he was succeeded by his son Someśvara who was certainly a far greater monarch than any of his predecessors. His power is thus described in the Yevur grant. "The king of Malwa is anxious to find out a Mandala (territory) for refuge. The king of the Cholas betakes himself to the forest of palm trees on the sea-coast. The king of Kānyakubja hides himself in a valley of the

mountain (Himalaya) his mind being restless from fear of Someśvara's power." The king of Malwa may be Bhoja himself as his successor was assisted by Someśvara and the Kāṇyakubja king must be the effete representative of the Pratihāras vanquished by Mahmud while the Chola king may be Rājendra himself. We have got a graphic account of these events in the *Vikramānkadevacharita* of Bilhana, court-poet of his son Vikramāditya, which may be treated almost as a contemporary record though poetical. Therein Someśvara is represented as defeating Bhoja and occupying Dhārā, Bhoja wandering to find a place for refuge. He is also shown to have defeated Karna of Chedi and even killed him in battle (Vik. I verse 102-03). But this does not seem to be true. He may have extended his conquering expedition into the north as far as Kanauj and the Kanauj Pratihāra king, as in the days of Mahmud, may have fled from his capital and taken refuge in the Himalayas. Though the Yevur plate does not refer to the death of the Chola king it is said that in the battle of Koppam fought with Rājendra Chola in 1030 A. D. the latter was killed. The Yevur plate should have referred to this event but it merely states that the Chola king fled to the sea-coast. As this record was made in the days of Vikramānka, it seems strange that it does not refer to the important battle at Koppam on the Tungabhadra wherein Rājendra was killed.

Someśvara is said to have founded Kalyān and made it his capital. Where the later Chālukyas had their capital till then does not seem clear; probably they held their court in Malkhed the capital of the previous rulers or in Badāmi their own ancient capital. Bilhana distinctly mentions the founding of Kalyan, a town near modern Bidar, being perhaps nearer to the Cholas the hereditary enemy. Someśvara, like most great Indian kings of this time, was a patron of poets and learned men (Yevur grant and also Bilhana, I and IV). In 1068, like other great Hindu kings of the time such as the noted Dhanga, when he fell ill with fever, he put an end to his life by drowning himself in the Tungabhadra, reciting praises of Śiva, on Chaitra vadya 8th Sunday (Gaurishankar Ojha).

While Someśvara was alive his second son Vikramāditya had distinguished himself by his wisdom and his valour; pro-

bably Someśvara's wars were waged by Vikramāditya. When Bilhana describes Someśvara as taking Kanchī, he is only stating that Vikramāditya his son had really seized and plundered Kanchī. It is not possible that Kanchī was twice taken, once by the father and again by the son. Bilhana describes Vikramāditya as conquering the four directions while his father was yet alive. Bilhana relates that he conquered Chera, Ceylon, Gangai Konda Chola, Vengi, Gauda and even Assam. It is likely that this is an exaggeration of the court-poet, though it may be granted that Vikramāditya conquered the whole of southern India. His father died while he was making these conquests and he returned, when he heard of his death, to the capital where his elder brother Someśvara had ascended the throne. The hero made due obeisance to his elder brother and king. The relations between the two were for some time very friendly. But eventually a quarrel arose as it was bound to arise and Vikramāditya left the capital and went towards Kanchī. Someśvara sent his forces after him but they were defeated. Vikramāditya went to Banavāsi and rested there for a while, he then turned towards Goa the king of which Jayakeśin, a Maratha Kadamba, submitted to him and gave him large presents. Vikramāditya in later life gave his daughter in marriage to Jayakeśin II grandson of this Goa king (B. B. J. R. A. S. IX pp. 242, 268, 579). He then subdued the Alūpas and the Cheras and turned towards the Cholas. The Chola king made peace with him and gave him his daughter. Vikrama thus strengthened returned to the Tungabhadra.

Events, however, soon happened which eventually placed the crown of Kuntala on Vikrama's head. The Chola king died and his son Vikrama's brother-in-law was opposed by certain opponents. Vikrama marched to Kanchī, placed his new brother-in-law on the Chola throne and returned. But Rājiga a powerful feudatory again deposed him and with other refractory nobles marched against Vikrama, at the same time inciting his brother Someśvara to assail Vikrama in the rear. Vikrama thus caught between two armies successively fought with both on different dates and defeated Someśvara so completely that he was taken prisoner. He immediately marched on Kalyan and deposing Someśvara placed the crown on his own

head. This event happened in 998 Ś. or 1076 A. D.; Someśvara thus reigned from 1069 to 1076.

Vikramāditya was the greatest king of the later Chālukyas and he also ruled long from 1076 to 1126 A. D. He assumed the title of Tribhuvana-Malla. (As the earlier Chālukyas called themselves by some name ending in Vallabha and the Rāshtrakūṭas by names ending in Varsha, the later Chālukyas called themselves by names ending in Malla. The first king Tailapa assumed the name Āhavamalla, a name again taken by Someśvara I, Vikrama's father.). Vikramāditya started an era of his own like his contemporary Gujarat Chālukya king Jayasinha. It is a strange coincidence that these contemporary kings were equally great and founded eras of their own which lasted for a time only and finally died (Fleet in I. A. XIII p. 189).

Vikramāditya is said to have married Chandralekhā daughter of a Śilāhara prince of Karahātaka and Bilhana describes the *svayamvara* of the princess. It is probably an unhistorical description; for *svayamvaras* or self-choice marriages were a dead institution at this time. And where Vikrama the imperial lord of the Deccan becomes a suitor, it is impossible for the bride to marry any other prince for the other princes must all be feudatories. The princess was a lady of extraordinary beauty as it is recorded by Kalhana that Harsha king of Kashmir intended to invade Karnātaka for the possession of that princess;* this is also, we think, another poetical but unreal fancy. Vikrama as usual with kings of those days had many wives and these queens had separate villages assigned to them.

Jayasinha younger brother of Vikrama who had been appointed ruler of Banavāsi rebelled and advanced against him with a large force. He was, however, defeated and eventually taken prisoner. Bilhana represents Vikrama as pardoning him. Vikrama's long rule was practically undisturbed but a confederacy of kings of the south led by the Hoyasala king Vishnu-Vardhana assisted by Goa Kadambas and others invaded his kingdom and devastated it upto the Krishnā (I. A.

* कर्णाटभर्तुः पर्मादेः सुन्दरीं चन्दलाभिधाम् । आलेख्यलिखितां वीक्ष्य सोऽभूत्पुष्पायुधाहतः ॥

स विदोद्रेक्षितो वीतत्रपश्चक्रे समान्तरे । प्रतिज्ञां चन्दलावाप्त्यै पर्मादिश्च विलोढने ॥

II p. 300 and B. B. R. A. S. XI p. 244). A chieftain Āchagi of the Sinda family was sent against it and it was signally defeated. The king himself had to fight with Chola and there also he gained success. Āchagi is said to have conquered many kings including those of Gujarat and Malwa but these may be taken to be unimportant operations.

Generally speaking the reign of Vikrama was a happy period for the Deccan. He founded a new town named Vikramapura. That literature flourished under him and that his government was law-regulated may be known from the single fact that his minister Vijnāneśvara wrote his famous commentary, the *Mitāksharā*, on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* which is recognised as the leading Hindu law treatise all over India except Bengal and which is respected even by the lawyers and law-courts of British India. It seems that law was studied in India in all the great Hindu states of this time; for besides the *Mitāksharā*, we find that Aparāditya Śilāhāra king of Thanā himself wrote a learned commentary on *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* a little after this and at Kanauj Lakshmidhara wrote *Vyavahāra-kalpataru* under the patronage of Govindachandra. The three verses at the end of each section of the *Mitāksharā* praise to the skies the rare combination of the three great items the most beautiful city Kalyan, the most learned pandit viz. Vijnāneśvara and the most powerful monarch Vikrama "ruling from the Himalayas to Rameshwar and from the eastern to the western ocean".

Vikramānka was succeeded in A. D. 1126 (25 or 27) by his son Someśvara III who was as great a monarch as his father but who was greater than he in one respect, being a learned man himself. His work *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashitārtha-Chintāmaṇi* is a compendium of many sciences, politics, military art, horse and elephant rearing, poetry, dialectics, music, astronomy; in short all sciences which lead to the happiness of man. In astronomy he gave the *Dhruvānkas* (constants to be added) for calculations of planets for Friday the first of Chaitra Śaka 1051, which shows that the work was composed in the fifth year of his reign. Coming after a long reign he must be taken to have been a grown-up man when he came to the throne and he naturally ruled for 11 years only.

Someśvara was succeeded by his son Jagadekamalla in 1138 and he was succeeded by his brother Tailapa II in 1150 A.D. The power of the Chālukya line now declined and Tailapa's commander-in-chief Vijjala, a Kalachūri, rebelled against him. Vijjala was assisted by a feudatory king of Kolhapur named Vijayārka and also a Kākatiya king of independent Telingana. Tailapa was taken prisoner but liberated. After a few years during which he was almost held a prisoner in Kalyan, he left the capital and retired to Annigeri in Dharwad district where he ruled for a time over a limited extent of territory, while Vijjala usurped the Chālukya power and ruled at Kalyan. In 1162 A. D. he again attacked Tailapa II driving him southwards to Banavāsi, and declared his independence. Of this Kalachūri usurpation we will speak separately.

When the Kalachūri power declined, Vijjala being assassinated, the Lingāyat sect rising in rebellion against him, Someśvara, a son of Tailapa II, regained the Chālukya kingdom and established himself at Annigeri in 1182 A. D. with the assistance of a loyal feudatory named Brahmā (I. A. II). The Yādavas of Devagiri and the Yādavas of Dvāra-Samudra were, however, rising to power and they attacked Brahmā. Viraballāla of the Hoyasala line defeated Brahmā and the Western Chālukya power was finally supplanted by the Yādavas. Nothing is heard about Someśvara after Śaka 1111 or 1189 A. D.

Minor branches of the Chālukyas must have ruled in several places in Mahārāshṭra and one such ruled in the Konkan, where a grant has been found of a Chālukya king come from Kalyan. And Maratha families of the name of Chālke are still found in the Ratnagiri district. The Dubal family of Karhad, however, though Chālukya, belongs to the Northern Chālukya clan with the Bhāradvāja gotra as stated already in Vol. II.

The later Chālukyas have left so many inscriptions and these have been known from so early a date (Walter Elliot of Madras Civil Service presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of London copies of 595 inscriptions of the kings of Southern India in 1835, J. R. A. S. IV), that their history has been well told by many an able scholar since long; notably by Sir Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet. And in the above summary we have closely followed the account given by the for-

mer in his Early History of the Deccan; we have added only a few remarks of our own and some interesting new facts. It is really impossible to study all the inscriptions which Kielhorn has given in his Southern Inscriptions list under the later Chālukyas of Kalyan, as even these are so many as 175 from No. 140 to No. 315. But we think that the history of the later Chālukyas has long been well traced out by scholars and there are very few points in dispute regarding them except perhaps the question whether they were Maratha or Karnātak kings, a distinction without a difference.

GENEALOGY OF THE LATER CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYAN.

(Bhandarkar in Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I Part II and Kielhorn's genealogies E. I. VIII)

I Tailapa Nūrmadi Āhavamalla Raṇarāga (973-997 A. D.)

Insc. S 895, 902, 4, 11, 19

II Satyāśraya (997-1008 A. D.)
Insc. 924, 30.

Daśavarman (Vaśovarman)

III Vikramāditya I Tribhuvanamalla
(1009-1018 A. D.) Insc. S 930

IV Jayasinha Jagadekamalla
(1018-1040 A. D.) Insc. S 940, 41, 44,
46, 50, 55, 57 & 62

V Someśvara I Āhavamalla (1040-1068 A. D.)

VI Someśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla
(1068-1076 A. D.) Insc. S 993, 96, 77.

VII Vikarmāditya II Tribhuvana-
malla (1076-1125 A. D.) Insc. S
999, 1001, 4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20 &c.

VIII Someśvara III (1126-1138 A. D.)*

Insc. S 1051, 52

IX Jagadekamalla Pratāpachandra
(1138-1150 A. D.) Insc. S 1161, 64,
66, 69, 73

X Tailapa II Nurmadi*
Trailokyamalla
(1150-1182 A. D.) Insc. S 1076, 77

XI Someśvara IV Tribhuvanamalla
(1182-1187 A. D.) Insc. S 1106, 1111.

* Kielhorn mentions here the brother of Vikramāditya Jayasinha and his son Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya and also a son of his own Jayakarna who ruled subordinately from 1087 to 1117 A. D. and died before his father.

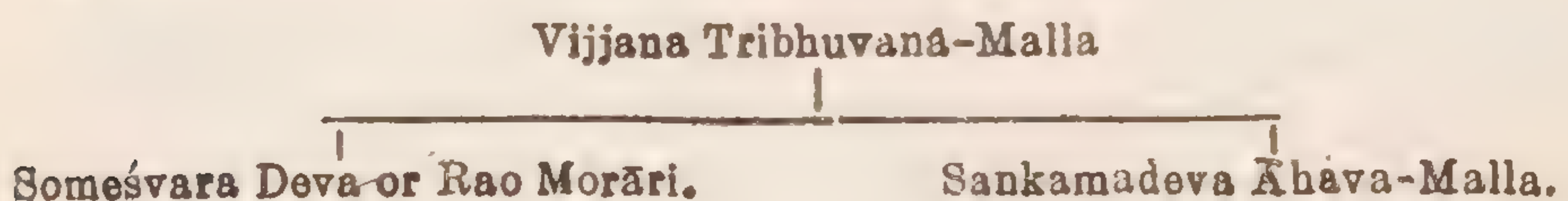
II. KALACHŪRIS OF KALYAN.

The history of these kings may be given in brief as they did not rule long and were practically usurpers. Vijjana (Bijjala) was a Kalachūri feudatory. The Kalachūris of Tripura usually gave their daughters to the Deccan kings and he must have been a descendant of a minor chief who had some Jaghir granted to him as a relation of some Chālukya queen. In a grant published in A. S. Western India No. 10, he is described as a Mahāmandaleśvara under Jagadeka-Malla. Becoming powerful as commander-in-chief, he set aside his master and declared himself king of Kalyan in about 1162 A. D. (or 1159). He was, however, murdered in a religious feud. He had a Brahmin minister named Basava who founded a new sect called Lingayat, more in opposition to Jains than to the Brahmins. The details of this schism we will give in our religious survey chapter later. Vijjana was a Jain and persecuted the Jangamas (religious recluses of the Lingayats). The actual circumstances of this quarrel cannot be given as diametrically opposite accounts are given by Jains and Lingayats. It is difficult to determine the truth; nor is it necessary for purposes of general history. It is certain that Vijjana was murdered in 1167 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Soma (Someśvara or Sovideva). His queen made a grant to Brahmins which he confirmed (I. A. X p. 183). He ruled till 1178 A. D., when he was succeeded by his son Sankama. He has left some inscriptions. In 1183 power was wrested from him by the dispossessed Chālukya king Someśvara as related before. The Kalachūri kings thus ruled from about 1160 to 1184 or about 24 years only. But their reign is signalised by the rise of the Lingayat sect and in their time Jainism declined among the Vaiśyas of the Deccan and Buddhism entirely disappeared; the Vaiśyas now in the S. M. country being generally Lingayats (Bombay Gazetteer Vol. 1 part II p. 288).

Of the social and religious transformation of Hindu society which began under these and previous kings in the Deccan as

also in the whole of India and of the progress and then decline of Jainism in the south, we will speak at length in the last book in which a general survey of the condition of the country will, as usual, be taken.

J. R. A. S. IV (1837) states (p. 19) that the Kalachūris derived their descent from one Santarasa who according to the Jain guru of Malkhed was the Mahāmandaleśvara of Kalyan itself, born in the family of the Kalachūris of Kālanjarapura (described in chapter 6). It gives the genealogy from Vijjana eighth descendant of Santarasa as follows: —



CHAPTER XIII.

THE EASTERN GANGAS OF TRIKALINGA AND ORISSA.

During this sub-period of Hindu Indian history, a new kingly line came to power in the Kalinga country. The Eastern Gangas of Trikalinga are treated by Kielhorn as a Northern India line properly enough, though Kalinga (modern districts of Vizagapattam and Ganjām) is by race and language a southern country. But from the most ancient times, Anga, Vanga and Kalinga are always leagued together, as Bihar and Bengal or Orissa are leagued together in modern history. Kalinga was, however, in very ancient days taken possession of by Aryan invaders and though in prehistoric times it was considered a sin for Aryans to visit, much more to reside in the country, from before the days of Aśoka and even in the days of the Brāhmanas, Aryans came in numbers to settle therein. Aśoka conquered the country with great effort, killing a lakh of people and the country became Buddhist. The country consisted of three parts even in the days of Pliny and hence probably arose the name Trikalinga (Vizagapattam Gazetteer p. 26). This fashion of prefixing a number to names of southern countries may be seen in the mention of three Mahārāshtras, seven Konkāṇas and Trairājya Pallavas (Vol. I p. 286). What these three parts were it is difficult to state. They probably meant 1 Kalinga proper, consisting of the East Coast Districts of Ganjām, Vizagapattam and Godāvari 2 Āndhra the territory above the Eastern Ghats and 3 perhaps Odra or Orissa to the north of the Mahānadi, Vengi being considered distinct from Trikalinga (Vol. I p. 304). Till about the end of the ninth century Kalinga was certainly under the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi whose capital lay to the south of the Godāvari. The common people of the country were Dravidians and these and even the incoming Aryans then spoke and now speak the non-Aryan language called Āndhra or Telugu.

The Eastern Gangas who rose to power in the beginning of the 11th century, A. D., in their inscriptions, state that they

originally came from the south (Kolāhala town in Gangavādi J. Bengal LXV part I p. 237) and were long established in the country. Taking advantage of the downfall of the Vengi Chālukyas about this time before the rising Chola power, the Eastern Gangas became independent under Vajrahasta. His son Rājarāja was married to Kūpasundarī daughter of Rājendra, a most powerful Chola king who practically destroyed Vengi power. Their son was Anantavarman Choda-Ganga, probably called so because he was descended from Gangas and Cholas. He was the most powerful king of this family, as usual the third and also as usual he reigned long. Inscriptions of these kings have been found and as the Gangas in a sense inherited the power and the system of government of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi, their inscriptions are very definite and always give the Śaka era of the inscription as also the exact periods of rule of the several kings. Nay they even give the exact date, day, month and year of the coronation of the last or most important king. And even the gotra of the family with detailed descent from the moon is given in their inscriptions. There is thus no indefiniteness about these kings or their dates and we proceed to give their history as deduced from their inscriptions. Unfortunately the praises of kings are as usual fulsome and without much historical detail. But there are a few references to contemporaneous kings and from these some light is thrown on the general history of Hindu India.

The first important king who rose to power as stated above in Trikalinga was Vajrahasta II. His grant dated 1058 A. D. published in E. I. IV p. 175-189 gives full details about this family. It belonged to the lunar race and had the Ātreya gotra. The original ancestor who gave his name to the family was Gāngeya (not Bhīshma). It obtained power in Kalinga through the favour of Śiva named Gokarna whose temple was on the Mahendra mountain. The family was first feudatory, endowed with the five sounding instruments. It was divided into five branches which united sometime about the ninth century A. D. Vajrahasta who was crowned in 1038 A. D. is first styled Paramabhattachāraka etc. showing that he was the first independent king. He was a Parama Māheśvara or devout devotee of Śiva, as usual with the kingly families of

the time. It seems that he defeated both Vengi and Orissa kings. He ruled for 30 years. He has left some inscriptions two of which have been mentioned against his name by Kielhorn. His inscription dated 1058 is chiefly in prose and very terse and gives the exact time with not only the year, month &c. but the exact *lagna* and the position of the moon and other planets at the auspicious moment of coronation. He issues the grant from Kalinga-nagara which has been identified with the place now named Mukhalingam in the Pārlākimedi Taluka of the Ganjam District some miles distant from the sea.

Vajrahasta was succeeded by his son Rājarāja in 1068 A. D. He ruled for eight years. In an inscription of his son Avantivarman (I. A. XVIII p. 166) we are told that he assisted Vijayāditya of Vengi against the Chola king as also Utkala (against probably the Sena king). Eastern Chālukya history given in Vol. I (p. 310) shows Vijayāditya ruling from 1043 to 1078. Before him there is shown an interregnum of 27 years which probably gave the opportunity to these Gangas of Kalinga to assume independence. In an inscription of the Brahmin feudatory Vanarāja of Rājarāja (E. I. IV p. 314) it is stated that Vanarāja first fought with Chola (probably in assisting Vijayāditya) and then conquered Vengi and plundered it, killing one Dānārṇava. This inscription is dated 1075 A. D. and Rājarāja appears to have ruled till 1076.

Rājarāja was married to Rūpasundarī a daughter of the great Chola king Rājendra but this did not prevent his fighting with Cholas for protecting Vengi. Anantavarman son of Rājarāja and Rūpasundarī succeeding Rājarāja became, as said above, the greatest king of this line. He has left many inscriptions (Kielhorn mentions four against his name, Genealogies E. I. VIII). The inscription dated 1080 noted above (I. A. XVIII p. 166) is most detailed. It mentions that Rājarāja fought against Dramila (Chola) and protected Vijayāditya. Anantavarman also himself set up Vengi in the east and Utkala in the west and thus set up two pillars of victory in two directions. Cholas allege that they conquered Kalinga at this time but it does not appear to be likely. Anantavarman is better known as Chodaganga a name which we have explained above. His coronation year is given as 1076 A. D. with

exact details about the auspicious moment, and he made a grant on that account (I. A. XVIII p. 163) and there are three more grants of his dated 1081, 1118 and 1135 published in the same I. A. XVIII in one of which he makes a grant to a Śiva temple built by his father and hence named Rājarājesvara.

In the long detailed copperplate inscription published in Bengal J. R. A. S. LXV part I p. 240, it is stated that Chodaganga eventually conquered and annexed Utkala or Orissa and thereby got land, treasures, 1000 elephants, 10,000 horses etc. as from the churning of the ocean of Utkala.* This seems to show that at this time the Kesari dynasty ended in Orissa. It is further stated that Chodaganga built the present great temple of the god Jagannātha "who created and is coextensive with the whole world, a temple where even Lakshmi was glad to reside leaving her father's home" (V. 28). Chodaganga in his inscription calls himself Parama Vaishnava. This change of worship shows that the Vishnu cult was now becoming supreme not only in Kalinga but also in Orissa and a little later in Bengal where Lakshmanasena also became a Parama Vaishnava. Of this rise and spread of Vaishnavism we will speak in detail in our religious survey chapter.

In this long inscription of 105 long-metred verses besides the last prose portion, Chodaganga is praised the highest. He is further said to have defeated a Mandāra king whose capital was destroyed and who fled beyond the Ganges. Who this king was cannot be determined. Chodaganga reigned long described as 70 years in this inscription; but the coronation year of his son Kāmārṇava is given in this inscription as 1064 Ś or 1142 A. D. showing that Chodaganga ruled sixty-six years (1076-1142). His son's rule extended over 10 years only. Coming after a long reign his reign was naturally short as he must have been quite an elderly person when he came to the throne. In 1152 A. D. he was succeeded by his half-brother Rāghava who also ruled for a short time i. e. 15 years. He was succeeded by a third son of Chodaganga

* निर्मथ्योत्कलसिन्धुराजमपरं गङ्गेश्वरः प्राप्तवानेकः कीर्तिसुधाकरं... लक्ष्मीं धरण्या समम् ॥

माद्यद्दन्तिसहस्रमश्वनियुतं रत्नान्यसंख्यानि वै तं सिंधोः किमियं प्रकर्षमथवा भूयस्तदुन्माथिना ॥

named Rājarāja in 1167; he probably came to the throne young and ruled 25 years when he was succeeded in 1192 by a fourth son of Chodaganga named Aniyanka Bhīma. Customary praise is bestowed on all these kings in this long inscription (Bengal LXV part II) and they are generally said to have defeated their enemies. Their coronation dates with auspicious conjunctions are, however, not given and this probably shows that their reigns were not very important. Aniyanka Bhīma or Ananga Bhīma naturally reigned only 10 years. Orissa seems to be now completely under the Gangas as a Gautama-gotra lunar-race Kshatriya feudatory of Orissa named Svapneśvara fought many battles for Aniyanka Bhīma and built the Svapneśvara-Meghavāhana (Śiva) temple in Orissa during his reign and recorded a Praśasti there (Bengal J. R. A. S. LXVI p. 18).

Aniyanka Bhīma was succeeded in 1202 by his son Rājarāja who ruled for 17 years. Rājarāja is the last king we will notice in this chapter, though many kings ruled after him for about two centuries more and the last inscription we have of this line is one of Narasinha dated 1384 A. D. referred to above as the long inscription in LXV Bengal (page 260). When and how this dynasty fell does not clearly appear but the country was probably seized by another family in the days of the Bahamani kings as will be stated later on.

We may add a few general remarks about this dynasty. It was a lunar race dynasty and in its inscriptions following the Eastern Chālukyas, a detailed genealogy from the moon is given wherein Gāngeya is said to be a son of Turvasu, second son of Yayāti. The Turvasus along with the Yadus are mentioned in the R̥igveda (Vol. II p. 288), but they are said therein to have finally become extinct or merged with the Pāñchālas. In the Ganga inscriptions it is said that Turvasu was childless and obtained a son by propitiating the Ganges. The southern families Chola, Pāndya, Kerala and Kola are stated, in the Hari-vanśa also, to be descendants of Turvasu to whom in the division of earth, Yayāti assigned the south-east. Chola, Pāndya and other southern kingdoms are of ancient date; but that they do not claim descent from Yādavas shows that they are distinct from the Mahārāstra Aryans. The Gangas also in their inscrip-

tions claim descent from Turvasu and belong to the southern mixed Aryan group.

These Gangas were, however, thoroughly orthodox and of the Vedic religion. They were previously worshippers of Śiva. They patronised Śiva worship in Āndhra which is even now predominantly Śaivite. The later kings were, however, Vaishnavas probably from inspiration from Orissa which was also previously Śaivite but in this period became the home of Vaishnavism.

These kings were as learned and patrons of learned men as kings in other countries at this time in India. Though the names of noted Sanskrit authors in their court are not yet known, we may accept the praise bestowed on these kings notably on Rājarāja and on Anantavarman Chodaganga in this respect viz. that Śri and Sarasvatī both resided amicably in Rājarāja's mouth and that Chodaganga was learned in the Vedas and the Śāstras and even in architecture and other fine arts as if Sarasvatī herself was his nurse.* His taste for architecture is immortalised in the Jagannath temple in Puri. He was in this way a true follower of Bhoja of Malwa. The Telugu language developed under the Gangas also and we actually find Telugu in an inscription of Rājarāja (E. I. IV p. 314). The Lānchhana or crest of these kings was a bull.

ORISSA

We will conclude this chapter with a brief reference to Orissa which practically formed part of Trikalinga in this sub-period. Odra along with Paundra was Dravida or non-Āryan in ancient times and the home still of Śabarās, as also of Khonds, and of Bhuryas and Imayas, of Utkalas and Mekalas (Cuttuck Gazetteer p. 17). It was, however, early settled by Aryans but these Brahmins and Kshatriyas in Buddhist times became degraded and new Brahmins and Kshatriyas came in the days of the Kesari kings and established Śiva worship in place of Buddhist worship introduced by Aśoka.

* धात्री तस्य सरस्वती समभवन्तु न चेत्पीतवान् तत्सारस्वतमार्यबालकतमः श्रीचोडगङ्गेश्वरः ॥
तादृग्वेदमतिः कथं निपुणता शास्त्रेषु तादृक्कथं तादृक् काव्यकृतिः कथं परिणतिः शिल्पेषु
तादृक् कथम् ॥ (J. R. A. S. Bengal LXV p. 331)

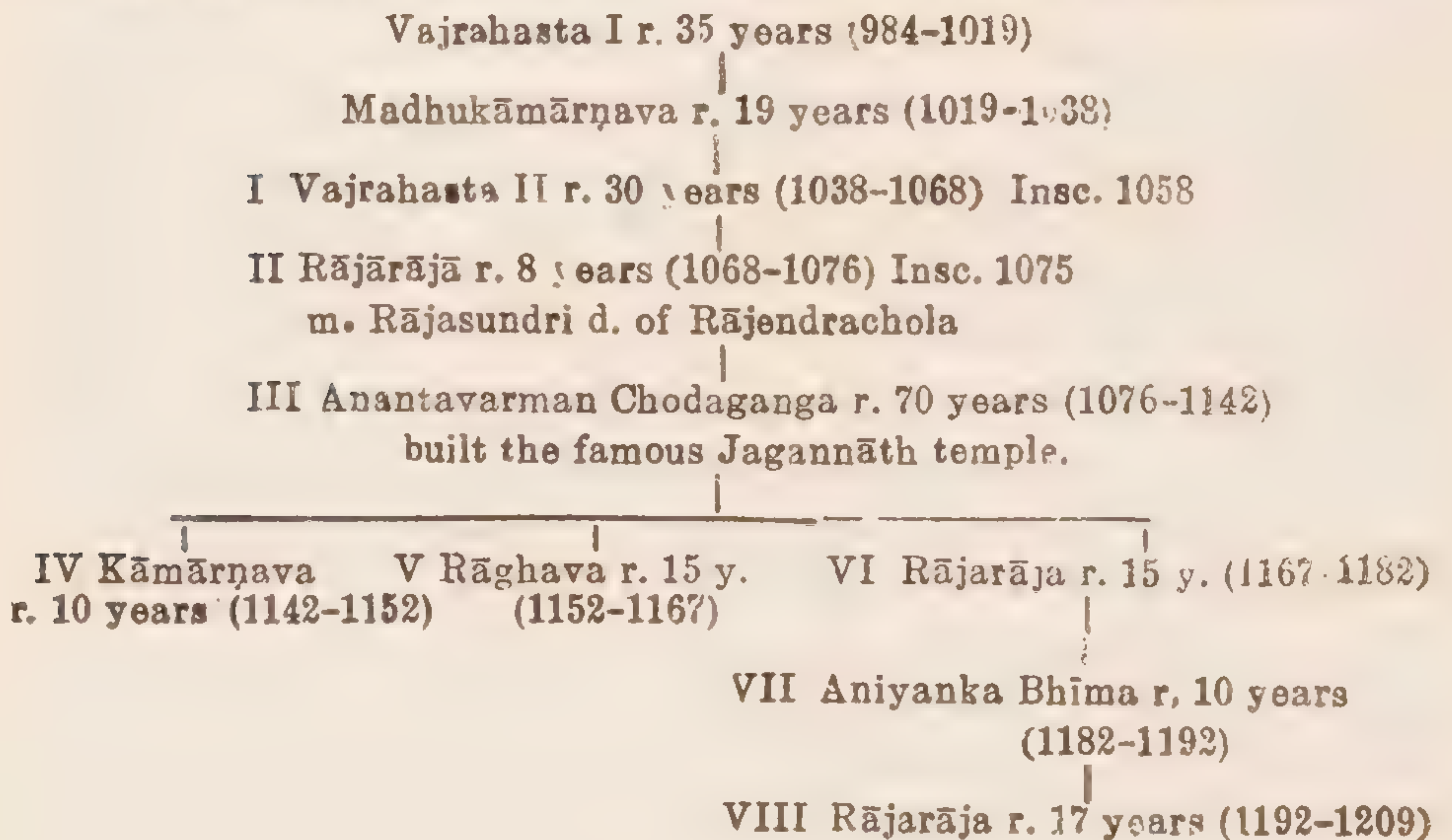
The history of these Kesari kings is given in Vol. I chapter 12. They ruled from the 8th to 12th century. The Cuttuck Gazetteer states that some persons doubt the existence of these Kesari kings as no epigraphic evidence is found about them. But the Gazetteer adds that this doubt no longer can be entertained as two inscriptions of Udyota Kesari have been found, one in a cave in the Khandagiri hill and the other in the Brahmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara. M. Sylvan Levi has also pointed out that in a Japanese version of a Buddhist Sūtra sent by a Buddhist monk in 796-798 as from a king of Utkala to a Japanese Emperor the king's name is given as Parama Māheśvara Mahārāja Śubhākara Kesari (Cuttuck Gazetteer p. 22). These are new facts which are found in this Gazetteer and though relating to history given in Vol. I we record them here for the sake of completing that history. The Gazetteer gives further details about the temples built at Bhuvaneśvar by these Kesari kings. These stately temples exhibit the fine architecture of the time and the ample resources of these kings.

From Chola records we learn that Orissa was conquered by Rājendra in 1021 but the conquest was not permanent. The Eastern Gangas who became powerful hereafter, however, conquered and permanently annexed Orissa and an inscription of Chodaganga dated 1118 A. D. states that he was complete master of Orissa. The famous temple of Jagannāth, as already stated, was built by him (probably about 1150) as also a temple named Gangeśvara after him at Jaipur. Rāghava son of Chodaganga was defeated by Vijayasena of Bengal (Gazetteer p. 24) but it is doubted if this is the Rāghava defeated by him, as this Rāghava's rule extended from 1156 to 1170 and Vijayasena could not have reigned so late. We have already noticed the building of the grand temple of Megheśvara at Bhuvaneśvara by a brother-in-law of the next king (Aniyanka Bhīma 1193-1198 ditto).

Orissa was invaded by armies of the Sultans of Bengal (Lakhnauti) and in an inscription in a Jagannāth temple in Chateśvara in Cuttuck District, Viṣṇu a Brahmin minister of Bhīma is said to have fought and defeated Yavanas. The Tabakat and other Mahomedan histories mention many raids by Bengal Mahomedan Sultans into Orissa and even Firoz

Tughlaq of Delhi attacked it. The kings of Vijayānagar as also the Bahamani kings attacked Orissa and its Gajapati kings. At last in 1435 on the death of the last Ganga king, his minister Kapilendradeva with the aid of the Bahamani king Adilshah II seized the kingdom and founded a new solar dynasty (Cuttuck Gazetteer p. 25).

GENEALOGY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF TRIKLINGA.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE CHOLAS OF TANJORE.

It is a phenomenon worthy of historical note that in the several divisions of India, forceful persons appeared at about the same time and established new kingdoms or raised the old to glory at the beginning of this sub-period of Mediaeval Hindu Indian history (except unfortunately in the Madhyadeśa or Kanauj). Thus Mūlarāja founded the Chālukya kingdom in Gujarat in 974 A. D. and Munja established the glory of the Paramāras in Malwa in 974 A. D. Tailapa founded the later Chālukya kingdom in the Deccan in the same year and the Chola king Rājarāja I raised the Chola kingdom of South India to power and fame in 985 A.D. While Mahipāla again raised the tottering Pāla power in Bengal in 980 A.D., Dhanga established the Bundelkhand renown for valour in the battle of 980 fought with Sabuktigin who founded the young Ghazni kingdom itself in 977 A. D. The appearance of powerful men of energy and ambition in the last quarter of the tenth century A. D. and at about the same time is striking and leads to inferences which are outside the scope of history.

Of such forceful men, Rājarāja Chola was not the least. He was the successor of Āditya Chola who had already done much to raise the Chola power by freeing it from Pallava dominion. Rājarāja I by his energy and valour raised the Tamil land or South India as we may call it, to the position of a South Indian empire and the Cholas enjoyed this position for nearly a century not only in South India but over a large portion of the adjoining territory. The history of this Chola kingdom (which properly falls within the period treated of in this volume) is well told by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar as also by Dr. Smith in his Early History of India and we give here a short summary of it from these authors, with a few remarks of our own, especially because the records of these Chola kings, numerous as they are, are solely in Tamil and Kanarese and thus are beyond our personal study of them.

The Tamil country or South India is a distinct part of the Indian continent, in climate, soil, products, population and language. It is called Dravida in ancient Sanskrit literature, Dramila being another form often used in inscriptions. The people are Dravidian par excellence by race as the people of the Panjab are Aryans by race par excellence. Yet Tamil civilization was high in most ancient times and the Aryan immigrants being few were converted into Dravadians by language and even by race. The three kingly families Chola, Pāndya and Kerala are noted even in the Mahābhārata and the Harivamśa and are said to be descended from Turvasu son of Yayāti. The country is fertile but hot, plain in the east and mountainous in the west and produced even then certain articles which were its own viz. pearls, pepper and beryl prized in the western world which brought Roman gold to the land in abundance (Smith). We may add a fourth article viz. cotton and the Tamil country produced fine cotton cloth even in the days of the Mahābhārata; for Chola and Pāndya kings are said therein to have brought presents of extremely fine cotton cloth to Yudhishthira at the time of his Rājasūya or Imperial coronation. The Tamil country was thus prosperous and known from of old and Aryan, Buddhist and Jain religions strove for mastery here and the same intensity of religious animosity prevailed in this sub-period (as we shall show in our chapter on religious survey) as prevailed in ancient time and as even continues to this day.

In this old Dravida country and in this old Chola family, Rājarāja I came to the throne in 985 A. D. Like all ambitious kings he first paid attention to the raising and maintaining of an efficient army and then expanding his territory by the aid of that force. He trained up the Vellakurais or local bowmen as Shivaji trained up the Mawlas and he had several regiments of these named after his own titles (Aiyar's Historical Sketch of Ancient Deccan p. 245). He also had an elephant corps and infantry (in which Telugu people were chiefly enrolled). He kept also select body-guards like Mahmud. He ruled in Tanjore and from thence extended his dominion south, west and north, by conquering Pāndya, Kerala and Pallava kings. He even destroyed the Chera fleet on the west coast. From

these conquests he got immense booty in gold, silver and pearls which is not incredible. He also conquered Gangavādi, Kudamalai (Coorg), Nolambavādi (Bellary) and Vengi of the Eastern Chālukyas and even Kalinga. These conquests meant, in our view, not annexation but mere subjugation of the territories. For in Vengi he established Śaktivarman an Eastern Chālukya king as his feudatory. He gave his daughter to the next successor Vimalāditya (See Vol. I p. 310); and this relationship was continued as Vimala's son and also grandson married Chola princesses. This sort of marriage is peculiar to the southerners who like to marry a daughter of the maternal uncle (a marriage prohibited by the Smṛitis) even from the days of Śrīkrishna and Rukmiṇī, of Arjuna and Subhadra. Rājarāja also conquered Ceylon and assigned a part of its revenues to the maintenance of the Rājarājeśvara (Śiva) temple he hereafter built at Tanjore, a temple which has perpetuated his name in South India (Aiyar p. 248). He finally attacked Satyāśraya, Western Chālukya king and defeated him signally with a force the number of which is exaggerated to 9 lakhs of men and a cruelty which extended to the slaughtering of women, children and Brahmins, a thing unheard of in Hindu conflicts. This conquest certainly added to his renown, power and wealth and enabled him to build the superb and stupendous Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore and also other structures elsewhere which testify to the high skill in sculpture and architecture of South Indian workmen and builders.

But Rājarāja I was not only a great conqueror and a great builder but also a great administrator. South India is known from ancient times for its irrigation works but the great works of irrigation from the Kauveri were built by Rājarāja I. He also surveyed and settled the country in 1011 A. D. The survey and settlement was so minute that "even $\frac{1}{52,428,800,000}$ of a Veli was measured and assessed for revenue" (Aiyar p. 249). This establishes the reputation of the revenue administrators and mathematicians of those days in South India a reputation still possessed by its administrators and mathematicians. Dr. Smith mentions a revenue survey undertaken by a successor of Rājarāja in 1086 A. D., the date of the Domesday register in England (E. H. I. p. 486 3rd Edn).

As a devotee of Śiva Rājarāja loved the stirring hymns composed in Tamil by Śaiva saints like Appar and others (63 in number) and he set up their images and made provision for the recitation of their hymns in the Rājarājeśvara temple. It may be further stated that he set up the images of his father and his mother (who burnt herself with her husband's dead body as Sati) both of whom were revered as pious persons throughout the Tamil land.

Lastly Rājarāja was a patron of music and dancing and he invited and settled in Tanjore female dancers as also singers, pipers and drummers. Nāṭyaśāstra was specially studied and practised in music-halls built for the purpose. Colleges were also built and learned teachers were appointed to them and they taught literature and Śāstra to students in these and in temples (Aiyar p. 251).

Rājarāja was extremely religious, it need not be told, and he made many gifts to Brahmins and temples and his queens and officers also made such gifts. But the gift ceremony of Tulādāna made by him deserves a special mention viz. the weighing of the king in gold and its gift to Brahmins, a mode of gift which appears to have become very popular in this sub-period as it is frequently mentioned even in inscriptions of Kanauj and Trikalunga kings. It is further related that Rājarāja's chief queen passed through a golden cow on that occasion which thus multiplied the gift of gold to Brahmins (a manner of gift rarely heard or thought of). Of course Brahmins who are real Brahmins and who pass a religious life in teaching or worshipping deserve to be cared for by the state and such gifts served the purpose of modern educational and ecclesiastical endowments.

The administration of the country under Rājarāja was detailed and civilized and registers were duly kept and supervisors appointed for all state business. Aiyar has not noticed, however, the elaborate village system of panchāyat administration which obtained in South India particularly and which is noticed by Dr. Smith who admires it and observes that it is a pity that it is no longer in existence. The details of this system we will try to notice in our chapter on the general survey of civil administration later on.

Rājarāja was succeeded by his son Rājendra in 1014 and he was a greater king, if possible, than his father and ruled long till 1044 A. D. He made more extensive conquests; he not only reconquered the rebellious Pāndya and Kerala kings, but annexing their dominions appointed viceroys called Chola-Pāndya or Chola-Kerala (terms which show that the viceroys still ruled for the rightful Pāndya or Kerala). He also again defeated the Western Chālukyas (under Jayasinha III) and also the Ceylon king. Emboldened by these successes it is said that he led his conquering expedition right up to the Ganges subjugating Kalinga, Bengal (Mahipāla I), Indraratha (?), Kośala and even Kanauj. He took the name of Gangai-Kond to signalise this extensive conquest and founded a city near Trichonopoly by name Gangai-Konda Cholapuram, the ruins of which in the Trichonopoly District are still admired, together with a vast artificial lake built by him with an embankment 16 miles long and with sluices at convenient places for irrigation (Smith E. H. I. p. 466). He even had a strong navy built and crossing the bay of Bengal conquered a part of Burma. Although these feats may have been exaggerated in his inscriptions, it cannot be doubted that he held extensive sway in the south-east. For even Al-Beruni mentions that south-east of Prayag almost the whole country (the present Madras Presidency and eastern parts of the C. P. and the Nizam's dominions) was under the Cholas. Such extensive sway could not have lasted long and we actually find Trikalunga and Chedi establishing their power about 1040 A. D. in the territory to the north of the Krishna.

Rājendra was a warrior and also a learned man as the title pandit is found prefixed to his name in inscriptions. He is said to have sent an embassy to China and he certainly had a large fleet. Rājendra is said to have brought Northern India Brahmins and settled them in South India, a measure adopted by all religiously inclined kings in eastern and southern India of this time such as Ballālasena and others. The Chola empire attained its highest glory under Rājendra who was as usual, the third great king in this line.

Rājendra was succeeded by his son Rājādhirāja who was a powerful king no doubt but rather cruel in his treatment of

rebellious feudatories. He killed a Ceylon king and had a Chera king trampled under the feet of an elephant. It is not necessary to give details, but this shows that decline had set in. He defeated Āhavamalla (Someśvara) once but in the next battle of Koppam in 1052 A. D. he was killed on the battle-field. He was immediately succeeded by his younger brother Rājendradeva who was present and who was crowned on the battle-field itself. This is the only battle we know of in Hindu history wherein the death of the commanding king did not lead to defeat. The younger brother Rājendradeva by his bravery retrieved the fortune of the day and eventually conquered Āhavamalla who is said to have fled across the Tungabhadra. It may be stated that the Cholas and the later Chālukyas of this period and the Pallavas and Early Chālukyas of the first sub-period (600-800), like France and Germany, were neighbours who took delight in constant fighting with each other and who by their bravery never gained advantage, one over the other, for any long time.

Rājendradeva ruled for about 10 years from 1052 to 1062 and he was succeeded by his brother Vira Rājendra who was also a capable ruler. Besides wars with the Pāndyas and Keralas, he had three successive fights with the Western Chālukyas, who divided empire over India south of the Nerbudda with the Cholas. The Deccan and South India kings usually attacked each other, though the Tungabhadra was their natural boundary and though they had no cause for quarrel except ambition. Vira Rājendra was successful for a time but in 1070 A. D. lost his life in a battle, being cursed, it is said, by the Jains of Belgola whom he had oppressed (Aiyar p. 262).

Mr. Aiyar's account ends with the reign of this king but we have to continue the account until the end of the 12th century. It is strange that Aiyar does not mention the fact recorded by Bilhana that Virarājendra gave his daughter to Vikramānka Chālukya. It seems certain that after Virarājendra's death in 1070, the succession was disputed and Vikramānka went and placed on the throne of Kanchi (not Tanjore?) his wife's brother named Adhirājendra. He was, however, after Vikrama's departure soon murdered and eventually the succession went to Rājendra Chola II a son of a daughter of Rājendra I married

to an Eastern Chālukya prince. This Rājendra had lived from his childhood at the Chola court and had even given up his paternal kingdom of Vengi on the death of his father in 1062 to his uncle. He, it is alleged, was adopted by Rājendra Gangai-Konda, (adoption among Kshatriyas of a daughter's son could not be valid). Whatever his claim, he may be said to have duly come to the throne and started a new Chola line called Chālukya-Chola by Smith. He came to the throne in 1074 A. D. (Smith assigns the four years from 1070 to 1074 to Adhirājendra the brother-in-law of Vikrama murdered); and he ruled vigorously for 48 years counting his reign from 1070, and his capital was Gangai-Konda-Cholapura. He is said to have defeated Anantavarman Chodaganga; but this defeat must have been an insignificant one, as we have seen that Chodaganga of Kalinga was a powerful king. This war is described in a Tamil poem Kalingatupparani (Gaurishankar's Tod p. 428 and I. A. XIX). The revenue settlement of Tamil country mentioned by Smith was carried out in his reign. His reign is also important for the fact that Rāmānuja the founder of the Śrivaishṇava philosophy flourished during his time. Of this and the death of Adhirājendra his predecessor which is attributed to a curse of this great saint we will speak at length in the chapter on religious survey. Here it will suffice to remark that here began the great feud between Śaivism and Vaishṇavism which has distracted Hinduism since that time and which for ever destroyed the unity of the Hindu religion which fortunately had subsisted through three centuries.

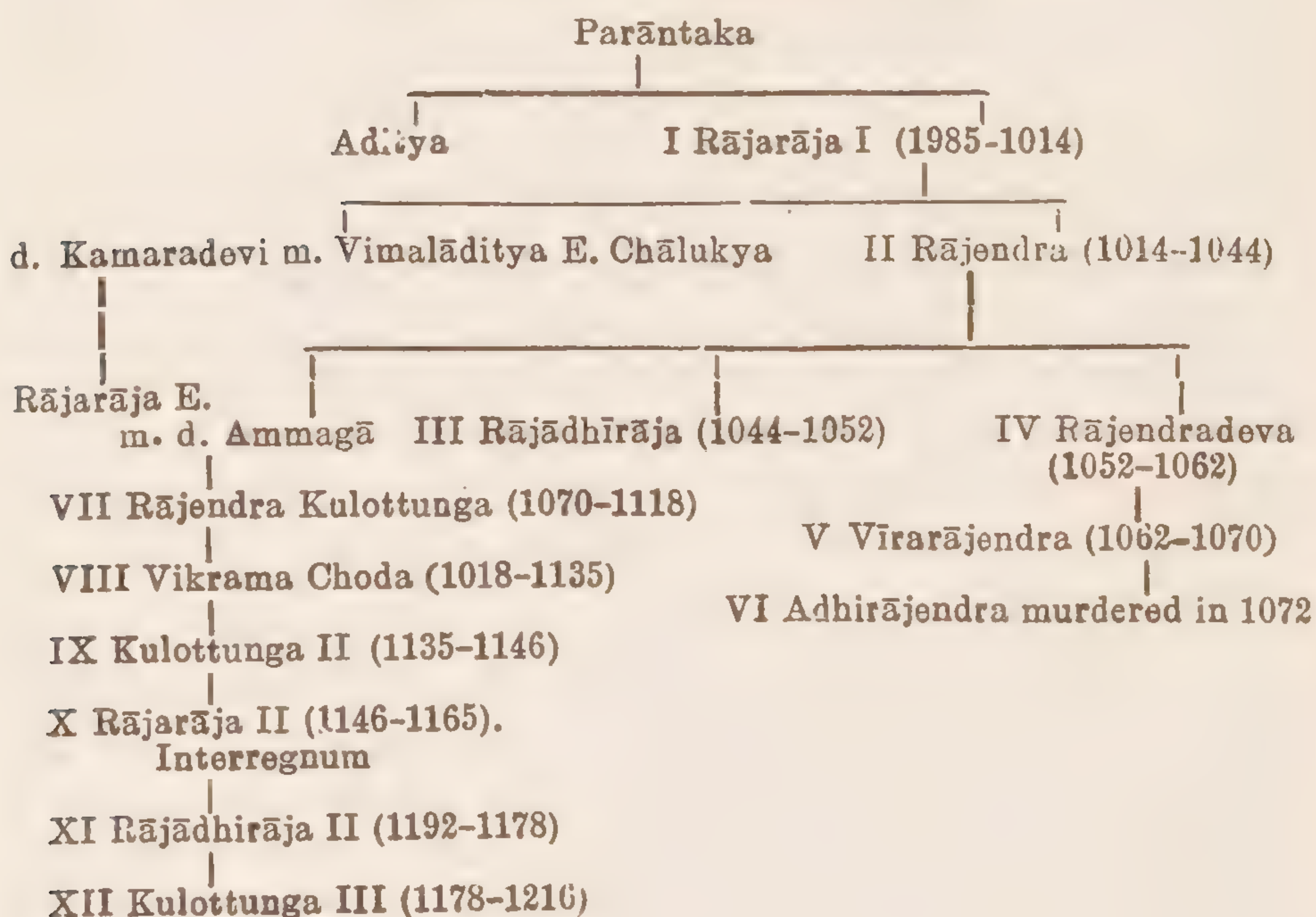
Rājendra II who took a new title Kulottunga was succeeded in 1118 by his son Vikrama Chola who was also a powerful king. He had his hereditary fights with the Chālukyas, the Pāndyas and the Kalingas and others and his exploits are celebrated in a special poem (J. A. XXII p. 142). He was succeeded in 1135 A. D. by Kulottunga II who reigned for 11 years and who was followed in 1145 by his son Rājarāja II who ruled 19 years. From 1165 to 1267 A. D. four more kings ruled viz: Rājādhirāja 1172, Kulottunga III 1178, Rājarāja III and Rājendra Choda III 1216 and the kingdom of the Cholas was subverted by the Pāndya king Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya. The final subjugation of South India or at least its dissolution by the Mahomedans

hap led later during the raids of Malik Kafur a general of Allauddin Khilji about 1310-11.

There are a few general observations to make on this Chola dynasty. The Cholas represent themselves in their inscriptions as solar-race Kshatriyas born in the line from Śibi. But as stated before, the Harivamśa represents Chola, Pāndya, and Kerala as born from Turvasu in the lunar line. These kings were Śaivites and it is to be regretted that about the time of the fall of the first Chola portion, the kings became bigotted and departing from the usual tolerant attitude of Hindu kings used their political power to suppress Jainism and Vaishnavism which was indeed a great blunder. The subject will be discussed fully later on. The ensign of the Cholas was a tiger. The Cholas struck many gold and silver coins which have been found.

GENEALOGY OF THE CHOLAS OF TANJORE.

(Gaurisankar's Tod pp. 425 and 426)



CHAPTER XV.

IMPORTANT FEUDATORY KINGDOMS OF SOUTHERN INDIA PART I.

The two great kingdoms to the south of the Nerbudda which were almost empires, viz. the Deccan kingdom of western Chālukyas and the south Indian kingdom of the Cholas have been described as also the independent Śilāhāra kingdom in Konkan on the west coast and the independent Eastern Ganga kingdom of Trikalanga on the east coast. Besides these important kingdoms which flourished in the third sub-period of Hindu history (1000-1200) there were some important feudatory kingdoms which rose to greater power in the 12th century A. D. than before, recording inscriptions and which became independent and powerful in the 13th century, which require to be noticed, though their history in the 13th century is outside the scope of this history and will not be dealt with in this volume. The fall of southern India in the beginning of the 14th century under Allauddin Khilji and his general Malik Kafur is so important as to require a separate volume for its treatment. The history of these kingdoms in the 12th century though they were then feudatories must, however, be given in this volume and we proceed to give a short sketch of that history in this chapter and the following.

1 YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

The first kingdom deserving notice is the Yādava kingdom of Devagiri (Daulatabad). Its founder is said by Hemādri to be Dridhaprahāra who founded a small kingdom at Chandrapuri or Chandor in the Nasik District in about 843 A. D. (Gaurishankar's Tod and Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part I). One of his descendants named Bhillama II was a powerful feudatory of Tailapa Chālukya of Kalyan. He fought bravely in the battle of Tailapa with Munja of Malwa in which Munja was taken prisoner. An inscription of his dated 1000 A. D. has been found. His son named Vesugi ruled after him and Vesugi was followed by Bhillama III who was married to a

daughter of Jayasiṅha III Chālukya and fought in several battles of his as his feudatory. After three intervening kings we come to Seunachandra who according to Hemādri's Praśasti assisted the famous king Parmādi Vikramāditya Chālukya in obtaining the throne of Kalyan. An inscription of his (dated 1069 A. D.) has been found. After seven successors one Bhillama IV son of Aparā Gāngeya assumed independence when Someśvara Chālukya after the rise of the Kalachūri intervening kings at Kalyan practically became powerless and Bhillama founded an independent kingdom in the north part of the Deccan and founding Devagiri made it his capital in 1187. A. D. Bhillama's dominion eventually extended from the Nerbudda to the Krishna and he had fights with many neighbouring kings especially with the Hoyasala Yādavas of the south whom we will presently describe. He died about 1191 probably in a battle with the Hoyasalas. His son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla and he had a great fight with the Kākatiya Āndhra king Rudra who was killed in battle and whose son Gaṇapati was taken prisoner. But he liberated the latter and placed him on the throne of the Ānuhras. Jaitugi was a learned man himself and a patron of learned men. The famous Deccan astronomer Bhāskarāchārya lived a little before his time as his son Lakshmidhara was the chief court-pandit of Jaitugi. He died about 1210 A. D. and he was succeeded by Singhana another powerful king of this line. We stop our account of the Yādavas of Devagiri with Singhana and leave their later history for later treatment, and also because that history is well-known. Eventually the kingdom was subverted by Mahomedans under Allaiddin.

2 KĀKATĪYAS OF WARANGAL.

The next kingdom to be noticed is the Āndhra Kākatiya kingdom to the east of Devagiri. The Kākatiyas claim to be solar-race Kshatriyas and they had a kingdom in Āndhra (above the Eastern Ghats) and their chief town was Annamakonda subsequently called Orungallu (Warangal). They were in the beginning, like the Yādavas of Chandod, feudatories of the Western Chālukyas. Their first independent king was Prola (son of Bela) and he began to reign about 1117 A. D. of which year an inscription of his has been found (Aiyar p. 277).

It is also dated 42 of the Chālukya Vikrama year which proves that this part of the country was till then subject to the Chālukyas. Prola ruled long till about 1160 and he is said to have defeated Taila III. He was succeeded by his son Rudra who certainly was a great king. He is said to have destroyed many hostile towns and settled the people therein at Orungallu. He built many temples and he patronised learned men. "His power was so great that all kings between Kānchi and the Vindhya sought his protection" (Aiyar-do). He was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādeva in about 1191 A. D. It is surmised by Aiyar that Mahādeva was killed in the battle with Jaitugi Yādava mentioned before. Certain it is that Gaṇapati son of Mahādeva began to rule in 1198 and he ruled brilliantly for so many as 62 years and many inscriptions of his time have been found including one in the 62nd year of his rule. He is said to have successfully fought with Chola, Kalinga, Seuṇa, Karnāṭa, Lāṭa and Velanādu. Of course his war with Seuṇa or Devagiri Yādavas was a natural and hereditary one, being between neighbours and was waged with alternate success. His latest inscription found is dated 1250 A. D. He left no son and his daughter Rudrammā ruled after him for 30 years. The last king was Pratāparudra (1316) the famous patron of poets in whose reign, Pratāparudriya a well-known work on poetics was written by Vaidyanātha and was dedicated to and named after him. The kingdom was eventually conquered by Mahomedans. The present state of Bastar in C. P. is ruled by chiefs who are said to be descendants of Kākatīyas (Gaurishankar p. 550).

3 HOYASALAS OF HALEBID.

The third important kingdom was that of the Hoyasala Yādavas of Halebid or Dvārasamudra, in the present Mysore state. It was also in the beginning a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyan (perhaps of the Rāshtrakūṭas also). The first important king was Vinayāditya whose inscription dated 1040 A. D. has been found (Gaurishankar's Tod p. 333). His son Erayanga had three sons, the eldest of whom Ballāla was a noted feudatory of Jayasinha III, Chālukya king. The chief town of these Yādavas was Belāpur (modern Belur) upto this time; but his successor Bettiga alias Vishṇuvardhana who was

the first powerful and independent king of this line made Dvārasamudra his capital. He acquired independence from such a powerful overlord as the famous Vikramānka of Kalyan, though he did not actually succeed in defeating the latter. But he defeated other neighbouring kings, the Gangas, the Kadambas, the Tuluvas and the Pāndyas. Many inscriptions of his time have been found dating from 1115 to 1138 A. D. (Gaurishankar). His reign is more famous for the support he gave to Rāmānuja and the spread of Vaishṇavism. He was converted to that faith by that saint and he built the famous Vishṇu temple at Dvārasamudra which excites admiration even now, and another magnificent temple at Belur also.

He was succeeded by his son Narasiṅha who ruled upto 1173 and he was succeeded by his son Vīra Ballāla. This was the greatest king of the line. He defeated Brahma general of the last Chālukya king Someśvara and he also defeated the Yādava king of Devagiri in 1191 A. D. and in effect annexing Kuntala divided the imperial sovereignty of Southern India with those Yādavas. He first assumed the title Mahārajādhirāja of an independent king. He died about 1220 after a long reign and he was succeeded by his son Narasinha. The Hoyasala power declined from his time, though the kingdom remained powerful for about a century more when it was conquered and devastated by Mahomedans under Malik Kafur about 1310 A. D.

4 PĀNDYAS OF MADURA.

The fourth kingdom which must be noticed though it remained feudatory throughout this sub-period is that of the Pāndyas famous from ancient times. The Pāndyas are mentioned with Cholas in the Mahābhārata and are also mentioned singly without their companions, the Cholas, in the Rāmāyaṇa. Kālidāsa mentions a Pāndya king alone and not Chola as competing in the svayamvara of Indumatī in his Raghuvamśa and mentions Uragapura as his capital. This capital together with Pāndya power was destroyed by Karikāla Chola from whose time (about 100 A. D.) the Pāndyas became subordinate to the Chola or other powers through many centuries. Their next capital was Madura, mentioned by Pliny. This fact

establishes that Kālidāsa flourished before Pliny i. e. in the first century B. C. as he mentions Uragapura and not Madura as the capital of the Pāndyas. This is, however, an incidental observation. The Pāndyas remained subordinate even in the present sub-period (1000-1200) the Chola king Rājarāja having established Chola empire in the south in the beginning of the 11th century. It is only in the 13th century that Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya became independent and established an extensive power (1251-1271). Kielhorn has given a connected genealogy of the Pāndyas from 1100 A. D. to 1567 A. D. but we think it unnecessary to give it here as the Pāndyas rose to power and assumed independence after 1200 A. D. Though Malik Kafur's invasion about 1300 shook Pāndya power, they continued to rule in the south of India (Madura and Tinnevely Districts) for a long time. They always derived a large revenue from the pearl fisheries in the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī river. With this short notice of the Pāndyas we turn to the Cheras or Keralas.

5 KERALAS OF TRAVANCORE.

The history of Kerala or Malabar and Travancore during this sub-period has been patiently found out and laid before the reader by P. Sunder Pillai, M. A. in I. A. XXIV (pp. 249-257) and we make no apology for giving from it select facts here. Kerala or Cherala means hilly country and included Malabar in the north and Travancore in the south, on the west coast of Southern India. The Kongu land is sometimes included in it viz. the present districts of Salem and Tinnevely but not naturally. In this corner of the south, as in the Himalayas in the north, the oldest Dravidian and Aryan races with their institutions and manners and religion are preserved yet as in a fossil form, from the Kanikar or hillman to the Nambudri the highest type of Aryan Brahmin (to which clan the famous Śankarāchārya belonged). Language, ethnology, social condition and marriage customs of this part are, therefore, worth studying, being untampered by any revolutions within or invasions without. (But this land of Nambudri Brahmins and Nair (Nāgara) Kshatriyas sent out a religious invasion under Śankara which subjugated the whole of India). The history of Kerala goes back to the days of the Mahābhārata and the

Rāmāyaṇa like that of the Eastern coast belonging to the Pāndyas with whom they are always allied in ancient Sanskrit works.

The present Travancore ruling dynasty is very old and official records give 35 generations to the present ruler from 1335 A. D. We have, therefore, to find the history of this dynasty before this period from inscriptions and Mr. Pillai has succeeded in evolving a tolerably clear account. It may be stated first that the alphabet in Travancore is different from the Sanskrit alphabet and is called Vattelatte or Chera-Pāndya and even the era of Travancore is distinct being called Kollam era, the first year of which corresponds to 825 A. D. The first king of Travancore whose name is mentioned in a stone record is Vīra Keralvarman. His date is 1135 A.D. He was a feudatory of Rājendra Chola in whose name and honour a Mahādeva temple was built. Venad or Travancore appears at this time to be a well-governed country paying taxes in kind and money. Vīra Keralav. seems to be the first important king who secured power from Chola and Chālukya supremacy. He is mentioned in another inscription dated 1144 A. D. The government of the country included village organisations and temple authorities which shared power in the civil government.

Stone inscriptions dated 1161, 1173 and 1180 A. D. mention the next kings Ravivarman, who ruled over Travancore including the southernmost districts independently, the Cholas having declined in power after Rājendra, Vīra Udayamārtandvarman and Āditayarāma. Mr. Pillai thinks that the last king extended his sway northward by absorbing Kūpadeśam or country of Kūpakas, also a part of Malabār. Keralavarman II (Trivadi) is mentioned in a book and in a stone record dated 1193 A. D. and Vīrarāmavarman Tiravadi in a detailed inscription dated May 1196 A. D., which speaks of a body of six hundred who supervised the working of the temples and of chieftainships into which the kingdom was divided. This interesting detail shows that the administration of the state was chiefly in the hands of the peoples' representatives, a curious relic of ancient Vedic times. Next come Vīrarāmakeralvarman and Vīra Ravivarman whose long document dated 1235 shows the nature of the land revenue system in their days. The capital was Trivendram even in those days.

CHAPTER XVI.

IMP. FEU. KINGDOMS OF SOUTHERN INDIA-P. II

1 ŚINDAS OF YELBURG.

To the north of the Tungabhadra, in Kuntala or Southern Maratha country, we have four important feudatory kingly families who require to be noticed in this volume, as they belong to this sub-period and as they were powerful though not independent. The first of them is the family of the Śindas of Yelburg in modern Nizam's territory. They have recorded inscriptions in Kanarese which have been found. Their history is given in the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part II (p. 572-575) and we give here a summary of it with observations of our own. The part of the country ruled by these Śindas is collectively called Śindevādi Nād in inscriptions. This clearly shows that these Śindas were Marathas, though they ruled over a Kanarese-speaking territory. (As stated in Vol. II, however, the distinction between Marathas and Karnātakas is illusory and not of race but of language). This territory extended from about Badāmi in the Bijapur District and included Bāgalkot and Naregal in the Dharwar District. There is another Śinda family mentioned in Ep. Ind. VII p. 306. The king Munja here is described as Bhogāvatipuravarādhiśvara and Nāgavamśatilaka ruling in Pratyandaka four thousand.* In our view this Śinda family was the same family as the one appearing under the name of Sendraka in the first sub-period; a Sendraka chief Senāuandaraāja, maternal uncle of Pulakesin Chālukya, is mentioned as requesting a grant of land in Karnāṭaka between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra (Vol. I; p. 270). The Sendrakas belonged to the Nāgavamśa and the Śindas of Yelburg also belonged to the same vamśa; and even the Scindia family of the present day who are very probably their modern representatives are also of the Nāgavamśa. These Śindas of Yelburg were very powerful feudatory chiefs under the later Chālukyas. The first

* Indeed there were several Śinda families, including one in Karahad territory (See Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV.)

noted prince was Āchugi who had two sons Bamma and Sūrya who are mentioned in an inscription dated 1079. Bamma's son was Ācha or Āchugi II who was a noted general of Vikramāditya and who defeated a Hoyasala prince. He is mentioned in an inscription dated 1122 A. D. Āchugi's two sons Permadi and Chavunda II are mentioned in two inscriptions dated 1144 and 1163 respectively. Chavunda had four sons Āchugi III and Permadi by one wife and Bijjala and Vikrama by another wife. All these four are mentioned in inscriptions from 1168 to 1190 A. D. Probably after the fall of the later Chālukyas of Kalyan and the increase of the power of the Hoyasalas this Śinda family lost its power and was not able to establish an independent kingdom. Their country was eventually absorbed by the Yādavas of Devagiri whose dominion now extended to the Tungabhadra.

2 RATTAS OF SAUNDATTI.

The next feudatory family which deserves a mention is that of the Rattas of Saundatti. Their history is given by Dr. Fleet in Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part II p. 549-55 and we give here a summary of it. They were clearly descendants of a Rāshtrakūṭa Imperial king of the Deccan and they ruled in the Kundi territory comprising 3000 villages which corresponds to a portion of the present Belgaum and Dharwar Districts. Their capital was Saundatti (Sugandhāvati) and latterly Belgaum itself (Venugrama). The Gazetteer doubts if these Rattas were really descended from the Rāshtrakūṭas, but the short name Ratṭa for the Rāshtrakūṭas is as old as the 9th century and even the modern Reddis may be Ratṭas or Rāshtrakūṭas and they also called themselves original lords of Laṭṭalūrapura. Their crest was a Sindūra (elephant) and their dhvaja (banner) carried a golden garuda which is shown in their seal. These chiefs were first subordinate to the Western Chālukyas and when the Kalachūri rebellion occurred they asserted independence. But being not very powerful they appear like the Śindas, to have been conquered by the Hoyasalas; their territory, however, was eventually absorbed in the kingdom of the Yādavas of Devagiri.

The first prince was Kārtavīrya I or Katta I who is mentioned in a stone record of 980 A. D. He was a feudatory of Taila II

(Āhavamalla) and fixed the boundary of his principality of Kundi. His sons were Dāvāri and Kanna-Kaira whose son Eraga has recorded a Sanskrit inscription dated 1040 A. D., published in I. A. XIX p. 161 in which he declares himself to be a sāmanta of Jayasinha Jagadekamalla. In his birudas, he calls himself Raṭṭavamśodbhava, Lattalūrapuravarādhīśvara, Garuda-dhvaja &c. In one epithet he is described as a Vidyādhara in singing. He is mentioned in a Jain grant inscription published by Prof. Pathak in I. A. XIV (p. 23). His brother was Anka (mentioned in an inscription at Saundatti dated 1048 A. D.) and his son was Sena I. His son Kannakaira II has left many inscriptions dating from 1069 to 1087 A. D. He appears to have ruled long with his brother Kārtavīrya II and they are described as sāmantas of Vikramāditya VI. His son was Sena II mentioned in records from 1096 to 1121 and his son was Kārtavīrya III mentioned in records dated 1143 and 1165; he is also called Katta or Kattama. Taking advantage of the rebellion of the Kalachūris at Kalyan, he appears after 1165 to have declared independence and in one record he calls himself Chakravartin (Bombay J. B. B. R. A. S. X p. 181). This position the Raṭṭas retained though first disputed by Someśvara Chālukya, for three generations viz. his son Lakshmidhara I, his son Kārtavīrya IV and his son Lakshmidhara II. He was conquered by Vichana viceroy of Singhana, Yādava king of Devagiri about 1228 A. D.

These Raṭṭas were worshippers of Śiva but they also favoured the Jains and made grants to Jain temples.

3 KADAMBAS OF HANGAL.

The third feudatory family which we have to notice is that of the Kadambas of Hangal. They were an old Maratha family, as old as the Raṭṭas or Rāshṭrikas of Aśoka, being descended from the Kadambas, the contemporaries of the early Chālukyas whose Mānavya gotra and Haritīputravañśa they always copied or used in their inscriptions, being of the same stock probably and ruled in Banavāsi. The present Kadambas (the form Kādamba is also often used) called themselves lords of the town of Banavāsi and sometimes ruled over that part also; but their present position was in Hangal 500 (Hannugal of inscrip-

tions) a Taluka of the Dharwar District. Their Lānchhana or crest was a lion and on their banner was Hanūmān. king of monkeys. They were worshippers of Vishṇu Madhukeśava of Jayanti or Banavasi town. We give a summary of the account of these Kadambas given by Dr. Fleet in Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part II (p. 559 to 563).

The first record (I. A. X. p. 249) which gives a detailed genealogy of these Kadambas is dated 1108 A. D. and the first king, we may notice in this period, is Kirtivarman II who ruled in 1058 A. D. (980 Śaka). He was a feudatory of Someśvara Chālukya and also of Vikramāditya VI (I. A. IV p. 206). His uncle Śāntivarman II ruled in Hangal 500 as also in Banavāsi twelve thousand under Vikramāditya VI in 1089 A. D. Of his son Taila we have many inscriptions from 1099 to 1128 A. D. including the Kargudari inscription of 1108 mentioned above. All these inscriptions are found in the Hangal Taluka. His capital Hangal is also called Pānthipura and also Virāṭanagar. He died about 1135 A. D. This capital was besieged and taken by the Hoyasala Vishṇuvardhana. His two sons Mayūra varman and Mallikārjuna ruled conjointly with him. It must be noted of all these southern kings that Yuvarājas (brothers or sons) usually ruled conjointly. His third son Tailama is mentioned as ruling in Hangal alone in 1147 A.D. His son Kāmadeva is mentioned in 1189 as ruling in Banavāsi, Hangal and Puligeri under the last Chālukya king Someśvara IV. He was finally vanquished by the Hoyasala king Vira Ballāla. There were other Kadamba chiefs also of minor importance, but we need not notice them and we go on to describe the Kadambas of Goa who were an important allied branch of this family.

4 KADAMBAS OF GOA.

These Kadambas of Goa or Gopakapaṭṭana were a branch of the same Kadamba family though their origin in the records is given differently from that given in the records of the Kadambas of Hangal. They seem to have wrested Goa from the Śilāhāras of Southern Konkan (Konkan 900) and they also had territory above the Ghauts in the present Khanapur Taluka of the Belgaum District, then called Palasige. They

were devotees of Śiva named Sapta Kotīśvara and not Viṣṇu and they used the Kaliyuga era and not the Śaka era in their records, and their records are in Sanskrit they being residents of Goa in Konkan where Kanarese is not spoken. In other respects they were one with the other Kadambas being originally lords of Banavāsi, having the Sinha Lānchhana and Vānara Dhvaja. They even mention their old Mānavya gotra, Haritiputra vamśa and Mahāsenā Mātrigaṇa favour (Bombay J. IX p. 235) even mentioned in the old Kadamba records (Vol. I p. 266). They do not give fictitious names of ancient kings but begin with Gūhalla whose son Śashtadeva or Chhatta has left a record dated 1007 A. D. He may possibly be the same as the Chhatta the first king in the line of the Kadambas of Hangal whose approximate date is 1000 A. D. and the line may have bifurcated from him. Chhatta's son Jayakeśin was a very powerful prince and he is spoken of highly in the Gudikatti inscription (Bombay J. P. A. S. IX p. 272). He is said to have killed a king of Kapardidvīpa (which is identified by the Gazetteer with the island of Salsette) probably Māvani. There is, however, in our view, no connection of the troubles of Anantadeva, king of Thana, with the invasion of this king. He is further said to have established friendship between the king of Chola and Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, at Kānchi* and he is said to have made Goa his capital. His certain date is 1052-3 A. D. The queen of Karna of Gujarat (1063-1093) Mayanalladevi said to be a Kadamba princess is thought by the Gazetteer to be a daughter of this king. Of his successor Vijayāditya we do not know much. His son was Jayakeśin II and we know that Vikramānka Chālukya gave his daughter, sister of Soma, to this prince † (I. A. XIV 288); probably this was a child marriage. His certain dates are 1119 and 1125 A. D. in an inscription which gives Vikrama Chālukya year 50. He then ruled the Palasige 1200 and Konkan 900, but he also had

* चालुक्यचोलभूपालौ काञ्च्या मित्रे विधाय यः ।

पेरुमडित्तुयनिर्घोषोप्यासीद्रायपितामहः ॥ १ ॥ Bom. J. R. IX p. 242.

† See also

श्रीपेरुमडिनृपः पयोनिधिनिभः सोमानुजां कन्यकां यस्मै विस्मयकारिभूरिविभवैर्दत्त्वेभकोशादिभिः ।

..... ख्यातः श्रीपतये स मैललमहोदेवीं कृतार्थोभवत् ॥

other territories assigned to him, being a son-in-law of Vikrama. He even assumed the title of Konkan Chakravartin and aspired to independence. This led to his being attacked and defeated by Āchugi I his feudatory who in his inscription is said to have taken Goa and Konkan. The Lakshmana inscription dated 1147 mentions that presents were given to him at the time of making grants to the god Somnath (Gazetteer page 569).

The two sons of Jayakeśin were Parmadi and Vijayāditya who were respectively devotees of Śiva and Vishṇu. They are also styled Malavara Māra an epithet applied to Hoyasalas. Vijayāditya was a very learned prince and earned the title Vāṇibhūṣaṇa, and the praise bestowed on him in an inscription is well worth quoting* below. Kamalādevī queen of Parmadi belonging to the Somavaṇśa built two finely carved temples one to Nārāyaṇa and the other to Lakshmi, which still exist in the Sampagaon Taluka, Dharwar and they contain inscriptions which give for Parmadi a date in 1147 A. D. It appears that Vijayāditya was shortly afterwards associated with him in rule, and is mentioned in an inscription dated 1158 A. D. (I. A. XI p. 273) as also in the Halśi inscription dated 1171 Kaliyuga era 4272. The Karad prince Vijayāditya is said in Śilāhāra records to have re-established the prince of Goa who thus must have been dislodged by some one. These princes were, however, powerful enough to have issued coins of their own and a golden coin struck by Parmadi has been found dated 1182 A.D.

Vijayāditya's son Jayakeśin appears to have come to the throne in 1187, as two inscriptions of his 13th and 15th year dated 1199 and 1201 have been found. Gold coins of his have been found dated 1200 and 1210. His son was Tribhuvanmalla and his son was Chhatta or Shashthadeva II. He came to the throne in 1246, from a record at Goa dated in his fifth year 1250 A. D. and another record dated 1257 found in the Hubli Taluka shows that he was an independent king. When and how this kingly line came to an end cannot be stated as no further records have yet been found. Probably they were conquered by the Yādavas of Devagiri (J. B. R. A. S. IX p. 247).

* भृगौ कुन्ते प्राप्ते धनुषि विषमे चासिफलं वरे वाद्ये गीते सरसकविताशास्त्रविस्तरे ॥

तुरगाद्यारोहे स्मृतिषु च पुराणेषु पुरुजित् परिज्ञानाथोऽभूज् जगति बहुविद्याधर इति ॥

The first ancestors Harivarman and others declare themselves as Mānavya-sagotra &c. even in Jain records many of which are found in Palasige (Belgaum Dt.). See Bombay J. R. A. S. IX p. 235-241.

5 ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KARHAD.

The last feudatory kingly family which must be mentioned is the Śilāhāra family of Karhad or Kolhapur. It was a purely Maratha Kshatriya family and its inscriptions are recorded in Sanskrit. The Śilāhāras were originally divided into three branches, those of Thanā, those of Rajapur (Kharepatan) and those of Kolhapur. They were all feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas. When they fell, the Śilāhāras of Thanā, as stated already, assumed independence; while the Śilāhāras of Karhad though still remaining Mahāmandaleśvaras, being nearer the centre of Chālukya power, became powerful and annexed Konkan territory to their rule. The southern Konkan branch founded by Sanaphulla thus disappeared in this sub-period and we have two Śilāhāras to describe in this volume.

These Śilāhāras ruled in the Karnatak 4000, Miraj 3000 and Kundi 4000 as also in southern Konkan. Their capital was Karahātaka and their chief fort was Panala (Parnālaka) thus bringing us in contact with later Maratha history. They were descended from a heavenly Vidyādhara and originally ruled in Tagara. Their crest was a golden Garuda or eagle and they called themselves Mahākshatriyas* (E. I. III p. 209). They were worshippers of Mahālukhsmī of Kolhapur from whose favour they believed they had obtained power† (ditto). The Śilāhāras of Thanā were worshippers of Śiva; but it is probable that their tutelary goddess was Pārvatī or Āryā Dvaipāyanī (i. e. island goddess) mentioned in the Bhāgavata. These facts establish the affinity of the two Śilāhāra families beyond any doubt.

The history of the Śilāhāras of Karhad is given in the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I Part II by Dr. Fleet (p 544) and by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his history of the Deccan (p. 92) from

* श्रीशिलाहारमहाक्षत्रियान्वय.

† महालक्ष्मीदेवीवरप्रसाद.

many inscriptions and we will begin with Jatiga II who ruled probably in the beginning of our sub-period (1000-1200). He had four sons Gonka and others and Gonka's son was Mārasinha whose inscription dated 1058 A. D. has been found. He was a powerful king and built many temples. Gonka had probably annexed south Konkan before him and he is said to have ruled from the fort of Khiligili. This is not identified (Fleet); but it must be distinct from Panālā, though Dr. Bhandarkar suggests its identification with that fort. Dr Fleet thinks that Chandralekhā, the famous queen of Vikramānka, was a daughter of this king. She was undoubtedly a Śilāhāra princess. As the date of Vikramānka's accession at Kalyan is 1076 A. D., this is not improbable. Mārasinha must have ruled long.

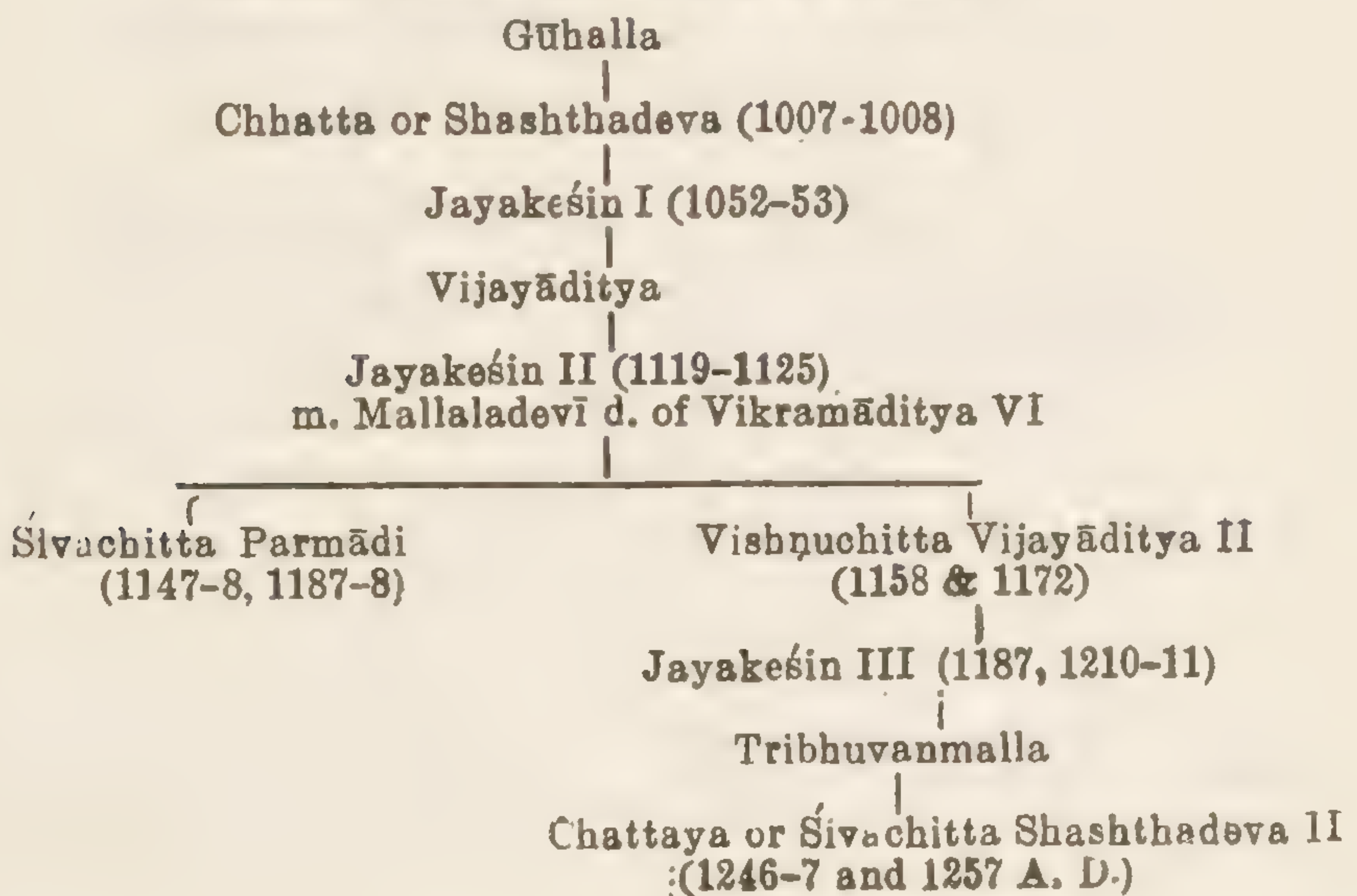
Mārasinha had five sons and each of them appears to have ruled. The eldest was Gūvala and his younger brother Bhoja I has left an inscription. His younger brother Ballāla is mentioned in a Kanarese inscription (I. A. XII). But the last son Gandarāditya has left many inscriptions and he is said to have fed one lakh of Brahmins at Prayāga. He also built a large tank in the Miraj country and built temples of Siva, Buddha and Jina on its bank. His government was good and just (Bhandarkar).

He was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya, two records of whom, dated 1148 and 1153, have been found. One of them (Ep. Ind. III p. 207) is the record of a grant to a Jain temple and begins with adoration of the Jina. It tersely gives the genealogy of Vijayāditya without praise: but praises the donor most. The birudas or epithets of Vijayāditya are many, some of which are Kanarese, one of them Śanivāra-Siddhi being strange and inexplicable. As the king is described even in this Jain record as prospering through favour of Mahā-Lakshmi, it is certain that these Śilāhāras were Hindus though, as usual with tolerant Hindu kings, they patronised Jain saints and Jainism spread during their rule in southern Maratha country as it did in Gujarat in the days of Kumārapāla. From a grant of his son Bhoja II, it appears that Vijayāditya was a powerful king who assisted the Thana Śilāhāra king (Mallikārjuna probably) to regain his throne

when dispossessed. He also assisted the Kadamba king of Goa and he also aided Vijjana Kalachūri to supplant the Chālukya power at Kalyan about 1157 A. D. Naturally the power of Vijayāditya must have greatly increased and it is not strange that his son Bhoja II assumed independence; a Jain work which was written in his days calls him Mahārāja and Paśchima Chakravartin, as the northern Śilāhāras began to call themselves Konkana Chakravartin.

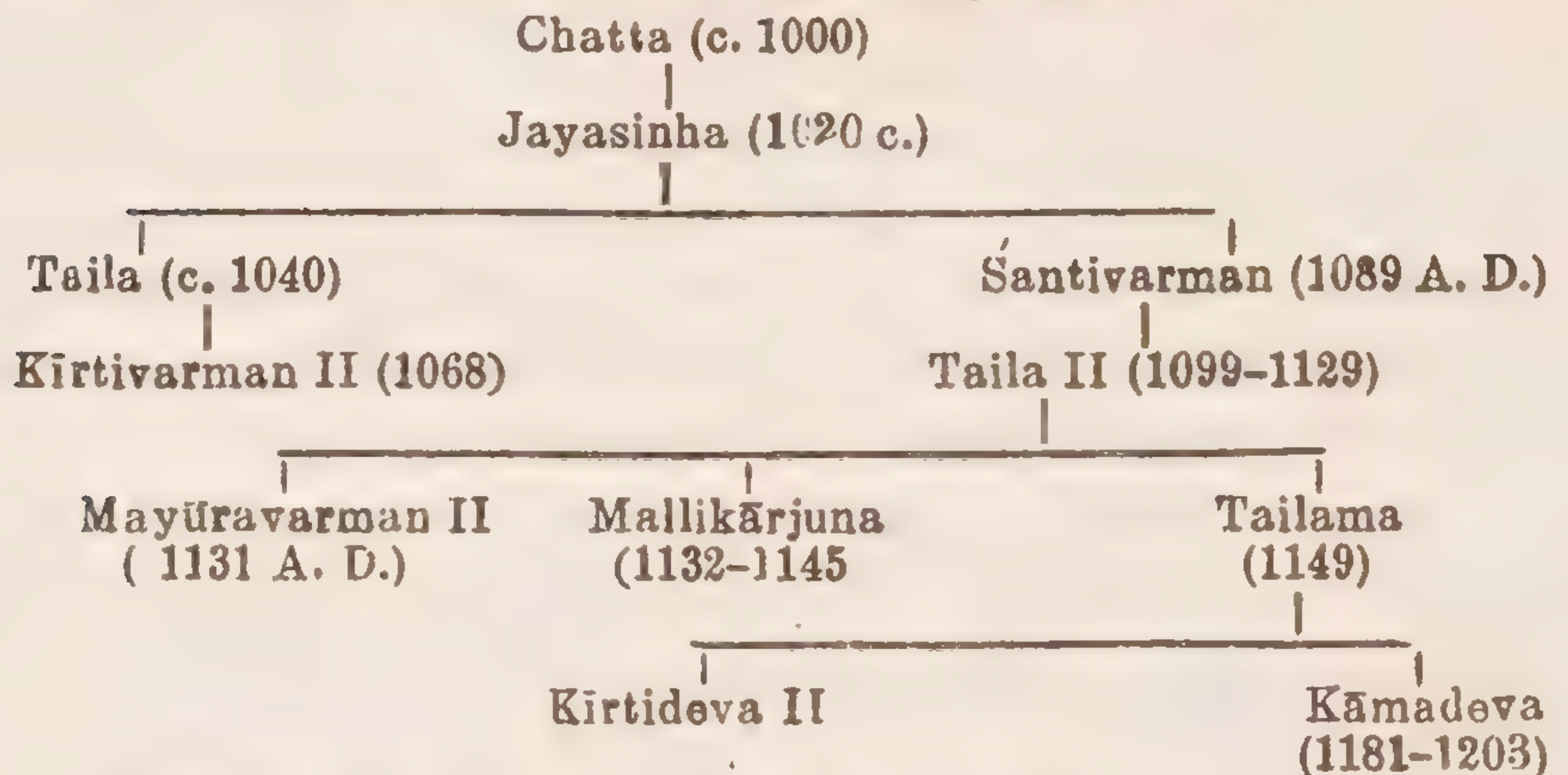
Many inscriptions of Bhoja II have been found dating from 1179 to 1205 A. D. He gave grants in Konkan to Brahmins for feeding Brahmins and also to Jain temples. The grant published in Ep. Ind. III (p. 214) mentions Karahāṭaka and Ghaisasa Brahmins, the importance of which we will show later on; but this is the oldest record we have wherein Brahmins are mentioned not by their gotra but by their new sub-castes or surnames. This record also shows that Maratha chiefs began to be called Nāyakas at this time. Bhoja though powerful could not succeed apparently in maintaining his independence and finally the line was subjugated by the Yādavas who came to power in the Deccan after the western Chālukyas. We do not get any further information about this after 1205 and it is nearly certain that it did not continue as a ruling family.

GENEALOGY OF THE KADAMBAS OF GOA
(Bombay Gazetteer Vol. X & XI p. 565).



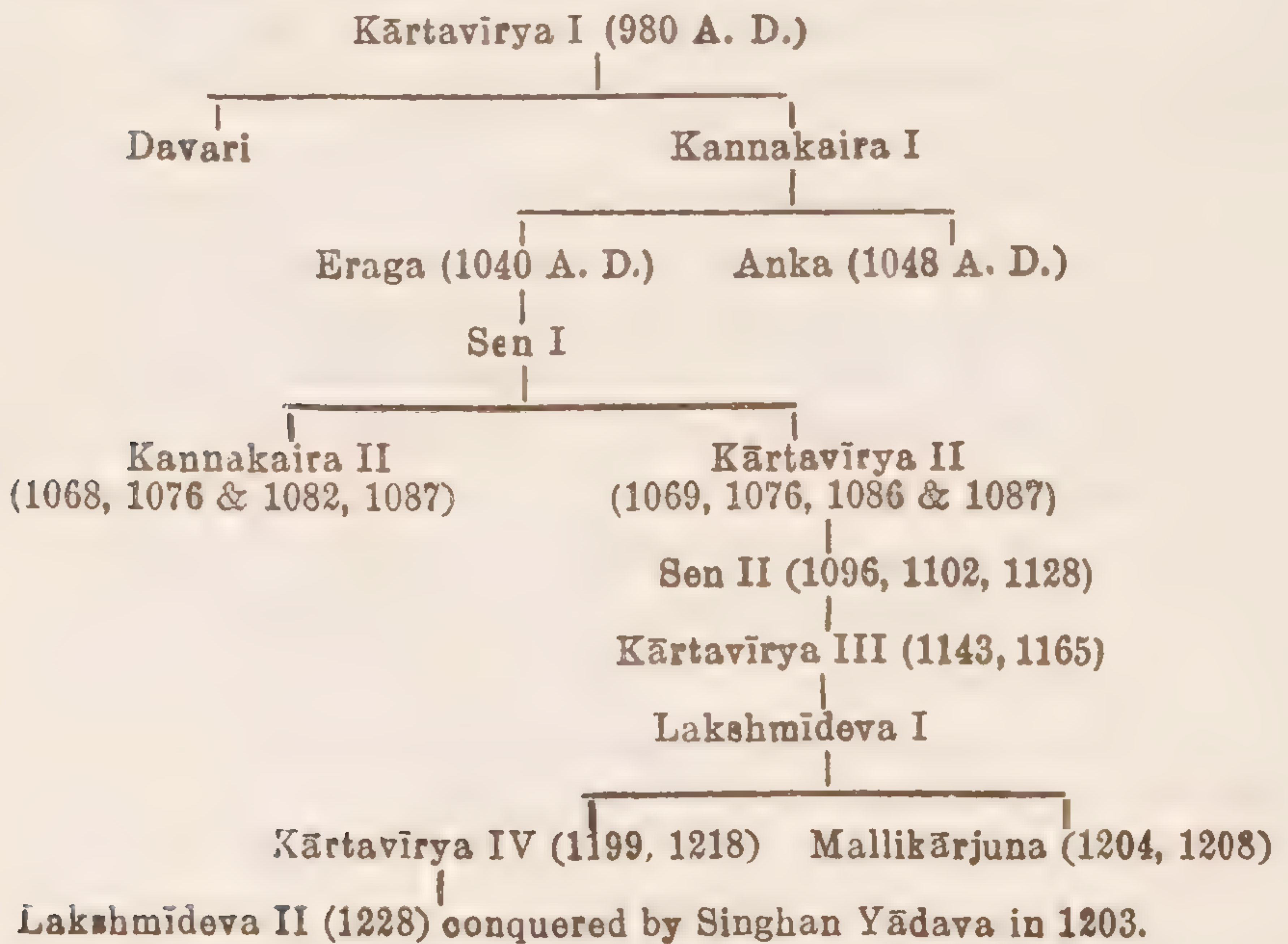
GENEALOGY OF THE KADAMBAS OF HANGAL.

(Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I part II page 559)

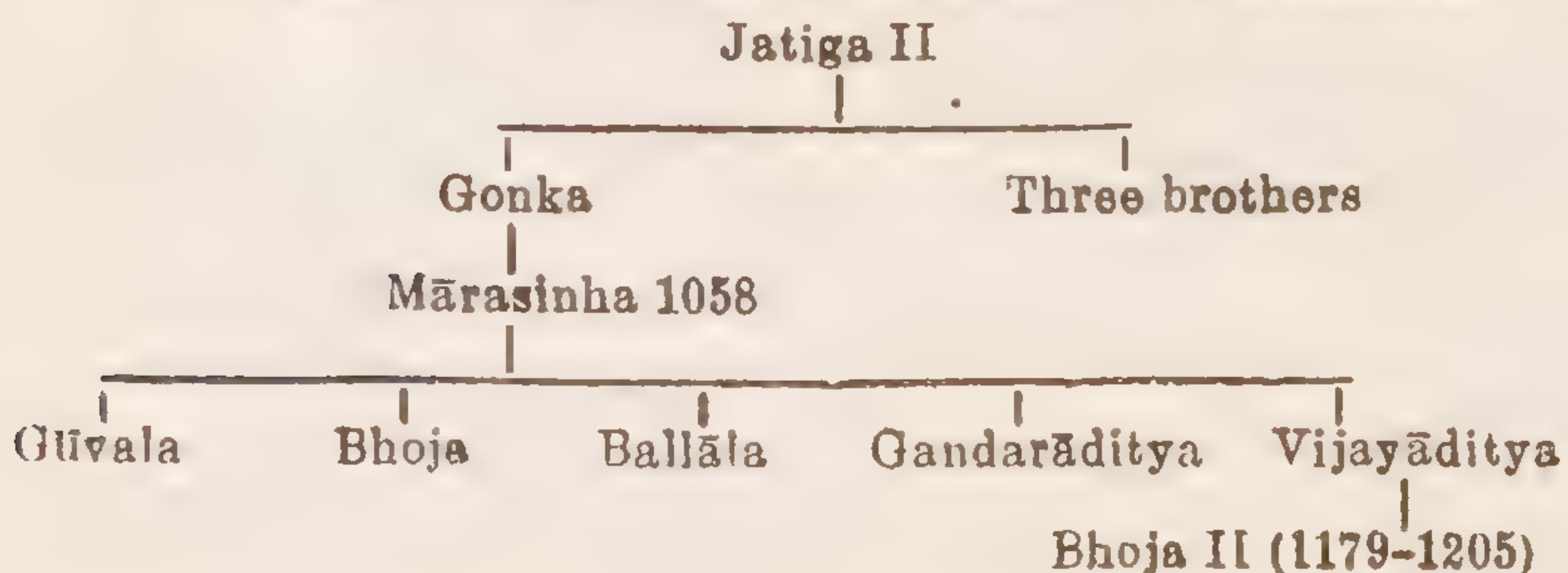


GENEALOGY OF THE RATTAS OF SAUNDATTI

(Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. part 2 p. 551 with dates of inscriptions)



GENEALOGY OF THE ŚILAHĀRAS OF KARHAD



CHAPTER XVII.

IMPORTANT FEUDATORY KINGLY FAMILIES OF NORTHERN INDIA.

In this chapter we propose to notice those feudatory princely families whose inscriptions have been found, who ruled in Northern India during this sub-period. To begin with the north-east corner, we must first notice Assam which, throughout Indian history down to the present day, has been sometimes an independent kingdom, and sometimes a dependency of Bengal. We have a Brahmin general Vaidyadeva ruling there and making a grant in behalf of and under Kumārapāla of Gauda (E. I. II p. 351) which we have already noticed. Then there was a Rāshtrakūṭa subordinate prince (Mahāna) in Bihar or Anga who was a maternal uncle of Rāmapāla of Gauda as also stated already. There may have been many such feudatories in Bengal and Bihar, but these appear to be the important ones.

In the tract south of the Gauda kingdom of the Pālas we have the Haihaya Kalachūri feudatory kingly family of Ratnapura in what is called Dakshina Kosala. Kielhorn has given their line as follows (E. I. VIII). Kalingarāja, descendant of a younger son of Kokalla who had 18 sons, first conquered this country. He was followed by his son Kamalarāja and he by his son Ratnarāja who is said to have founded Ratnapura and built a Śiva temple there, "thus making the city a rival to the city of Kubera where Śiva always resided." His son was Prithvīśa and his son was Jājalla I. His inscription dated 1114 (E. I. I p. 34) has been found. In this inscription he gives a village to a Śiva temple for his Guru Rudraśiva. He also is said to have founded Jājallapura. His son Ratnadeva II defeated Chodaganga of Eastern Gangas of Trikalinga. His son Prithvideva II has left an inscription dated 1141 (I. A. X. p. 84). His son Jājalla II made a grant in 1167 (E. I. I p. 40) and his son Ratnadeva III a grant dated 1181 (I. A. XXII p. 82). His son Prithvideva III has left an inscription dated 1190 (E. I. I p. 47). We have no further clue to this dynasty. It was practically

an independent ruling line, though it might have been subject nominally to the Haihaya kings of Tripura. The country is also called Tummāna in their records (See E. J. I 4047). They were worshippers of Śiva and Brahmanical orthodox Kshatriyas as their gotra Krishnātreya is given even with its pravaras in their records (E. I. I p. 40).

Going on next to what is modern U. P. there must have been many feudatory princes in Oudh, Antarbed and Bundelkhand. But we have to mention two important Rajput families only which subsist to this day. The Gautamas are a well-known Rajput clan in U. P. From the Fatehpur Gazetteer we learn that they are an ancient clan with the Bhāradvāja gotra and a former Rāja of Argal had married a sister of Jaichand. Probably the fort of Asni where Jaichand's treasure was kept was in their possession. The second Rajput clan of which we have even an inscription is the Sengar family. This clan is mentioned among the 36 royal clans. Its present chief principality is that of Jagmanpur in the Jalaun district and there is also a small principality in the Etawa district viz., that of Bhareh. The Sengars claim Rishyaśringa a Rishi and Śāntā daughter of Daśaratha and sister of Rāma as their ancestors. The tradition among them is that they originally ruled in Anga or Bihar where was born Chaturanga, the first Sengar, from Daśaratha's daughter Śāntā. When the kingdom of Anga was given to Karṇa by Duryodhana they went to Dāhāla which comprises Central Provinces west and Central India east where they ruled for a long time and where their principalities still survive. They also claim to have ruled in the Deccan and in Gujarat and they state that some Sengars went eastwards also and founded a kingdom in Bardwan in Rāḍha country and it is believed that a prince from Bardwan went to Ceylon and founded a kingdom there. The name Sinhala is derived, it is believed, from Sinha-Bāhu the name of the father of this prince, as is evidenced by the Mahāvanśo. A Sengar king Karṇa-Deva is said to have founded Karnāvati or Kanār on the southern bank of the Jumna. This was the original seat of power of the Sengars of Jagamanpur and there are still ruins of an old fort there which is visited on the the Dasera day by the Maharajas of Jagamanpur. They are

also said to have ruled in Sironj in Malwa (where they came from Gujarat) so far late as the days of the Moguls.

The inscription of this family which has been found however, was issued from Benares where perhaps the donor prince may have gone for pilgrimage. The prince Vatsarāja of the Singāra-Anvaya gave a village to a Brahmin in 1134 A. D. (St. 1191), while Govindachandra was ruling. The inscription is drawn up in the usual Gāhadavāla style, and the first chief is said to have come from Śingarota and acquired Rājapaṭṭi or royal tiara. The names of the ancestors of Vatsarāja given are 1 Kamalapāla, 2 Stralhaṇa, 3 Kumāra, 4 Lohadadeva; and Vatsarāja the fifth is the grantor. This would take the founder Kamalapāla to about 1050 A. D. i. e. to a time before the rise of the Gāhadavālas. Tradition states that Viśokadeva of Kanār married a daughter of Jaichand. The family appears to be an orthodox Vaidic Rajput family as its gotra Śāndilya is particularly mentioned in this record (E. I. IV p. 131), which is an unusual thing for this period. This incidently proves that Jaichand's gotra could not have been Kāśyapa.

It deserves to be mentioned that under king Bhagavantadeva of Bhareh, the eldest offshoot from the ruling house of Kanār who was, like Bhoja and other great Hindu kings, a patron of pandits, was composed the well-known treatise on Hindu Dharma named after him Bhagavanta-Bhāskara by Nilakantha Bhaṭṭa. The Vyavahāra Mayūkha, a part of this treatise, is recognised as authority on Hindu law in Konkan, Gujarat and some other parts of the Bombay Presidency.

Westward there were Yādavas at Mathura and Mahāban still ruling in about 1150 A. D. A branch of this line is said to have been founded at Biana in 993 A. D. And a stone record of Vijaya has been found at Biana dated 1143 A. D. We know from Mahomedan chronicles that Shihabuddin attacked this place in 1196 and drove Kunvarapāla westward. From him the present rulers of Kerowli are descended (Gaurishankar's Tod).

We may mention next the princes of Meerut and Badaun. The first were Dora Rajputs mentioned in the history of Mahmud. Hastinapur is a village in the Meerut district on the

Ganges and perhaps the Doras were Kshatriyas of the race of the Pāndavas. The Tuars however, are supposed to be the direct representatives of the Pāndavas. In Badaun ruled a branch of the Rāshtrakūtas as stated in an inscription (E. I. I p 64) found in the old fort there. The date of the inscription is not given. We have already commented on it at length. It mentions 1 Chandra, 2 Vigrahapāla, 3 Bhuvanapāla, 4 Gopāla, 5 Tribhuvanapāla, 6 Madanapāla his son (it is recorded of him that through his valour the Hammir could not come to the Ganges), 7 Devapāla, brother, 8 Bhīmapāla, 9 Śūrapāla, 10 Amṛitapāla, and 11 Lakshmanapāla his brother. As Badaun was taken by Kutubuddin in the beginning of the 13th century, we may place these 11 kings between 1000 and 1200 A. D. But if we take an average of 12 years per king we have for Chandra a date somewhere about (1200-132) 1068 A. D. and this would make this Chandra identical with Chandra Gāhadavāla who seized Kanauj and founded his empire there. R. B. Gaurishankar Ojha does not think that Chandra of the Badaun inscription is the same as the Chandra of the Gāhadavāla line of Kanauj; but Pandit Rāmakaran of Jodhpur in his history of the Rathods expresses the opinion that they are identical (p. 260-61 ditto).

These Rathods and the Gāhadavālas according to our view as already propounded, as also the Rāshtrakūtas of Anga (Bihar) belonged to the same clan which was solar by race and were different from the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed in the Deccan who belonged to the lunar race though both Pandits Rāmakaran and Gaurishankar look upon them as one family. The Rathods of Central India and of Gujarat probably belonged to the southern clan though not the Rāshtrakūtas of Hathondi in Rajputana as Gaurishankar also thinks (Tod p. 364). The Rathods of Jodhpur and Bikaner who now represent the northern Rathod clan are like the Gāhadavālas solar in race though they may have the tradition that they came from Kalyan in the south. Rāshtrakūta is an official name as explained elsewhere and the name may be borne by different clans.

In Kathiawar Chūdāsamas who are Yādavas and in Cutch the Jādejas who are also Yādavas ruled during this sub-period and the latter are said to have come from Ghazni before Mahmud's time probably. We have no inscription, however, to rely

upon. The most important Guhila clan of Kathiawar to which the rulers of Bhavnagar belong, is however, mentioned in an inscription which is dated St. 1202 or 1145 A. D. which shows that they were an important feudatory family ruling under the Chālukyas of Anhilwād and in which a king Sahajiga is mentioned as ruling in Mangrol. These Guhilas are distinct from the Guhilots of Mewad having a different gotra and are separately enumerated in the list of 36 royal families by Chand in the Rāsā.

The next important family was that of the Paramāras of Abu. The Paramāras originally must have belonged to Abu ; for the legend of their origin states that their first ancestor was created by Vaśishṭha on Mount Abu from his sacrificial fire. The first known king of Abu was Dhūmarāja, but the prince in the beginning of our period was Dhandhuka whose minister Vimala-shah built a beautiful temple to Ādinātha on Mt. Abu in 1031 A. D. His son Pūrṇapāla was a sāmanta of Bhīma of Gujarat in 1045 A. D. (1102 St). His son was Dhruvabhata and his son Rāmadeva is mentioned in the Praśasti of Tejapāla-Vastupāla on Abu. His successor was Vikramasinha. In the fight of Kumārapala with Arṇorāja, Vikramasinha suddenly went over to Arṇorāja whereupon Kumārapāla gave the principality of Abu to his nephew Yaśodhavalā. His son was the well-known warrior Dhārāvarsha who was the general of the Gujarat army which defeated Ghori, as stated by Mahomedan writers, in the battle fought in 1178 A. D. during the minority of Mūlarāja as already stated in Chālukya chapter. Dhārāvarsha again was one of the commanders in the Gujarat army when it fought with Kutubuddin in 1197 and was defeated. Many inscriptions of his time have been found dating from 1163 to 1208 A. D. (Gaurishankar's Tod p. 384). The princes of Abu named Jetā and Salakh given in the Rāsā, Gaurishankar thinks, are imaginary persons. But it is possible to suppose that they were brothers of Dhārāvarsha and went consequently to Prithvirāja to seek their fortune and became his sardars.

The Chauhans of Nadul were a valorous line of feudatory kings which deserves to be mentioned. It was a branch from the Chauhans of Sambhar, the first king Lakshmana being a younger son of Vākpatirāja as already stated (Vol. II p. 96).

His descendants ruled in Nadul and were usually feudatories of the Chālukya king of Gujarat in whose behalf they usually fought. Thus one of these Āsarāja fought with Malwa as a general of Kumārapāla. He was a great prince, built many tanks and temples and patronised learned men. The present Bundi and Kota ruling families are descended from Mānikarai younger son of this prince (Gaurishankar's Tod p. 408). Two inscriptions of his son Alhana and of his grandson Kelhana have been found dated 1209 and 1224 St. (1152 and 1167 A. D.). Kelhana's younger brother Kīrtipāla was a famous chief. He was in the Hindu army which defeated Shihabuddin Ghori below Abu. He possessed Jalor and other forts. But Kutubuddin attacked Jalor and Altamash attacked Mandawar and in both places he must have opposed the Mahomedans. In the days of the last prince Kanhada-deva, Jalor was attacked by Allauddin (Gaurishankar's Tod p. 40).

There are other Rajput kingly families which flourished in this sub-period and which require to be mentioned such as the Bhattis of Jaisalmere. The Bhattis, when Bhatia was destroyed, went into the desert and founded a kingdom in the present Jaisalmere territory and ruled there. The present ruling family of Patiala is believed to belong to this Bhatti line. For want of reliable evidence we can not give further details, and content ourselves with this bare mention.

The last two most important families of Northern India which require to be noticed are the Tomaras of Delhi and the Kachhapaghātas of Gwalior from whom are descended two of the most famous Rajput clans of modern India viz. the Tuars and the Kachhwahas. The name Tuar is easily derivable (like Kachhwāha from Kachhapaghāta) from Tomara mentioned in inscriptions. It is believed that Anangapāla Tomara some time in the ninth century founded Delhi. But Delhi was not an important town in the days of Al-Beruni; and this principality of Delhi under the Pratihāras must have been then insignificant. They were supposed to be the direct descendants of the Pāndavas who first founded Indraprastha or ancient Delhi. That there was a village of the name of Indrapat near Delhi in the days of Kutubuddin is clear from the Taj-ul-Ma'sir (E. II p. 210) a contemporary history. The

Tomaras are also mentioned, as already noted, in the records of the Chauhans as their natural opponents, being neighbours. There are no Tomara records yet found but their rule in Delhi is mentioned in other records and we proceed to give a short account from these and from the Delhi Gazetteer.

The famous iron pillar of Delhi, a pillar unrusted for 1500 years, with letters still clearly readable, is said to have been brought from Mathurā and set up near his new Delhi by Anangapāla about 1052 A. D. There is a note of this on the pillar. This prince seems to have become powerful when the power of the Kanauj emperors was destroyed by Mahmud; and he founded a new town, called it Delhi and made it his capital as we will show presently. The family of Anangapāla ruled in Delhi and the surrounding country for about a century when it was conquered about 1152 A. D. by Visaladeva or Vighraharāja III, Chāhamāna, uncle of Prithvirāja, from whose time the country passed under the rule of the Chauhans. The story of the Rāsā that Anangapāla, the last Tomara king, gave the kingdom to Prithvirāja as he was his daughter's son and being himself childless retired to Badarikāśrama is not reliable as Prithvirāja's mother was a Chedi princess, not a Tomara. In fact the whole story of the Rāsā proves to be imaginary and it is rather difficult to treat as historical many of the events and statements recorded therein. The Gazetteer states that the fort, called Lalkot and still visible, was built by the first Anangpāla (II); and Prithvirāja built the outer wall of the old town which is still traceable. When Kutubuddin attacked and took the city, the wall and the fort were there and seemed to be invulnerable.

It is impossible to determine whether Govindarai, mentioned by Mahomedan historians as of Delhi and as wounding Shihabuddin in the first battle and as killed in the second, was a Tuar or a Chauhan. The Tuars dispersed over many provinces after their defeat but the bulk of them went to Gwalior territory and settled there in a district which is specially named Tawarghār after them. Tuars are found even in Mahārāshtra under the Maratha name of Māne and others.

A genealogy of the Tomaras of Delhi is given by General Cunningham from Abul Fazal and from bardic records and it is taken by Gaurishankar at page 348 (Tod); but no inscriptions can be quoted in support of it. Copper coins of Anangapāla II who built Delhi fort have been found (1051 A. D.). That Delhi was originally founded by the Tomaras and that the country about it called Hariyāna was ruled first by them and subsequently by the Chauhans is found recorded in an inscription in a well dated St. 1384 or 1327 A. D. and four generations of the Chauhans must have ruled there after the Tomaras viz., Visaladeva, Prithvibhata Someśvara and (Delhi Prithvirāja Museum stone Insc. I. A. XIX p. 218).*

The Kachhapaghāta family has left many records especially the Sāsabahu temple record on the Gwalior fort and the Dubhkund Jain temple record in Gwalior territory seventy-six miles south-west of Gwalior. We give the following account of the Kachhapaghātas from these records as also from Gaurishankar's Tod and Kielhorn's genealogies in E. I. VIII.

The Kachhapaghātas originally ruled in Narwar (Gwalior territory) or the Nishadha country of Nala of Mahābhārata fame as also of the scene of Bhavabhūti's Mālātī-Mādhava. A prince of this family named Vajradāman, son of Lakshmaṇa seized the fort of Gwalior during the declining days of the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj and established his power there about 977 A. D. (See his record in J. R. A. S. Bengal XXXI p. 393). He is called therein Mahārājādhirāja and was probably independent. But he must have soon been compelled to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of the Chandellas of Bundelkhand; and Al-Beruni properly says that the two great forts in Chandella territory were Gwalior and Kalanjar. Vajradāman's son was Mangalarāja and his son was Kirtirāja who is described as having defeated Malwa (probably king Bhoja is here meant). Mahmud of Ghazni invested Gwalior in the days of Kirtirāja and he was discreet enough to save himself and his kingdom by presenting 30 elephants and accepting nominal subjection. His son was Mūladeva alias Trailokya-Malla and

* देशोऽस्ति हरियानाख्यः पृथिव्यां स्वर्गसन्निभः । दिङ्लिकाख्या पुरी तत्र तोमरेरस्ति निर्मिता ॥
तोमरानन्तरं तस्यां राज्यं निहतकण्टकम् । चाहमाना नृपाश्चक्रुः प्रजापालनतत्पराः ॥

Bhuvanapāla. His son was Devapāla alias Aparājita and his son was Padmapāla whose nephew Mahīpāla or Bhuvanaikamalla recorded the inscription above mentioned dated 1093 A. D. (I.A.XV p. 36) which gives these details. The insc. further mentions that Kīrtirāja built a temple to Pārvatīpati in the town of Sinhamana. Mahīpāla had come to the throne a little before the date of this inscription (St. 1150) in the Sāsabahu temple on the Gwalior fort. It is a Vishṇu temple and it was commenced by Padmapāla and consequently the deity was named Padmanātha. The Kachhwahas seem to be Vaishṇavas from this king, a peculiarity which still distinguishes them. There is some misconception about the origin of the above mentioned name Sāsabahu given to these two temples on the Gwalior fort. We think that the name merely means the larger and smaller temples. The Gwalior Gazetteer derives the name from Sahasrabāhu which is not tenable not being a usual name of Vishṇu or Śiva. The lesser Sāsabahu temple which is like the bigger one was built in 1108 A. D. (I. A. XVI p. 201).

Gaurishankar mentions the following kings after Mahīpāla with dates (Tod p. 373): son Tribhuvanapāla (named Madhusūdanapāla in the Gwalior Gazetteer) with date 1104 A. D., his son Vijayapāla date 1133, his son Sūrapāla date 1155 and his heir-apparent Anangapāla. His successor must have been Solankhapāla who was invested in the fort by Shihabuddin Ghorī in 1196 A. D. But the Gwalior Gazetteer states that the Parihāras took the fort from the Kachhwahas in 1129. In this view, Solankhapāla must have been a Parihāra. It appears that the fort was surrendered formally to Kutubuddin. But the Gwaliornāma published by Prince Balwantrao Bhayyasaheb Scindia states that the Parihāras took possession of the fort again and they were dislodged by Altamash as will be related later on. The Kachhapaghātas must have left the place as too near Delhi and receded to a more distant place or gone back to Narwar.

A branch family of this line ruled at Dubhkund seventy-six miles south-west of Gwalior and two inscriptions of these have been found (I. A. XIV p. 10 and E. I. II p. 293). These inscriptions give very interesting information. The first king mentioned is Yuvarāja and his son was Arjuna who is said to

have himself killed with an arrow, Rājyapāla Pratihāra king of Kanauj when attacked by a Rajput confederacy headed by the Chandella king Ganda assisted by the Gwalior Kachhapaghāta king. His son was Abhimanyu whose skill in horsemanship and archery was extolled even by Ehoja king of Malwa.* His son was Vijayapāla whose date is 1044 and his son was Vikramasinha date 1088. This family must have been a feudatory of the Gwalior kings who were practically independent though acknowledging nominal suzerainty of the Chandellas.

The name of the family Kachhapaghāta is also given in inscriptions as Kachhapāri and is undoubtedly the original form of the modern name Kachhwaha which is clearly derivable from it according to the rules of Prakrit transformation. What the name means it is difficult to state and we have already said that names arise in various ways. Whatever the origin, the Kachhwaha clan was always acknowledged as among the best Rajput families, being the first named in the list of 36 royal clans enumerated by Chand and as their rise precedes the rise of the Gāhadavālas in whose time the list was first probably made, their mention first was natural especially as they were entrusted with the command of the army assembled to punish the apostate Pratihāra king of Kanauj, as stated above.

* यस्यात्यद्भुतबाहवाहनमहाशस्त्रप्रयोगादिषु ।

प्रावीण्यं प्रविकथितं पृथुमतिश्रीभोजपृथ्वीभुजा ॥ Dubhkund Insc. E. I. III.

NOTE—HARAPRASHAD SHASTRI'S WRONG VIEW ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE KACHHWAHAS.

It is indeed a pity that we have to write a special note in this volume also to refute the wrong view of a great *Indian* pandit as we had to write a note in the previous volume on Sir Vincent Smith's wrong view about the Chandellas. In his Report for Search of Bardic Chronicles (1913) M. M. Haraprashad Shastri writes "The Kachhwahas claim descent from Kuśa son of Rāma and say that they came from Narwar which is a country of hunters (Nishāda) and anciently there was a race called Kachhapaghāta, who are probably represented by the modern Kachhawas, who are an untouchable race; but their rulers seem to have become Kshatriyas at some period". This is the most lamentable instance we have of wrong previous bias having misled even our pandits into drawing the most amazingly illogical inferences. We have already said many times that the bias of most European and a few Indian scholars is to look upon Kshatriya clans as developed out of aborigines and even untouchables or foreigners. The above is a very striking instance of how most illogical and absurd inferences are drawn through this bias.

In the first place Narwar is not a country of Nishādas but Nishadhas and Na a the famous Naishadha king ruled here. Secondly, because there are untouchable people there, at present named Kachhawas, therefore it does not follow that they are the modern representatives of the Kachhwaha people named Kachhapaghātas. The Kachhawas are not the only people now in Narwar District, nor is Kachhawāha the same as Kachhwa. Further even if Kachhwas are the predominant people there, it does not follow, therefore, that their rulers must also be Kachhwas. This is the same fallacy as led Sir Vincent Smith to argue that because the Chandellas ruled among Gonds, therefore they also were Gonds. In fact, the trend of Indian history shows that Rajput adventurers going out of their original home, the middle land, founded kingdoms in distant countries inhabited by Bhils, Gonds &c. Because Bappā Rāwal ruled in a country full of Bhils, therefore it does not follow that he was also a Bhil. Because the British rule among Bengalis therefore it does not follow that the British are Bengalis. In short, the Kachhwāhas ruling in a country mostly inhabited by the modern untouchable Kachhwas does not make them originally Kachhwas.

Thirdly, even granting that the names are identical, we have still to pause before we put forward the inference that the two people are identical in race. Kachhwāhas may have taken this name from the country they ruled, just as we showed in our second volume that the Gurjara Pratihāras were so called, only because they ruled in the Gurjara country, and not because they were themselves Gurjaras. Then again the Kachhwas themselves may have taken their names from their rulers. Several

instances may be cited to show such taking of a higher class name by some untouchable classes. The Chamars e. g., have such names as Chauhans among them. The Sondias of Malwa have Chauhans, Paramāras &c. among them. It is, therefore, necessary to pause before making such an inference from identity of names with respect to a clan of Kshatriyas which has always been considered one of the best among Rajput clans and whose name stands first in Chand's list of 36 royal clans. And in caste-ridden India is it possible that chiefs of untouchable peoples could have risen to this high status, without any striking brilliant service in the cause of religion? Nothing is known about the supposed rulers among these untouchables, or of any great exploits which should raise them to such a high status. We cannot but conclude without expressing our surprize and sorrow at such gratuitous aspersions thrown on a well-known Rajput clan by such a learned Indian pandit.* Lastly it may be added that Kachhwāha is clearly distinct from Kachhwa, being the Prakrit form of Kachhapaghāta. This word or its equivalent Kachhapāri both used in inscriptions should suggest that the Kachhwāhas were the slayers, the enemies of Kachhwas, the aboriginal people or untouchables and not themselves Kachhwas. The origin of the name Kachhapaghāta is unknown as stated already; but if there are Kachhwas about Narwar (of which on inquiry at Shivapuri there seems to be great doubt) who are untouchables, the origin of the name becomes clear as the Kachhwāhas originally ruled in this part of the country unquestionably and it is called even now Kachhwāhaghar?

* We are constrained to state that on inquiry from the Gwalior state Narwar Shivapur revenue officer Mr. Bhalerao we find that there are no untouchable people named Kachhawas in or about Narwar. The whole argument of M. M. Hasaprashad Shastri would then fall to the ground. His source of information must be inquired into.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE HIMALAYAN KINGDOMS.

It remains to give the history of the Himalayan kingdoms during this sub-period. These were the kingdoms of Kashmir, Champā, Nurpur, Kangra, Mandi and Suket and finally of Nepal; we have already given the history of each of these states down to the end of the Hindu period so far as it has been ascertained. We will, however, restate that portion of their history which falls in the sub-period treated of in this volume viz. 1000-1200 A. D. with such additions and emendations as are necessary from recent information available from research publications, especially the Journals of the Panjab Historical Society.

1 KASHMIR

The kingdom of Kashmir at the beginning of this sub-period came under the Lohara dynasty after the death of the notorious queen Diddā. She was the daughter of a king of Lohara and grand-daughter of Bhīma, Shahi king of Kabul and she died in 1003 A. D. after a long reign both as regent of her sons and grandsons and latterly in her own name. Sangrāmarāja, her brother's son, came to the throne of Kashmir by Diddā's selection after her and his descendants ruled over Kashmir throughout this sub-period. The rulers of this dynasty were all capable men and they were, therefore, able to save the kingdom of Kashmir from being swallowed up in that flood of Mahomedan conquest which submerged first the Panjab under Mahmud and later, Northern India under Shihabuddin Ghorī. We have already given the history of this dynasty from the Rājataranginī down to 1148 A. D. wherewith ends the work of Kallhana and we give here the subsequent history from the supplementary work of Jonarāja. We may first recapitulate the former portion given in Vol. I pp. 227-232 with some further remarks.

Sangrāmarāja, as usual with founders of dynasties, was a wise and able ruler. He ruled from 1003 to 1029. As we have already shown in this volume, Mahmud made two attempts to take the frontier stronghold of Kashmir but failed.

Kashmir was a sealed country and Mahmud could not break the seal. When Sir V. Smith says that Kashmir was protected by its inaccessible mountains, he is right; though it does not appear, as Smith thinks, that Kashmir was defeated. We must, however, vary our statement made in Vol. I p. 228 that Kashmir was not invaded at all in the days of Sangrāma and state that though attempt was twice made to invade Kashmir, it could not be entered. We have already described the defeat of the Hindus in the battle fought by Trilochanapāla, Shahi king, in 1021 A. D. with the aid of Kashmir troops sent by Sangrāma both in this volume and in Vol. I, p. 227. Trilochanapāla fled from place to place and probably his son Bhīma also whose end is recorded in 1027. But his other sons or cousins Rudrapāla and others remained in Kashmir under the protection of Sangrāma who was probably their relative.

These Shahi princes gave valuable aid to Anantarāja the son and successor of Sangrāma who ruled from 1029 to 1039 A. D. In his reign a treacherous Kashmir sardar brought into Kashmir an invasion by the Turks assisted by Daradas. By the valour of the Shahi princes and of Anantarāja himself this formidable force was utterly defeated and Kashmir was saved from being subjected to Moslem rule for 300 years. We have already described this battle in Vol. I (p. 228).

Anantarāja and his queen Sūryamatī daughter of a Trigarta king were a very religious pair who ruled justly and ably for a long time. In their old age they retired and placed their son Kalaśa on the throne of Kashmir. They were ill-treated by this son and Ananta died in grief and his queen died a sati on his funeral pyre. Kalaśa in other respects was a good ruler. His son Harsha rebelled against him but was defeated and imprisoned. When Kalaśa died in 1073 A. D., he was succeeded by his second son Utkarsha. Harsha was, however, liked by the people. He was the most accomplished prince of his time, learned, fond of music and a patron of learned men. He may be compared to his namesake Harsha of Kanauj or to Bhoja; but unlike both his end was miserable. His second brother Vijayamalla raised a rebellion in his favour against Utkarsha who was defeated and killed in battle in 1089. Harsha being liberated and placed on the throne by Vijayamalla

ruled long from 1089 to 1101. In the latter part of his reign Vijayamalla by the instigation of unscrupulous courtiers rebelled against Harsha but was unsuccessful. Harsha thereafter relentlessly persecuted his partisans and misrule and oppression so far increased that Uchchala, a collateral cousin, succeeded in leading a rebellion and defeating Harsha took possession of the capital. Harsha's queens burnt themselves in the palace while he himself took refuge in a Matha. His son Bhoja who had been expelled came into Kashmir to relieve him but was killed in a battle with Uchchala. Harsha, finding everything going adverse, rushed upon the soldiers who had surrounded the Matha and was killed. Thus ended the first branch of this Lohara dynasty which ruled Kashmir ably for about a hundred years (1003 to 1101). Uchchala ruled till 1111 and his brother Sussala ruled after him till 1128. Sussala's son Jayasinha was ruling in 1148 A. D. when Kalhana finished his *Rājataranginī*. These rulers were also able and good rulers, though various intrigues described by Kalhana went on as usual.

The Lohara dynasty was a Rajput dynasty and thus in the 11th and 12th centuries, as elsewhere in India, there were Rajput kings in Kashmir also. The preceding dynasty of Parvagupta was a Vaiśya one while that which preceded it viz. that of Yaśaskara was a Brahmin dynasty. It may, however, be added that these two were also practically Kshatriya as they married into Kshatriya families and followed Kshatriya life. The Lohara ruling family is said to belong to the Bhatti clan of Rajputs and hence the Kashmir kings were probably Bhattis.

The Dāmaras in Kashmir were a turbulent local people who were always troublesome to the reigning king and helpful to rebels. "King Harsha ordered a slaughter of these Dāmaras; but they combined with two refugee princes and put an end to his life" (Panjab H. S. Vol. II p. 81). Thus it seems that Uchchala gained the throne with the usual help of powerful Dāmaras.

2. NEPAL.

2. Nepal is the next large kingdom in the Himalayan region whose history in the first sub-period (600 to 800),

we have given in the first volume. In the second volume we stated that in the second sub-period (800-1000) reigned in Nepal a Rajput kingly family which founded the Nepal era (885 A. D.) which is still in use in Nepal. In the third sub-period (1000-1200) the same family appears to have ruled in Nepal unmolested by either Hindu or Mahomedan kings and we have found nothing particular which may be recorded of these kings. We, therefore, proceed to the minor kingdoms intervening between Kashmir and Nepal of which many important particulars have come to light in recent research.

3 CHAMBĀ.

We have already given in Vol. I a short account of the Chambā state which comes before us proceeding south-east from Kashmir. It was subordinate generally to Kashmir. This kingly line was founded about 620 A. D. by Ādivarman of the solar race (Vol. I p. 378), as Cunningham calculated. But later information from inscriptions on stone and copper read by Dr. Vogel and published in Archaeological Survey Report, New Imp. Series Vol. XXXVI part I (1911) and summarised by Dr. Hutchinson in J. Panjab H. S. Vol. II (pp. 75-80) shows that the state was founded by one Meruvarman of the solar race from Kalāpa town in the Gangetic valley about 700 A. D. The territory of the state gradually extended in the Rāvi valley the capital being Brahmapura or Brahmor. One of his descendants Sāhilavarman (a household name in the state) founded the present capital Champā. His son Yugākaravarman recorded two copper-plate grants which are the oldest yet found. There are no dates given in Champā records except regnal years before A. D. 1330 when first the Śāstra or Kaliyuga era or the Vikrama era figure is given and these are recorded in Gupta characters generally and later on in Śāradā and next Nāgari characters. On palæographic grounds these two records may be placed in the 10th century A. D. From Rājataranginī we know that Ananta (1028-1039) invaded Champā and conquered Sālavarman. Āsaṭavarman visited Kashmir in the days of Kalaśa in 1087 A. D. his sister Bappikā being Kalaśa's queen. Their son was the unfortunate Harsha and Āsaṭa assisted him and his son Bhoja and Āsaṭa's son Jāsata assisted without avail Bhikshāchāra son of Bhoja in 1103 A. D. Jāsata's suc-

cessor Udayavarman, however, assisted Sussala in 1121 A. D. as Sussala had married two Chambā princesses. The civil war in Kashmir probably made Chambā independent (p. 79).

We need not mention the names of the later kings of Chambā upto 1200 A. D. But it may be stated that this family still rules in Chambā. This hill state was not troubled by Mahomedan invaders whether in the days of the Ghaznavide family of Mahmud or of Muhammad Ghorī or later Sultans down to the days of Akbar.

The kings are Kshatriyas of the solar race with Moshināśva (Yuvanāśva?) gotra and are called Rajas. There are local chiefs who came to the country earlier; they are called Rāṇās (Rājānakas of inscriptions) and earlier still came the Rāthis or Thakurs who now are probably a mixed race lower in rank than the Rāṇās ('Chanāl Jetha Rāthi Kanetha').

4 NURPUR.

The kingdom of Nurpur is not an old Himalayan state. According to Nurpur tradition it was founded by a Tomara prince from Delhi. He is said to have dispossessed a Pathan chief from Pathankot and from thence going into the hills he built a fort at Nurpur the original name of which was Dhaner (Nurpur being a name given, it is said, by Nurjahan). The date of the founding of a kingdom at Pathankot is believed to be the middle of the 11th century. But the story seems improbable as Panjab was at this time under the strong rule of Ghazni and it is difficult to believe that any Rajput prince could have been allowed to dispossess a Pathan force from Pathankot and found a kingdom. The story is, on the face of it, a name-legend based upon the name Pathankot. But the name Pathan here is really the Prakrit form of Pratiśthān and it seems to us that there was some Tomara king in Pratiśthāna in pre-Mahmud days and in consequence of Mahmud's raids he removed into the hills and founded the kingdom of Dhaner. He built the fort of Nurpur (which is now in a ruinous condition) in a convenient strong place by the side of a river. His family ruled in this part during the sub-period treated of in this volume and continues even to this day, the present chief being, however, not a ruling prince.

The gotra of these Pathania Rajputs is Atri which raises a doubt as to whether they are really Tomaras. They also call themselves Pandirs or descendants of the Pāndavas, but the gotra of the Pāndavas as also of the Tomaras who are their modern representatives is Vaiyāghrapādya. Perhaps the Pathanias changed their gotra when they came to Dhaner and adopted a new Pūrchita, according to the wrong dictum of Viṣṇāneśvara or they are really lunar race Kshatriyas but not Tomaras.

The Panjab Historical Society's Journal Vol. II (p. 17) states that the original town of Pathankot was on the high ground to the east of the old fort the site of which is marked by high mounds where old coins have been found. This shows that Pathankot is an ancient town and its ancient name must have been Pratishthāna. Two genealogical lists of the ruling family at Nurpur have been available differing in many details. Cunningham gave 1095 A. D. as the date of the founding of the Nurpur family and Jyethpāla, the founder, is said to have been a younger brother of a king of Delhi. A remark in the genealogy against Jaspāla states that he was 15th from the founder and opposed Allauddin Khilji (1295-1315). This takes Jyethpāla to about 1000 A. D. by the average of 20 years and it is extremely probable that these Tomaras did not come from Delhi which was not in existence at that time but from the plains of the Panjab itself, through the stress of Mahmud's invasions and took possession first of Pratishthāna already existing and from thence moved into the hills to Nurpur alias Dhaner.

NOTE--THE FORT OF NURPUR AND ITS TEMPLES.

The ruined fort of Dhaner or Nurpur is a very interesting fort near the town of Nurpur and the present Tahsil and hospital are built inside the fort. There are many tanks in the fort which was thus well supplied with water. There is a small temple well-preserved of Mahādeva; but the most interesting structure in this fort is the basement of an old temple the upper part of which is gone, which has been recently excavated from debris. The basement is well-preserved and there can be seen very beautiful figures carved in stone, depicting scenes in the Purāṇas and also of men, elephants, horses, camels, cows as they moved in the actual social life of mediæval Hindu period. The figures are true to nature and prove the great art of the carvers. These carvings are as beautiful, if not more, as

the carvings on the pillars used in the Kutub mosque at Delhi. This temple appears to have been a Vishnu temple. The heads of the figures have all been chiselled off by Mahomedan idol-breakers.

At some distance from this old temple there is a new temple, probably built in Akbar's days, wherein is to be seen a fine black statue of Muralidhara (Krishna sounding his pipe). The idol is placed in the upper story which is quite unusual. In the hall underneath and also on the second story there are paintings on the walls of scenes from Krishna's early life which are very creditable and which give an idea of the dress, the ornaments and the social life of the people in Akbar's days at Nurpur.

5 MANDI AND SUKET.

We have already given a short history of this hill state in our first volume (pp. 379 and 380) and we give further particulars here from an article by Hutchinson and Vogel (J. Panjab VII pp. 1-4) with a few remarks of our own. This part of the Himalayan country including Kulu seems to have been an ancient kingdom, the original people therein being Kunindas or Kanets who still are the chief cultivators there. The country is visited by Tibetan Buddhists annually as they believe that the great Buddhist saint Padmasambhava resided at the Rawalsar lake in Mandi territory; the Hindus believe that Lomaśa Rishi resided at this place.

The ruling family of Mandi and Suket is a Chandravanśi Rajput family with Atri as its gotra. Their names end always in the suffix sena. This has given rise, as usual, to the wrong tradition that they came from Bengal where Lakshmanāsena of Lakhnauti was their last great king (1169-1198). This tradition accepted by Sir L. Griffin in his book "the Rajas of the Panjab" was, however, disbelieved by Cunningham who placed the founding of the Suket family nearly five hundred years before 1200 A. D. and Hutchinson and Vogel accept his view in their article on several grounds. Further confirmation of this view may also be found in the fact that the epigraphic records of the Sena kings of Bengal clearly state that they were Kshatriyas come from Karnāṭaka; while the Suket-Mandi tradition is that their ancestors first ruled in Indraprastha and from there they went to Bengal and founded Lakhnauti. Local traditions founded on names are often unhistorical and have to be given up and in the same way as we gave

up the tradition about Pathānias having driven Pathans from Pathankot, we have here to give up the tradition that the Mandi-Suket Rājas with names ending in Sena came from Lakhnauti in Bengal after the fall of Lakshmanasena in 1198 A. D.

We have, however, to accept Vamśāvalis as some evidence, though not as reliable as inscriptions, and some history may be deduced out of Mandi Vamśāvalis. As already stated in Volume I p. 380, according to Cunningham, the founder of the Suket-Mandi family, Virasena, founded the state about 765 A. D. Cunningham calculated this date from the fact that from Virasena to Sāhusena and Bāhusena under whom the state divided into two, Suket and Mandi, there were 10 generations and upto Samudrasena who recorded the Nirmand inscription there were 6 more. From Samudrasena to Ajbarsena whose date is fixed from a copperplate inscription dated for the first time in Vikrama era viz. St. 1584 or A. D. 1527, there were 11 more kings. Thus there were 27 generations from Virasena to Ajbarsena of 1527 A. D. and taking 30 years for each generation we get for Virasena $1527 - 810 = 717$ A. D. and for Bāhusena who founded the Mandi state 1017 or 987. "Roughly speaking we may take Bāhusena founding Mandi about 1000 A. D. and Samudrasena recording inscription at Nirmand about 1150 A. D." Hutchinson and Vogel think that even if we take 25 years' average we shall have to take into consideration that some names might have dropped out of the Vamśāvalis and hence we may accept the date assigned by Cunningham as fairly correct, especially as it tallies with the legend current in Chambā that the pregnant queen of a king of Chambā had taken refuge with a king in Suket and her son Moshanāśva was set up in Chambā by this king. If we take 25 years average, we get for Virasena $(1527 - 675) 852$, for Bāhusena $(852 \text{ plus } 250) 1102$ and for Samudrasena $(1102 \text{ plus } 150) 1252$ A. D. In any case, Suket may be taken as founded not later than 800 A. D. and Mandi than 1100 A. D. Dr. Fleet does not believe that the Nirmand inscription of Samudrasena is dated in St. 1227 or 1170 A. D. as Cunningham thought. The date given in that inscription is only 6 which may belong to the Sāstra era and on palæographic grounds the inscription cannot

be later than the 7th century, A. D. This difficulty, however, need not disturb the dates above given for the founding of Mandi and Suket, as Samudrasena of the Nirmand inscription can be treated as a king different from the Samudrasena of the Vamśāvalis which really appears to be the case from the difference of the names of his immediate ancestors given in the inscription and in the Vamśāvalis.

If we take the date of the founding of Mandi as 1000 A. D. or even 1100 A. D. it is possible to explain that the kingdom was founded by Sena Rajputs during invasions of Mahomedans into the Panjab under Mahmud or later. The story that it was founded by Bāhusena, brother of Śāhusena with whom he disagreed is of the usual fashion wherein two brothers having names sounding like each other found two kingdoms and may be disbelieved. Suket is, however, an older kingdom and was founded about 800 A. D. (It is a strange revelation that while Kangra Katoch Rajputs marry with the Suket family they do not marry with the Mandi family though of the same clan, as the Maharaja of Guler informed us).

We are not concerned with the history of Mandi or of Suket later than 1200 A. D. It seems that this family of Rajput hill princes remained undisturbed by Mahomedan invasions for a long time. They appear to have been independent of Kashmir also during this and the preceding sub-periods (800 to 1200).

6 KASHTAWAR.

The small hill state of Kāshṭhavāta (modern Kashtawar) was ruled during this period by a Rajput family which was a dependent of Kashmir, as the name of a king Uttamarāja of Kāshṭhavāta appears among the names of those eight feudatories who attended on Kalaśa king of Kashmir in 1087 A. D. (See Vol. I p. 236). It may be noted that Suket and Mandi kings are not mentioned therein. From the article of Hutchinson and Vogel in J. Panjab H. S. Vol. IV (p. 29-41) on the history of the Kashtawar state, the princes of Kashtawar appear to belong to the family of Suket and Mandi and also believe that they came from Gaur. Their names also end mostly in the suffix sena. This tradition, as stated already, is wrong being based on the

name-ending sena only. The king Uttamarāja mentioned as ruling in 1087 A. D. however, did not belong to this family as his name does not appear in the Vamsāvali of Kashtawar supplied by the modern representative who is a Mahomedan convert Rajput. It seems to us that the first king Kahnapāla who was sprung from the Suket family came to this part later and conquered it about 1200 A. D. or thereafter. We are not concerned with the history of this family in later and Mogul times though it is given in detail by Hutchinson and Vogel in the article above referred to. This state is now a part of Kashmir, having been conquered by the Sikhs in the days of Ranjitsing. The family was a Chandravamśi family with Atri as its gotra, being of the same clan as the Suket family. To what clan Uttamarāja's family belonged which ruled during our sub-period, there is no material to determine.

7 VALLĀPUR (BALOR) OR BASOHLI

This was another hill state subordinate to Kashmir the Raja of which was among those who attended on king Kalāśa in 1089 A. D. as stated above. The history of this family down to the present day is given by Hutchinson and Vogel in J. Panjab H. S. Vol. II. (pp. 77-98) and we give the following few facts from this interesting article relating to our period. The family claimed to be descended from the Pāndavas and they believe that they came from Allahabad to Almora from there to Hardwar and from there into the hills via Suket. This tradition may be accepted as descendants of the Pāndavas last ruled at Kauśāmbi and their greatest king in historic times was Udayana well-known from the Kathāsaritsāgara who with his minister Yaugandharāyaṇa ruled in Kauśāmbi. The Rajas are therefore Chhandrabansi; their gotra has not been ascertained; though the main branch is now extinct, there are many collateral descendants known as Baloria Rajputs. The kingdom was founded by one Bhogapāla long before 900 A. D. and the ancient capital was Vallāpura or Balor. The names of the kings usually end in pāla. Trailokyapāla ruled in the first half of the 11th century and his son was Tunga and grandson Kalāśa. This king is mentioned in the Rājataranginī as visiting Kashmir to attend on Kalāśa the Kashmir king,

Padmaka and his son Ānanda are other names of Vallāpur kings mentioned in the Taranginī but they are not found in the Vamśāvali of Baloria kings. They assisted Bikshāchāra, grandson of Harsha, to regain the throne of Kashmir seized by Uchchala and Sussala, being his relatives. But they failed and eventually went over to the latter. Jayasinha is said to have deposed another king of Balor; but apparently the later kings became independent. Their names down to 1200 A. D. need not be given as we know nothing about them beyond their names.

8 KOT KANGRĀ.

The kingdom of Jālandhara has been noticed already in Vol. I pp. 383-84, as subsisting from the most ancient times of Mahābhārata days when Suśarman the first known ancestor of the Katoch kings fought on the side of the Kauravas. His descendant in the direct line at present is the Maharaja Sir Jaichand of Lambagraon, Kangra District; a Rajput chief of great learning and influence among the Rajputs of Eastern Himalayas. Who the king of Trigarta which then included Jālandhara in the plains and Kangrā in the hills was at the time of Mahmud has not yet been ascertained from him. We have already stated that the king must have been a dependent ally of Ānandapāla, king of Kabul and the Panjab, and must have fought in his last battle with Mahmud. The Hindus were defeated and probably Mahmud suddenly made a raid on Kot Kangrā before the king could come back. The fort fell though defended for a time by the garrison and it was seized with all the immense treasure kept therein. As stated in the note on Kot Kangrā already given, the fort was impregnable and hence it was made the depository of treasure by Hindu kings. From the account given by Utbi, a contemporary historian of Mahmud, it appears that the garrison lost heart on seeing the immense force which invested the fort and capitulated soon without much resistance. They were, we think, a mercenary force and not a band of gallant defenders fighting for national independence. For Utbi states "They capitulated and consented to serve under the banners of the Sultan. Then they opened the gate and humbly offered their services" (Utbi

p. 341). Thus the impregnable fort with its immense riches fell into the hands of Mahmud who permanently occupied it and kept trusty guards there, when he retired. It appears that the Trigarta kings lost their kingdom in the plains henceforward, and they must have further retired into the hills. They, however, took back the fort, it is said, in 1044 A. D. at the suggestion of the kings of Delhi after a seige of 4 months. Utbi does not relate the throwing down of any temple or the destruction of any idol at Kangrā Kot as other historians do. But it is nowhere stated of what deity the idol was. From inquiries at Kangrā it appears to us that there was a famous temple of Devi Ambikā there, distinct, of course, from the Devi of Jwālāmukhī which is about 20 miles distant from Kot Kangrā. The Devi idol must have been, as already stated, destroyed by Mahmud and it was replaced by the Kangra king when he retook the fort.

The later history of Kangrā kings upto 1200 A. D., the end of our period, is soon told. Kalhana mentions king Indrachandra in 1040 A. D. and he must be the king who took the fort back. We do not find any mention of any later king in Kangra except for a reference to a king of Trigarta defeated by the Turks in Jonarāja's Rājataranginī. He fled to Kashmir and with the help of Jayasinha about 1150 A. D. retook his kingdom after defeating the Turkish invader. It is not necessary to give mere names of kings from the Vamśāvali of Katoch kings which is undoubtedly one of the most reliable Vamaśāvalis in the Himalayan states down to the end of our period, as nothing particular can be related about these kings. We have already given a description of the fort of Kangrā and its temples in chapter X Book VI.

CHAPTER XIX.

RAI PITHAURA, THE LAST HINDU HERO-EMPEROR.

The history of the life of this last Hindu chivalrous emperor of India has been given in great detail in the *Rāsā* supposed to be composed by Chand Bhāt, a contemporary of Prithvirāj. But as the present *Rāsā* has nearly wholly transformed the probable original nucleus and as many events and statements given therein have been proved untrue from trustworthy records, it is difficult to determine which part of its account is true. There are two historical poems, however, which will assist us, first, the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya-kāvya* composed by a Kashmiri court-poet of Prithvirāj himself, first brought to notice by Bühler and later by Mr. Harbilas Sarda of Ajmer (J. R. A. S. 1913) and second, *Hammīrkāvya* published by J. S. Kirtane. The first is, however, incomplete and does not come down to the close of Prithvirāja's career; while the second devotes itself more to the glory of Hammīra a descendant of Prithvirāj. We will try to construct an account of the life of this hero from all these sources, using the *Rāsā* account so far as it is probable and uncontradicted.

In an inscription of Prithvirāj himself found at Madanapur and recorded by him in 1182 A.D. after defeating Paramardideva Chandella, we are told that Prithvirāj was son of Someśvara and grandson of Arṇorāja. Unfortunately, though the practice of inscriptions often is, the names of the mother of Prithvirāj and Someśvara are not given. The *Rāsā* makes a daughter of Anangapāla of Delli, mother of Prithvirāj; but the *Hammīra kāvya* and *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* state that he was born of a Chedi Haihaya princess named Karpūradevi, which of course is the more reliable statement. Prithvirāj according to the *Rāsā* was born in Ānanda St. 1115 or A. D. 1149 and when he died he was 43 years old, which gives correctly the year of his death viz. 1192 A. D. Tod gives the date of Prithvirāja's birth as St. 1215 or A. D. 1158 which makes his age at the time of his last battle, 34 years. Rai Bahadur Gaurishanker Ojha thinks that the date ought to be St. 1225 or A. D. 1168

which would make him 24 years old at the time of his death, which seems incredible.

From the Bijolia inscription (J. A. S. Bengal LV part 1 pp. 31-40) we are certain that Visaladeva or Vighraha III conquered Delhi and this event from Visala's inscription on the Śiwalik pillar at Delhi the exact date of which is 9th April 1164 (Kielhorn I. A. XIX p. 218) must have happened sometime about December 1163. The Bijolia inscription mentions Prithvirāja II as ruling after Visala and making a grant to a Jain temple and after him Someśvara as ruling and also making another grant to another Jain temple. The date of this Bijolia inscription is 1170 A. D. We have two inscriptions of Prithvībhata or Prithvirāj II dated 1167 and 1169 (E I. VIII Kielhorn). Thus we are certain that he came to the throne some time between 1164 and 1167 and ruled till the end of 1169, when Someśvara succeeded him. How long he ruled after 1170 is not clear. Gaurishanker thinks that he ruled till St. 1236 or 1179 A. D.; and at that time Prithvirāj was a minor, the government being carried on by his mother during his minority according to the Prithvirāja-Vijaya Kāvya. But in 1182 he was grown up and powerful enough to defeat Paramardideva. If we take him 21 years old at this time then his birth would be about 1161 A. D. and his age would be 18 at the time of Someśvara's death in the 1179 which would not make him for a Hindu prince a minor and this would contradict Prithvirāja-Vijaya. It is, therefore, probable that Someśvara did not rule so late as 1179 A. D. but [ruled] till about 1175 A. D. We thus have four uncertain dates for the birth of Prithvirāj viz. (1) 1149 A. D., Vaiśākha Badi 2 (May) according to the Rāsā (2) Prithvirāj-Vijaya gives the following date and positions of planets viz: Jyestha Badi 12, being after the end of bright Vaiśākha and Mars in Capricorn, Saturn in Aquarius, Jupiter in Pisces, Sun in Aries, Moon in Taurus and Mercury in Gemini, (this gives no clue to the year of his birth)*

* For the curious we may state that the horoscope of Prithvirāja according to the Rāsā is different from the one which results from the positions given above. But even these are imaginary as it is impossible that on Jyestha Badi 12 the sun can be in Aries and the moon in Taurus. The Rāsā date of birth is Śaka 1071 Vaishākha Vadya 2 (A.D. 1149); and the Vijaya date is Jyestha Vadya 12 (Purnimanta month); this *miti* may be believed though the year may be uncertain; taken to be 1158 A. D. or Śaka 1081.

(3) 1158 according to Tod and (4) 1168 according to Gaurishanker. Someśvara at the time of the birth of Prithvirāj was not king. It is related that during the rule of his brother Vighraha III he resided at the court of Jayasinha Sidharāja of Anhilwad whose daughter Kānchanadevi was his mother. He came to Ajmer on the death of Prithvirāj II. And he ruled there for some years, as is also proved by his copper coins found. The place of Prithvirāja's birth is given by the Rāsā as Delhi; but it must have been Anhilwad or Tripur the capital of the Chedis, the former being mentioned by Prithvirāj-Vijaya (J. R. A. S. 9913 p. 276).

Having discussed the date as also the place of birth of Prithvirāj we will go on to speak of his marriages. He must have been certainly a precocious boy and according to the Rajput fashion of the day and indeed Hindu practice generally of the time, he must have married early. The Rāsā mentions many queens of his; but the first and notable of them was Inchhini daughter of Jaita Paramāra of Abu. The Rāsā story of this marriage is, however, absurd. An elder daughter of the Paramāra chief of Abu was married to Chaulukya king Bhīma; who, learning of the great beauty of her younger sister, insisted on marrying that princess also. Her father, however, gave her in marriage to Prithvirāj. The kingdom of Abu was invaded in consequence by Bhīma. Prithvirāj moved against Bhīma who, thereupon, incited Shihabuddin to attack Prithvirāja from the north while he himself attacked him from the south. Prithvirāj and his general Kaimāsa, however, defeated them severally; Shihabuddin being even captured. (The Rāsā, by an amazing exaggeration, makes Prithvirāj capture Shihabuddin several times releasing him each time through generosity). The story seems improbable, though we may believe that Prithvirāj was married to Inchhini a Paramāra princess and that he had a fight with Bhola Bhīma of Gujarat for some reason in which the latter was defeated.

We need not describe the other queens of Prithvirāj mentioned by the Rāsā; but we must notice his last queen viz: Sanyogitā daughter of Jaichand Gāhadavāla king of Kanauj. The Rāsā makes a most poetical story of this marriage. It represents Jaichand holding a svayamvara of his daughter and Prithvirāj being his enemy was not only not invited, but

in derision, an image of his in the dress of a Bhāldar or mace-bearer was placed at the entrance of the marriage hall. Sanyogitā who had already been married to Prithvirāj in a dream by the god Kali threw the garland of marriage round the neck of his image. The chivalrous Prithvirāj seized the princess and carried her off, fighting through the army of Jaichand. This story is too enchanting to be true; but it is difficult to reject it altogether as some do and we believe that Prithvirāj to whom Sanyogitā must have communicated her love like Juliet, by a sudden raid on Kanauj must have carried her off. Svayamvaras were obsolete at this time, though described by Chand in the Rāsā and by Bilhapa in Vikramān-kacharitra, a little earlier (1125 A. D.). This love story has, however, immortalized the name of Prithvirāj as much as his defeat of Shihabuddin Ghorī. Sir Vincent Smith places this marriage in 1175 A. D. following probably the Rāsā (E. H. I. p. 387 3rd Ed); but if we believe that Prithvirāj was born in 1158 according to Tod, he would be only 17 years old in 1175 A. D.; (according to the Rāsā he would be 26 years old) and further the fall of Prithvirāj would come 17 years after this marriage. But the Rāsā represents the fall as coming soon after the marriage and it is probable, therefore, that this event happened at least 10 years later i.e. about 1185 A. D. which date indeed, we find, is given in the Rāsā and not 1175 A. D.

We need not mention the many incidents in the life of Prithvirāj described by the Rāsā such as the destruction of Kaimāsa, his most able minister and general. It is sufficient if we mention the probable wars which Prithvirāj must have waged beside his war with Mahomedans. The most important and powerful kingdoms in Northern India then were those of Gujarat, Bundelkhand and Pānchāla or Kanauj, ruled by Chālukyas, Chandellas and Gāhadavālas. And the kings in these at this time were also able and powerful viz. Bhīma, Paramardideva and Jaichand. With each one of them Prithvirāj fought and established his superiority over them. Each of these wars is full of chivalrous incidents which it would be out of place here to detail, such as the story of Alha and Udhalha of the Banāphara clan, two heroes who had been driven away by Paramardideva but who by the entreaty of

their mother and for the sake of their mother-land came back to Mahoba to fight with Prithvirāj when he attacked it and died fighting with him. The whole poem of Chand is full of such daring incidents, so dear to the chivalrous Rajputs and thus deserves the vast popularity it enjoys in Rajputana. The historian, however, is unable to accept these stories as historical in the absence of corroborating epigraphic or other reliable evidence. The war with Paramardideva was waged in 1182 A. D. and the latter was conquered; as appears from Prithvirāja's inscription recorded at Madanpura in Chandella territory already mentioned.

The summary of Prithvirāja-Vijaya-Kāvya given by Mr. Harbilas Sarda in J. R. A. S. 1913 contains no details either about Prithvirāja's marriages or his wars. It mentions two ministers Kadambavāsa and Bhuvanika-Malla who were great warriors; but even their achievements are not mentioned. However it introduces at the end a messenger from Gujarat announcing its victory over Shihabuddin. This was after Prithvirāja was major and himself ruling. The battle as stated in Gujarat history was fought in 1179 A. D. and Prithvirāja appears then to have been major at this date. His minority must have lasted for a short time only.

On the disastrous results of these wars with the neighbouring kingdoms we will speak later on; but they established the fame of Prithvirāja and he has rightly been called emperor of Northern India. He was king of Ajmer and Delhi and emperor or Chakravartin of Northern India (like George V, king of England and Emperor of India). This position of a chakravartin was the bone of contention among Rajput kings: and each powerful king tried to assert it; even the kings of Konkan, as we have seen, called themselves Konkana-Chakravartin. The competitor of Prithvirāj to Imperial dignity was Jaichand of Kanauj whose grand-father Govindachandra was really emperor over the whole of Northern India; that position was wrested from his son by Visaladeva in about 1160 A.D. and the conquest and annexation of Delhi added to the power of the Chauhans. This contest between Prithvirāja and Jaichand weakened their power to resist the Mahomedans under Ghorī. How it finally led to the conquest of both, we go on to describe.

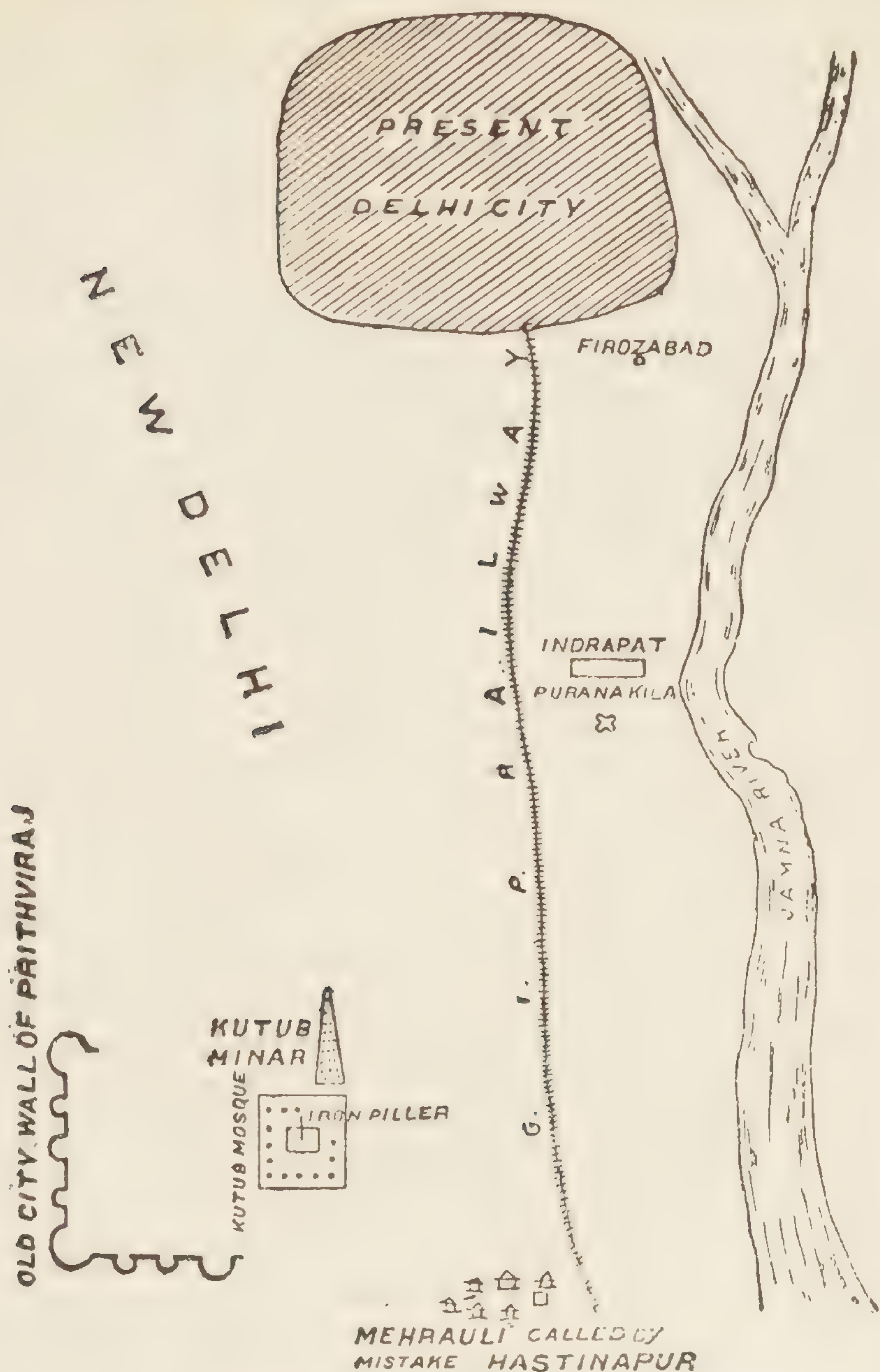
NOTE:—1 RĀSĀ DATES IN PRITHIRĀJA'S LIFE.

The Rāsā gives five dates of events in the life of Prithvīrāj (Benares Edn. of the Rāsā p. 140). viz.

1 Birth	1115	Anand St.	=1149	A. D.	=1205	V. E.
2 Adoption at Delhi.	1122	„	=1156	„	=1213	„
3 Fight with Kaimāsa.	1140	„	=1174	„	=1231	„
4 Kanauj expedition	1157	„	=1185	„	=1242	„
5 Final fight and death.	1158	„	=1192	„	=1249	„

NOTE:—2 THE OLD DELHI OF PRITHVĪRĀJA.

From "the Seven Cities of Delhi" of Gordon and from ancient Mahomedan accounts and Indian records, as well as from a personal inspection of the locality, an idea may be formed and given of the old city of Delhi ruled by Prithvīrāja. Indrapastha appears, from Mahomedan records, to have existed separately in the time of Kutubuddin and at a distance from the Delhi of Prithvīrāja. This is probably the same place which is now known as Indrapat. To the south-west of it, at a distance of about two miles, Anangapāla Tomara built a fort called even then Lalkot, and founded a city which may be the same as the modern small town of Mehrauli. This Lalkot is the same place as where now stands Kutubuddin's mosque; the ancient iron pillar, believed to have been brought from Mathura and set up by Anangapāla, being in the centre of the court-yard of this mosque. At present the western wall of the Kutub mosque is not standing. In Anangapāla's fort, there must have been many Jain and Hindu temples. These were thrown down by Kutubuddin and their beautifully carved pillars were utilized by him for building the four sides of the court-yard of the mosque. That Kutubuddin preserved the carvings of these pillars and allowed the iron pillar to stand where it was set up, shows the greatness of that first Mahomedan Indian emperor. "How the iron pillar (dating probably from the 5th century A. C.) so long remains without rusting is a thing which manufacturers of the present day long to explain. It is a single shaft about 17 tons in weight. It was originally raised to Vishnu (by a king named Chandra as an inscription on it states) and probably had a Garuda upon it". "All honour is due to Kutubuddin for leaving it in front of the mosque (and taking it in the centre of its court-yard while the Moslem conquerors of Rhodes sold the Colossus there to a Jew for the brass," (Fergusson). "There are pillars of Jain temples of the same order as those on Mt. Abu"—(Fergusson) but "there are others of Hindu temples with carvings showing cow and calf and Krishna and his mother" (Fanshawe). There can be distinctly seen the head of Kīrti-



mukha with rows of teeth clearly markable, who is a well-known servant of Śiva. The fort of Anangapāla was extensive enough apparently to contain many palaces and temples.

This fort and city of Delhi was founded by Anangapāla Tomara in about 1052 A. D. in which year the pillar was set up there according to an inscription on the pillar itself. A hundred years later the Chāhamānas

conquered it and annexed the Tomara kingdom. Prithvīrāja is said to have extended the city and built a wall round it. "The wall of Prithvīrāja can be traced round the Kutub mosque." There is still a portion of the wall standing, with bastion-towers, to the west of the mosque at a distance of some two furlongs, which may be the wall of a city or another circumvallating wall of the fort itself. We have to imagine a ground fort round about the present Kutub Minar "rising like a mountain" (Taj-ul-Ma'sir).

The name of the new city and the fort appears to be really Dhillikā, a new name given by the Tomaras so far as we can see. The name in this form is used in two inscriptions already quoted, viz., the Bijolia inscription dated St. 1226 or 1169 A. D. and the well inscription of 1336 A. D. which distinctly states that the city was founded by the Tomaras and subsequently ruled by the Chāhamānas. Thus the name Delhi goes back to about 1050 A. D. What the name means is not clear as the original form Dhillikā is difficult to be converted into its Sanskrit equivalent. It is a Prakrit word meaning loose as the modern vernacular word means, and there may be some truth in the legend usually mentioned about the city's name.

CHAPTER XX.

SHIHABUDDIN GHORI, AND HIS CONFLICT. WITH PRITHVĪRĀJ.

Panjab fell before Mahmud, Turkish king of Ghazni; Northern India fell before Shihabuddin, Afghan king of Ghor. It is, therefore, necessary to give a short account of this king before we proceed to narrate the history of the fall of the Rajput kingdoms of Northern India, in the same way as we gave an account of the rise of the Turkish kingdom of Ghazni, before we gave the history of the downfall of the Panjab.

Ghor is a mountainous territory to the northwest of Ghazni peopled by Afghans and the king and people of Ghor were originally Hindus, as elsewhere in Afghanistan. They were converted to Mahomedanism before and during the days of Mahmud of Ghazni. The kings of Ghor ruled in subordination to the Sultans of Ghazni for long time, till in the time of Sultan Bahram a quarrel arose between them. Bahram unnecessarily first killed Kutubuddin Ghorî and then his brother Saifuddin with the greatest possible indignity at Ghazni. Allauddin, their brother, vowed vengeance and marched on Ghazni, when Bahram marched out of Ghazni to oppose him with a formidable force the chief arm of which was the elephant force. By the bravery of certain heroes, Allauddin was able to defeat the elephant force as also the army of Bahram who fled leaving Ghazni to the tender mercies of Allauddin. A most terrible vengeance was exacted by him from Ghazni which was plundered and burnt for seven days continuously. Every man that was found there was slain and the women and children were made slaves. He destroyed all the palaces of the Mahmudi kings "which had no equals in the world." After that he returned to Ghor with the remains of his brothers and he interred them in the tombs of their ancestors (Tabakat-i-Nasiri E. II p. 289). A terrible vengeance indeed on the people for the fault of their king !!! Bahram fled to India but died on the way. Allauddin Ghorî for this act of cruelty is properly called Jahān-soz or burner of the world. After his

death his son succeeded him and after his death within a short time Ghiyasuddin Muhammad bin Sam, his cousin, succeeded in Ferozkoh, the capital of Ghor. His brother Muez-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam became king of Ghazni in 1172 A. D. The Gozz Turks who held the possession of Ghazni for twelve years, the Mahmudi Sultan Khusru having fled to India, were driven away by him. He ruled in behalf of his brother Ghiyasuddin but was virtually master. He was an ambitious energetic king and naturally formed the design of conquering all the Indian territory of the Mahmudi Sultans of Ghazni and of conquering Hindustan itself. Muhammad Ghor was also called Shiha-buddin or 'flaming star of religion.'

He first conquered Multan and the adjoining territory in 1175; and in 1178 A. D. he led his army by way of Uchh and Multan against Naharwala. The Rai of Naharwala was a minor (the name Bhima is wrongly given here by the Tabakat, it ought to have been Mūlarāja as we have already seen in Guja at history; he was, however, elder brother of Bhima) but the Rai had a large army and many elephants and the Sultan was defeated and compelled to retreat.

In 1179 A. D. he took Peshawar and two years later he advanced against Lahore which was the capital of the Mahmudi Sultan Khusru. The power of the Ghaznavides was on the decline and their glory was departing. Khusru Malek sent his son as hostage and an elephant as present and he was spared this time. Muhammad Ghor thereafter turned his attention towards Sind and conquered Debal and the surrounding country upto the sea. In 1184 he again marched towards Lahore, ravaged the country, founded the town and fort of Sialkot and finally took Lahore. Khusru Malek could offer no resistance; he came forth peacefully to meet the Sultan and was made a prisoner and he was subsequently sent to Ferozkoh the capital of Ghor and thence to a fort with his son in 1191 A. D. and there put to death about 1205 A. D. This conduct and fate of the last Ghaznavide Sultan reminds one of the similar conduct and fate of the Sultan of Bijapur before Auranzjeb. Muezuddin appointed a governor in Lahore and the father of the author of the Tabakat, Kazi of the army of Hindustan and then returned

to Ghazni (E. II p. 295). Thus was substituted in the Panjab a new dynasty of rulers in place of the effete old Mahmudi dynasty and a new ambitious powerful king came to the throne of Ghazni, who had the energy and ambition, though not the greatness, of Mahmud and who fought with the Rajput kings of Northern India as neighbouring kings must always do.

HIS CONFLICT WITH PRITHVIRĀJ.

The important kingdom in his immediate neighbourhood was the kingdom of Ajmer and Delhi ruled by Prithvirāj and the two emperors were equally matched in their personal capacities and the extent of their resources. The history of this conflict is differently told in the *Rāsā* of Chand and the *Taj-ul-Ma'sir* of Nizamuddin followed by the *Tabakat i-Nasiri*. Both sides exaggerate the merits of their heroes; but historically considered, the account of the *Taj* and the *Tabakat*, written about 20 and 50 years respectively after the event, is more reliable than the almost fabulous account given in the *Rāsā* amplified to its present form nearly 300 years after Prithvirāja. We will, therefore, mainly follow the account of these Mahomedan writers and try to test it historically; though it may be regretted that the *Taj* is not more detailed and less poetical, in fact is not to be compared with the well-known chronicle of Mahmud by Utbi.

We may first notice the extract from the *Tabakat* given by Elliot II (p. 295.). The first attack was made by Muhammad Ghorī who invaded Hindu territory and seized the fort of Sirhind and placed it under a Mahomedan governor. "Rai Pithaura came up against the fort and the Sultan faced him at Narain. All the Rais of Hindustan were with the Rai Kola (a term of abuse)." Probably Prithvirāja for this conflict, in order to nip in the bud this aggression by Mahomedans against Hindus, collected a confederate Hindu army and then advanced against the Sultan. But there is no corroborating evidence from epigraphic records to prove this confederacy. "In the fight, the Sultan seizing a lance attacked Govindrai of Delhi who was riding an elephant, the Sultan being on horseback. The Sultan drove his lance into the mouth of Govindrai and knocked down two of his teeth. The Rai, however, by his blow

wounded severely one arm of his adversary. The Sultan reined back his horse and turned aside. As the Sultan began to totter on his horse, an intrepid young Afghan sprang upon the Sultan's horse and supported him and took the horse safely away. But the army thinking the Sultan killed, gave way and fled; and thus was inflicted a severe defeat upon the Mahomedans."

Whether this account is true and whether the defeat was not, in the usual fashion, due to superior numbers or superior tactics or superior heroism, we need not discuss. One thing may be said, however, that the Mahomedans, even according to their account, like the Hindus, fled unbeaten because of the report of the death of their king. This is not strange. Eastern armies fight not for nations but for kings. The Mahomedans were no more fired by a national sentiment than the Hindus; and the substitute of a religious for a national sentiment was equal on both the sides. Certain it is that in this battle, Shihabuddin Ghori was signally defeated (1191 A. D.).

The tradition among the Hindus is, as recorded in the Rāsā, that the Sultan was captured. The story of Dhīra Pundira given in the Rāsā is clearly fictitious; but it is possible that when Govindrai (who is not mentioned in the Rāsā at all and who is represented as killed in the next conflict with Prithvirāj) inflicted a severe wound on the Sultan and he began to totter on his horse, he may have been seized by Pundir and finally captured. The Sultan was allowed to return by Prithvirāj after a ransom of 30 elephants and five hundred horses was taken from him. This much may be historically true. The Taj does not mention this defeat at all but discreetly begins with the Sultan's next advance against Prithvirāja. It is, of course, entirely unbelievable as alleged by the Rāsā that the Sultan was many times captured in battle and at each time released and sent back by Prithvirāja. This is the usual reduplication of events noticeable from the story of Krishna in the Purānas down to the story of Munja by the chroniclers who is supposed to have six times defeated and captured Taila Chālukya of Kalyan (see Vol. II p. 120). But an exaggeration like this generally has some truth behind it and we may believe that Shihabuddin was captured in this battle and released on

ransom just as Jaipal was released by Mahmud after his first defeat on a similar ransom.*

Whatever be the reality of this incident, the fact that the Sultan was defeated in this battle is accepted on both sides. The place of this battle is given as Narain which, in the original, must be Tarain. The scene is said to be on the Sarsuti but Cunningham thinks that the exact site was on the banks of the Raukshi river, four miles south of Tiraori and ten miles to the north of Karnal. "Tiraori is also called Azimābād" (note Elliot II p. 295). The Karnal Gazetteer (1918) gives the latest information and states (p. 10) that the battle was fought at Nardina a village in the Nai Wafi in the Nardak, 12 miles south of Thanesar and 3 miles from Taraori.

The Tabakat proceeds to relate that when the Sultan retired, Prithvirāja invested the fort of Sirhind for 13 months. If this is true it can not be believed that the Sultan was captured in battle and released. For one condition of such release would naturally have been the surrender of the fort which had been wrongly seized by the Sultan; and probably the fight would not have been continued or even renewed so soon. The Sultan according to the Tabakat made fresh preparations and returned to the fight with an overwhelming force.

The Taj-ul-Ma'sir suppresses all this and begins with the statement that the Sultan sent a venerable reliable man to Ajmer calling upon Prithvirāja to accept Islam and subordination to the Sultan; thus giving the affair a wholly religious aspect. It does not seem to us that Muhammad Ghorī's war upon India was from religious motives as that of Mahmud was, though Mahomedan writers naturally give it this form. The war was waged solely for aggression and extension of dominion as the more truly historical Tabakat describes.

The Taj gives no details about this final conflict but merely says that the army of Islam was victorious and a hundred thousand Hindus swiftly "departed to the fire of hell." The more truly historical Tabakat gives interesting details. Quoting an eye-witness who was in the army, it states that the

* Rāsā mentions guns and even canon in this battle which plainly indicates that the Rāsā account was written after Babar who first used guns in India in the 16th century.

army of Islam numbered a hundred and twenty thousand horsemen clad in armour. The numbers on the Hindu side are not given. "Before the Sultan arrived, the fort had capitulated and the Hindu army was encamped in the vicinity of Narain." It thus appears that the site of the second battle was nearly the same as before. The tactics adopted at this battle are described by the *Tabakat* as follows :—

"The Sultan drew up his battle array, leaving his main body in the rear with the banners, canopies and elephants. The light-armoured horsemen were made into four divisions of 10,000 each and were directed to advance and to harass the enemy, on the right, on the left, in the front and in the rear. When the enemy collected his forces to attack, they were to support each other and to charge at full speed. By these tactics the enemy was worsted, the Almighty gave us the victory over them and they fled". (p. 297).

The manner of fighting adopted by the Mahomedans at this momentous battle as described above appears similar to that adopted by Mahmud in his battles with Jaipal and Anandapāla; frequent attacks by bodies of cavalry and a final attack by a reserve force, a measure also adopted by Ahmed Shah Abdali. How the Hindus fought cannot be stated as the descriptions in the *Rāsā* are imaginary and as the author copies the *Mahābhārata* in describing *Vyūhas* in the form of birds or animals, and the description is not from an eye-witness but from a poet who wrote centuries afterwards. But that the fighting was tough and the battle was severely contested appears clear from the single sentence of the *Tabakat*. "The Almighty gave us the victory". There being no superiority of arms as at Assaye or at Plassey, and there being no lack of heroism on the side of the Hindus, we may take it that the battle was not a walk over, as may perhaps be thought. It cannot be gainsaid that Prithvirāja fought most bravely in this final fight and that fate was against him at this time. The story of the *Rāsā* that Prithvirāja after his marriage with Sanyogitā gave himself up solely to pleasure and neglected the army is probably fictitious. And this is doubly true when we remember that Prithvirāja was not in Delhi as the *Rāsā* represents

but in Ajmer. The importance of Delhi commences from Kutubuddin. Those who wrote in later centuries, as even Firishta, could not resist the idea of bringing in Delhi, much less could the amplifier of the Rāsā and the whole story of the Rāsā including the names of the fighters on both sides, notably of Samarasinha of Chitod has to be given up as unhistorical.

But the story of the Rāsā as to how Prithvirāj ended his life is the climax of its unhistorical nature. It is the usual story of vengeance, a story invented after the true account of the death of Muhammad Ghorī at the hands of Gakkhar assassins on the south bank of the Indus had been forgotten. The real manner of Prithvirāj's death, however, still remains a mystery like that of Bhaoosaheb or Jankoji Scindia at Panipat. The two accounts of the Taj and Tabakat differ. The latter merely records that "Pithaura alighted from his elephant, mounted a horse and galloped off but he was captured near Sarsuti and sent to hell". The Taj, however, records (p 215) that the Rai of Ajmer was taken prisoner and his life was spared. At Ajmer where he was taken, he was detected in an intrigue (*which is only obscurely hinted*) and orders were, therefore, given for his being beheaded and a sword accordingly severed the head of that accursed wretch from his body". In this state of the evidence, it is difficult to decide how Prithvirāj met his death; but we prefer to believe that Prithvirāj was captured on the Sarsuti and immediately put to death as the Tabakat relates.

NOTE:—1 MUHAMMAD GHORI AND PRITHVIRĀJ.

The translation of the *Tabakat* by Raverty gives a somewhat different wording from Elliot and states " When the ranks were duly martialled, the Sultan seized a lance and attacked the elephant on which Govindrai of Delhi was mounted and on which elephant he moved about in front of the battle. The Sultan struck Govindrai on the mouth and he launched a javelin at the Sultan and inflicted a very severe wound. The Sultan turned his charger's head round and receded and from the agony of the wound he was unable to continue on horseback any longer. Defeat befell the army of Islam and it was irretrievably routed. The Sultan was very nearly falling from his horse, seeing which a Khilji stripling recognised the Sultan and sprang up behind and supporting him in his arms urged the horse with his voice and brought him out of the field of battle. On the Muhamadan forces not seeing the Sultan, lamentations broke from them and they reached a place where the defeated army was safe from pursuit. Suddenly the Sultan arrived. (p. 431).

Raverty in his note gives here the different account given by later authors and the account of Firishta as also of modern English historians based on the last. Firishta gives the army of Pithora as amounting to two lakhs of men and 3,000 elephants. He also states that the right and left wings had already been defeated and had turned their faces; and that the Sultan in the centre not heeding this led a furious assault. One account lastly states that the Sultan fell from his horse and was not known till night when slaves came searching for him among the slain on the battlefield. All this gives plausibility to the Rāsā account that the Sultan was captured. From the *Tabakat* even, it is clear that the Sultan was far from his men when wounded and turning back went on somehow for some time. It is likely that Dhīra Pundīra, a young Rajput from the Hindu side, seeing his condition rushed on and seized him. That he was set free and asked to fight again is not inconsistent with the chivalrous character of Prithvīrāj who perhaps imitated the tradition of Munja releasing his enemy Talla six times. It may further be added that Mahmud had released Jaipāl on ransom though he knew he would have to fight with him again.

NOTE:—2 MAHOMEDAN TACTICS AT THE LAST BATTLE

The translation of the *Tabakat* by Raverty gives the following somewhat different version of the fighting in the last battle with Prithvīrāja (p. 467). " The Sultan made the disposition of his forces. The centre division of the army, baggage, banners, canopy and elephants were left several miles behind. He marshalled his ranks and advanced leisurely. The light-armed and unencumbered horsemen he had divided into four divisions and had appointed them to act against the infidels on four sides

saying "on the right and left, front and rear, 10,000 mounted archers should keep the infidel force in play and when their elephants, horsemen and foot advanced to the attack, you are to face about and keep the distance of a horse's course in front of them. The Mussalman force kept the instructions and having wearied the unbelievers' force, Almighty God gave the victory to Islam and the infidel host was overthrown."

Major Raverty, a military officer remarks on this that the tactics above described are not quite clear. It is impossible for us to make any comment from the military point. But it is necessary to remark that in all the three great battles which Mahomedans won (two by Mahmud and one by Shihabuddin) the Mahomedan cavalry did great execution. The Hindus usually relied on their elephant force. Indeed in inscriptions, the usual praise is that the warriors broke open the temples of elephants. But from the days of Alexander elephants in India could not withstand trained cavalry. Elephants were used no doubt by Mahmud against the Turks of Turkestan but their cavalry was unaccustomed to the sight of elephants. Secondly, harassing and attacking the enemy both in front and rear is a great factor in securing victory. Shihabuddin purposely advanced slowly so as to allow his cavalry divisions to reach the enemy's front and rear. The ancient Hindu mode of fighting including Vyūhas of the Mahābhārata has yet to be studied by modern experts but we may remark that the Hindus were straight fighters and did not adopt deceptions or even surprises. Lastly a strong reserve and a final attack in the centre by such reserve is often effective. Elephants, moreover, when defeated are a source of terror and destruction to their own force. Shihabuddin in this battle kept his elephants several miles behind.

NOTE:—3 THE RASA ACCOUNT OF THE LAST BATTLE.

It would be interesting to give here a summary of the account given in the Prithvīrāj Rāsā of the final fatal fight of Prithvīrāja with Shihabuddin Ghori, almost wholly imaginary as it is. We have often said that the Rāsā is plainly modelled after the Mahābhārata. Following it, it first gives the numerous evil omens that preceded the fight; it tells even of a curse on Prithvīrāja. It speaks further of Prithvīrāja having entirely neglected state affairs in his infatuation over his new queen Sanyogitā. Also it states that Prithvīrāja had affronted his sardar Hāhulirai who consequently left him, went to Kangra and induced Shihabuddin to attack Prithvīrāja. There is no corroboration of this in Mahomedan accounts. The whole description of this battle seems to indicate that the Rajputs were already overpowered with a sense of the impending doom like the Marathas at Panipat. This is not what Mahomedan accounts would lead us to believe. Prithvīrāja had conquered in the first battle and in overweening confidence had even released Ghori. The fort of Sirhind had also just fallen. But the Rāsā misrepresents the whole story and gives a different time and place to this conflict. We have seen that the battle was

fought in the very next year while Prithvīrāj was still before Sirhind. The Rāsā makes the battle come after some years after the capture of Shihabuddin and while Prithvīrāj was whiling away his time with Sanyogitā in Delhi. The place is given as the plain of Panipat; the whole Kurukshetra may be called the plain of Panipat; but though near enough, the battle cannot be called a battle of Panipat.

The forces of Shihabuddin are described as numbering one lakh horse, nine lakh foot and ten thousand elephants. This is plainly an exaggeration. The Hindu army is estimated once at 80 thousand and again at 70 thousand. This is probably a correct estimate. Prithvīrāja's force must have been reduced by fatalities in the previous fight and also in the investiture of the fort of Sirhind. It seems that in this fight the Mahomedan army given as 125 thousand horse by their own writers outnumbered the Hindu army.

The disposition of the Hindu army, imaginary as it is, is given as follows:—Samarasinha on the left with 33 thousand supported by many sardars; on the right was Jaitrao Paramāra with 21; in the van was Chāmundarai with 19, and in the centre was Prithvīrāja overlooking the battle with 10 thousand. This is also a description in the Mahābhārata fashion; and many names of noted ancestors of modern Rajput families are given as being with one or other army, a detail which is of perennial interest to the Rajput clans of India.

The practice of sending proposals of peace at the final moment and making recriminations, old as the Mahābhārata and recent as the modern European war, has also not been neglected. But the unhistorical nature of the messages is apparent when Shihabuddin demands half the Panjab only and delivery of the heir-apparent as hostage. The whole of the Panjab was already in the possession of Ghori. Indeed that province with Lahore was in the possession of the Mahomedans for nearly two hundred years before this battle.

The actual fight goes on for three or four days and different Vyūhas described in the Mahābhārata are also mentioned. Usually the fight resolves itself into duels between the different chiefs on both sides. In detail of imaginary fighting the Rāsā equals the Mahābhārata. And it follows it even in making repetitions. Prithvīrāja is four times described as captured. Prithvīrāja slays many with his arrows, his sword and finally his dagger before he is seized. He is taken to Ghazni and there kept in prison and blinded. The story of Prithvīrāja killing Shihabuddin even in his blindness by his unerring aim, hearing the mere voice of Shihabuddin is the final embellishment of the Rāsā story which we have already disbelieved as a vengeance story likely to be concocted.

It may be added that, as in the Mahābhārata fight, all the leading generals on the side of Prithvīrāja are shown as killed in battle after deeds of great heroism. The date of the fight is, however, given correctly as Ananda Vikrama Samvat 1158 which is equivalent to 1192 A. D.

CHAPTER XXI.

FALL OF AJMER AND KANAUJ

(I) AJMER AND DELHI

When Prithvirāja was defeated and killed in the second conflict, memorable as the first of the battles wherein Hindu independence was finally lost, Shihabuddin, like a consummate general, at once advanced upon Ajmer the chief capital of his enemy. It fell without resistance and so much booty was obtained that "you might have said that the secret depositories of seas and hills were revealed. While the Sultan remained at Ajmer, he destroyed the idol temples and built in their place mosques and colleges". We have already stated that the building now called Adhai Dinki Jhopdi was originally a Sanskrit college built by Vigraharāja III (Taj. p. 215). Having conquered and plundered Ajmer like a consummate general, Shihabuddin entrusted the government of Ajmer to Prithvirāj's son, like a consummate politician: he did not at once annex the conquered kingdom but made Rainsi, son of Prithvirāja, king of Ajmer, no doubt paying a yearly tribute as a dependent king. The Taj says that "in him were discovered indexes of wisdom and prognostications of goodness" which means that he was good and wise enough to see the situation and accept subjugation and tribute. This, to our mind, makes it further certain that Prithvirāja was not beheaded in Ajmer but was killed in battle, as his son Rainsi would not, in the former case, have thought it fit to accept the kingdom.

Having secured Ajmer, the Sultan marched against Delhi, the second capital of the Chauhans, where "he saw a fortress which in height and strength had no equal in the whole of India," (E. II 26). "The fortress resisted and torrents of blood flowed on both sides"; but eventually the governor submitted, "placed his head upon the line of slavery and made

firm the conditions of tribute, Malgujari and service." "The Sultan then returned to Ghazni but the army remained outside Delhi at the Mouza of Inderpat." It is always necessary to keep an army in a conquered country to enforce subjection and the payment of tribute.

The author of the Tabakat states that "the capital Ajmer and all the Siwalik hills and Hānsi, Sarsuti and other districts were the results of the victory which was gained in the year 588 H. (1192 A. D.)" Śiwalik hills mean here, as stated before, hills on the border of the Sapādalaksha or Ajmer kingdom. Kutubuddin was appointed governor and was placed in the fort of Kohram (?). Who was in Delhi at this time who first resisted and then submitted, cannot be determined. The Tabakat states that the governor of Delhi was killed in the final battle with Prithvīrāj; possibly there was another governor in Delhi in behalf of the Chauhans and he submitted seeing that Rainsi the king of Ajmer had accepted service.

But this respite was for a short time only. The stage of partial subjection was certain to be followed by final extinction and this next stage came on almost immediately. A chief named 'Jatwan' by the Taj (this is plainly a misreading or miswriting for Chauhan in Persian) attacked the fort of Hānsi and Kutubuddin at once marched to its relief. A fierce battle was fought "the armies attacked each other like two hills of steel and the battle-field became tulip-red with the blood of the warriors. Jatwan was killed and the Hindus were signally defeated. Hansi fort being relieved and repaired, Kutubuddin turned towards Meerut and conquered that fort. He finally attacked Delhi and captured that fort also". "He entered the city which was then freed from idols and idol-worship and in the place of temples, mosques were raised." What gave the occasion for attacking Delhi again is not mentioned by the Taj. The Tabakat also in brief states that from thence (Kohram) he took possession of Meerut in 1193 and in the same year from thence captured Delhi. But it may be imagined that Kutubuddin was in need of a strong and important place to reside in and Ajmer being given to a son of Prithvīrāja, Delhi was the next best place to make the

seat of his power. No reason needed to be given or a plausible reason is always at hand and Delhi finally became annexed to the Mahomedan kingdom. It became the capital of India a few years later as we shall presently see.

The turn of Ajmer came next. The Taj first states that rebellion was raised by Hiraj brother of Prithvirāj (this is plainly a mis-writing for Hari Rāja) against the dependent Chauhan king at Ranthambhor and Kutubuddin flew to its relief. Harirāj fled and the Taj records that the son of Pithaura was honoured with a robe and he in return sent abundant treasures and three golden melons which with extreme ingenuity had been cast in moulds." Thus supported by the Mahomedans, Rainsi ruled for a time in Ajmer. What became of him hereafter is not apparent. Probably he died soon and he was succeeded by Harirāj himself who is now called Rai of Ajmer by the Taj (E. 11 225). He of course did not brook subjection and raised the standard of revolt. "Jehtar (?) advanced even to the border of Delhi the people of which were suddenly caught in the darkness of oppression." Kutubuddin sent against him the largest portion of his forces and when Jitwan was defeated, he in hot season advanced against Ajmer itself. Jhitar (or Hariraj) retired within the fort which was invested. "Finally in despair he sacrificed himself in the flames of a pyre and the fort was then easily taken." "The country of Ajmer was restored to the honours of ancient times and religion was re-established." "The roads were freed from robbers and the oppressed subjects were delivered from their distresses." This clearly means that the country was annexed and ordered government was established. The subordinate Rais and Rāṇas (Zamindars) submitted and "the earth was rubbed by the foreheads of chiefs and celebrated men of Hind." After settling the affairs of Ajmer, Kutubuddin returned to Delhi. This event happened in 1194 A. D. and Ajmer henceforward always remained a province of the Mahomedan Empire.

These facts are corroborated by an inscription at Manglānā (Marwar) published in I. A. XLI (p. 87) dated Samvat 1272 or 1215 A. D., dedicating a step-well and imposing some cesses recorded by a feudatory Dāhimā prince. The inscription first

records the name of the Mahomedan emperor then ruling as Shamsuddin Samatana (Sultan), Hamir (Amir), King of Ghor-Gurjara (Ghazni and Ghor) under whom ruled at Ranthambhor Valabadeva. This shows that Ranthambhor was now the capital of the Chauhans and their king was Valabadeva whom the editor of this inscription Pandit Ramakrishna of Aodhpur identifies with Velama, grandson of Prithviraj through Govinda from the Hammira Kavya. It seems probable that while Rainsi became king in Ajmer, he gave Ranthambhor to Govinda a brother of his and Harijai being opposed to the Mahomedan rule first attacked Ranthambhor. He subsequently seized Ajmer itself on Rainsi's death and was eventually crushed by Kutubuddin.

(2) FALL OF KANAUJ AND BENARES.

Ajmer and Delhi having fallen and the Chauhans having accepted subjection, Shihabuddin next turned his attention to the subjugation of the next powerful kingdom in Northern India, viz. that of the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj and Benares. It is commonly believed that Jaichand had in fact incited Shihabuddin to attack Prithvirāj as he was his enemy; and he thus fell eventually a prey to the enemy he had himself called in. But so far as we have ascertained, there is no evidence to hold that Jaichand had ever called in the foreign foe. It may be that he did not assist Prithvirāj when he collected a confederate army to oppose Ghorī; probably Prithvirāj did not call for such aid. The collection of a confederate army by Prithvirāj is spoken of by the Tabakat as stated already. Who were the kings that joined Prithvirāj, we have no historical record to determine. The story of the Rāsā that Samarasinha fought on the side of Prithvirāj is belied by inscriptions which show that Samarasinha lived a hundred years later and we may even doubt if a Guhilot king (who must be Sāmantasinha and not Samarasinha) was among the allies. Whatever this may be, we have no evidence to hold that Jaichand had incited the attack. No Mahomedan historian mentions it and the Rāsā has no value as history of Prithvirāj. Jayachand's turn came not as a punishment but as a natural next step in the conquest of Hindustan aspired to by the ambitious Muhammad Ghori.

The rhapsodical Taj does not give any details of this conflict. It says simply that "the Sultan advanced from Ghazni with 50,000 horsemen clad in armour (E. II p. 292-293). The Rai of Benares, Jaichand, chief of idolatry, opposed him with an army countless as the particles of sand. The Rai who prided himself upon the number of his forces and war elephants, seated on a lofty howdah, received a deadly wound from an arrow and fell. The impurities of idolatry were purged from that land and immense booty was obtained, such as the eye would be weary to look at." "The imperial army then took possession of the fort of Asni where the treasure of the Rai was deposited." The Tabakat dismisses this conflict with the short sentence (E. II. 297) that the Sultan came back from Ghazni in the year 590 H. (1193 A. D.) by way of Benares and Kanauj and defeated the Rai Jaichand in the neighbourhood of Chandanwah and captured over 300 elephants". It is a pity that the author of the Tabakat does not give a more detailed account of this conflict which he probably thought was of less importance than that with Prithvirāj. But Jaichand was the most powerful monarch in India and he was a proud and brave Rathod who, unlike Rājyapāla, firmly opposed and bravely fought against the formidable foe of his religion and independence. It was, therefore, to be expected that greater details would be given of the memorable battle at Chandanwah which place is said to be somewhere between Kanauj and Etawa. Indian records do not also give us any details of this event; but tradition (Abul Fazal) tells us that Jaichand died by drowning in the Ganges while crossing the river on his elephant. Putting the contemporary Mahomedan evidence and this tradition together, we may believe that Jaichand was wounded in battle and in order to avoid being captured led his elephant into the Ganges and like a devout and dauntless Hindu sought death by Jalasamādhi and drowned himself in the Ganges. The Tabakat says that search was made on the battle-field for Jaichand's body but it was not found. It, however, adds that after a long search, a body was discovered which was believed to be Jaichand's from his old age. (This is from some later account given in the Tabakat by Raverty p. 470-Note). But Jai-

chand could not have been an old man ; he came to the throne in 1169 when young and died in 1193 after 24 years of reign.*

After plundering Kanauj and Asni, Shihabuddin naturally pressed on to conquer and plunder Benares which was the second capital of the Gāhadavālas. The Taj thus describes this event. "The royal army proceeded to Benares and there one thousand temples were destroyed and mosques were raised on their foundations and the face of the Dinar and Dirham was adorned with the blessed name and titles of the king." This means that the country was annexed, Hindu coins of gold and silver being restruck with the name of Shihabuddin. "When the king had settled all the affairs of the city and its vicinity and the record of his celebrated holy war had been written in history and circulated throughout the world", he returned. He halted at Asni for some days "where the chiefs and elders all around hastened to offer submission and rarities as presents " This shows that the country itself offered no resistance and the people accepted readily and quietly the change of government, a fact on which we will comment later on. Shihabuddin returned to Ghazni leaving Kutubuddin as his viceroy.

MINOR OPERATIONS.

Kutubuddin whose life we shall presently relate was a most capable governor and administered justice with such impartiality that "The wolf and the sheep drank water out of the same pond." (Taj. E. II p. 225). This certainly assisted the pacification of the country but he also severely punished rebellious persons. "There was a certain tribe in the neighbourhood of Kol which gave great trouble and they were so completely slaughtered that three bastions were raised with their heads." The rebellion of Harirāj at Ajmer, as we have already noticed, was put down by Kutubuddin in 1195 A. D. In 1196 Shihabuddin again came to Hindustan and Kutubuddin joined him. They marched on Thanger which had a strong castle and the

* We were told at Kanauj that there was a Persian Bakhar there giving details of the storming of the temple of Lakshmi called Sitā Rasoi temple (a place where Sitā had cooked food for Rāma) which has now been converted into a mosque, wherein the many pillars of the old temple are still retained. There was a most desperate fight at the storming of this temple in the fort and hundreds of Rajput and Mahomedan warriors were killed in the fight.

place was invested. Kunwar Pāla on finding it impossible to resist asked for pardon. "His life was spared but his kingdom was annexed." (Taj. E. II p. 227). This place cannot be identified; (Gaurishankar states that this Kunwar Pāla was a king of the Kerowli Yādava line and was driven out of Biyana at this time; Tod p. 346). It seems that the Sultan was bent on reducing the various strongholds of opposition in the conquered territory; and he next invested the fortress of Gwalior. The Taj states that Solankhapāla, its king, offered submission and tribute and was pardoned and even allowed to retain the fort. The Sultan then returned to Ghazni, leaving Kutubuddin again his viceroy, who continued the work of reducing refractory chieftains. He assisted Muhammad Ghorī in reducing to subjection the troublesome Gakkhars. Muhammad Ghorī was murdered, as stated before, by these Gakkhars on the left bank of the Indus in 1205 A. D.

Kutubuddin was elected Sultan and Emperor of India by the Turkish nobles and generals in Hindustan and this position was recognised by the king of Ghor, Shihabuddin's brother, who had probably no ambition to rule both Ghazni and India. Thus began the independent Slave Turkish dynasty in India with Delhi as capital which Kutubuddin made his chief place of residence.

NOTE—'KUTUB MINAR'.

Whether the Kutub Minar is by design and construction Mahomedan from the beginning or whether it is a conversion of a pre-existing Kirtis ambba into a Minar by Kutub-ud-din and Altamash is a question which has engaged the attention of researchers from General Cunningham down to R. B. Dayaram Sahani, Archaeological Superintendent, Panjab Circle. The theory that it was a pre-existing Kirtistambha was ably put forward some years ago by Mr. Kanwar Sain, M. A. (then Principal Law College, Lahore, now Chief Justice Kashmir State) and is still maintained by him though he accepts the reading of Samvat 1704, instead of 1204, in a Sanskrit inscription on the Minar, now given by Mr. Sahani. It must be noted that besides Arabic texts from the Koran inscribed on the outer surface of the first storey of the Minar, and certain Persian inscriptions mentioning the name of Shihab-ud-din, Ghiyas-ud-din, Qutub-ud-din and Altmash, there are strangely enough some Sanskrit inscriptions and Hindi too, in the several storeys of the Minar; but these are all of later date than 1193 A. D. and need not be much discussed as the only inscription supposed by Mr. Kanwar Sain to be Samvat 1204 old is also now accepted by him to be dated in Samvat 1704.

But the chief arguments advanced by Mr. Kanwar Sain still remain. That the Minar is not a Ma'azina or prayer-call tower is accepted by all and is clear as the Minar has no connection with the Kutub mosque. Secondly, there is no Persian or Arabic inscription on the Minar recording *its erection* by Kutub-ud-din or Altamash though their names merely appear. Thirdly, the Arabic texts appear to have been subsequently inscribed on the outer surface of the lower storey, if critically examined. The original stones appear to have been taken out and replaced as Mr. Beglar, Archaeological Assistant of General Cunningham actually found. There are other indications also that these bands of inscriptions were subsequently put up.

It is not possible to give in this note all the pros and cons of this theory, or notice the several inscriptions in Arabic, Persian and Nāgarī and explain them. Dr. Harovitz has published all the Arabic and Persian inscriptions and Gordon Sanderson avoided going into the controversy which he says "is still going on whether the Minar is of Hindu or Mahomedan origin." He remarks, however, that the only claim, on the architectural ground, that the Minar has a Hindu origin viz: that its starlike plan resembles the form of certain old Hindu temples, is weakened by the existence of Minars on a similar plan *believed* to exist at Ghazni ".....The Sanskrit and Nāgarī inscriptions have not yet all been studied and examined and R. B. Dayaram Sahani is not yet positive about his view. Under the circumstances the question is still not settled.

It is, however, necessary to point out that the architectural argument advanced by Mr. Kanwar Sain is based not only on the starlike plan, but on the position of the bands of Arabic letters as also on Mr. Beglar's statement that the stones appear to have been replaced.

We may lastly point out that the practice of raising Kirtistambhas is very old in India (vide Raghu canto XII verse*) and we find in a Sena inscription that Lakshmana Sena of Lakhnauti raised (three) Kirtistambhas in Allahabad, Benares and Jagannāth. It is probable that this Kirtistambha upto the first storey was built by Visaladeva Chauhan whose conquest of the whole of Northern India and whose driving out of Mlechhas from Āryāvarta and making it real Aryāvarta (verse already quoted) was memorable and is commemorated on the Siwalik Pillar of Delhi. It is possible that Visala after his arduous conquest of Delhi ("fatigued in the capture of Delhi"-Bijoliya Insc.) raised a column of victory in the Lalkot of Anangapāla. Visala is nearly contemporaneous with Lakshmanasena and both were emperors, the first in the west and the second in the east of Northern India. The latter is recorded, as stated above, to have raised victory pillars and it is plausible to hold that Visala raised a column at Delhi.

We have already shown in Chauhan chapter that Visala built the college at Ajmer which was converted by order of Shihabuddin into the present mosque (called Adhai-Dinki-Jhopadi); Visala's inclination to build memorable structures is thus apparent. It is likely, however, that sKirtistambha remained at the finishing of the first storey as he died soon after his conquest. His successor Prithvīrāja II had also a short reign as also Someśvara. Perhaps they might have continued the building even in the days of Prithvīrāj III. After the conquest of Delhi by Kutubuddin he built a mosque by throwing down temples and utilizing their columns. It is natural that he should convert the Kirtistambha of Visala into a Mahomedan Minar and Altamash built the third and fourth storeys and completed it.

Whoever the original author was, there is no doubt, we think, on architectural grounds, that the present Minar is an old Kirtistambha converted into a Mahomedan Minar.

* कीर्तिस्तम्भद्वयमिव तटे दक्षिणे चोचरे च ॥

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FALL OF OTHER RAJPUT KINGDOMS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

Ajmer and Delhi, Kanauj and Benares having fallen before Shihabuddin Ghori and the two most powerful Rajput kingdoms having been conquered and annexed, the other Rajput kingdoms of Northern India fell with ease and with almost amazing suddenness within a quarter of a century and the whole of Northern India was finally enslaved by the Mahomedans. The story of this fall, as given by Mahomedan historians, must necessarily be appalling; but exaggerated as the account may be, it is not incredible, as Northern India was ready to fall for reasons which we will discuss in a separate chapter. Although most of these events happened after 1200 A. D. they are so intimately connected with this history that we can not conclude this book without describing them. They form the closing chapter in the history of Mediaeval Hindu India, though Hindu kingdoms in the south continued to exist for a century more.

This work of conquering the other Hindu kingdoms of Northern India was carried out by the generals of Shihabuddin and chiefly by his slave Kutubuddin. It is extremely surprizing to read that in those times, among the Mahomedans, slaves especially those brought from Turkestan were treated in a manner diametrically the opposite of that in which Negro slaves were treated by Christians in America and elsewhere. The history of Kutubuddin is indeed marvellous; from an ordinary slave, he rose to be the first emperor of India. He was not even a handsome man and he was called Aibak because he had lost the little finger of his right hand. But he was powerful in body and valorous in battle. He had remarkable wisdom which enabled him to rise from place to place and his generosity was so great that Mahomedan historians delight in telling stories of his munificence, one of which is that as Emperor of India he never made gifts of less than a lakh of rupees.

Kutubuddin, when a boy, was sold to the Kazi of Nishapur in Khorasan and at his house, along with his sons, he learned horsemanship and the use of arms, a treatment which indeed does immense credit to his Mahomedan master. From the Kazi he was taken by a merchant to Ghazni where he was purchased by Shihabuddin Ghorî and employed in the army and in the civil administration of his empire. He rose from place to place till he was appointed governor of his Indian provinces beyond the Panjâb at Kohram after the fall of Prithvirâja.

We give this short history of the rise of this great general because we believe in the influence of the personality of individuals, of great men who are born from time to time to mould the destinies of nations. The rise of the Mahomedan power in India and the fall of Hindu kingdoms may in part be attributed to the birth of such men as Mahmud, Shihabuddin and Kutubuddin. The author of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, in beginning the history of this great man, observes properly "When the Almighty God wishes to exhibit to his people an example of greatness and majesty, he endows one of his slaves with the qualities of courage and generosity and then friends and enemies are influenced by his bounteous munificence and warlike prowess" (E. II p. 298). Such men, witness Shivaji or Bajirao, easily collect bands of brave warriors about them and eventually become the founders of kingdoms and kingly lines. The work of conquering Northern India was carried out by Kutubuddin and also by Altamash also a slave from Turkestan brave, generous and fortunate like Kutubuddin himself who gave his daughter in marriage to him. It is also surprising to find that these slaves continued to be slaves even when they rose to the highest position and letters of freedom were given them at a very late stage in their life. The history of their conquests we give from *Taj-ul-Ma'sir* the almost contemporary history already quoted and from *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* also a nearly contemporary account written in the days of Nasiruddin.

1 ANHILWAD

The first kingdom to fall next was that of Anhilwad or Gujarat, an event which we have already described from

Gujarat Chālukya records. But we must give also the account given by the contemporaneous Mahomedan history 'Taj-ul-Ma'sir. It relates that in 1195 when Kutubuddin was again at Ajmer he was informed that the Mers (who were then Hindus) had invited an army from Naharwala. He sent an army to oppose and forestall that movement, but that army was defeated and pursued to Ajmer, the fort of which appears to have been even invested by Naharwala forces. Kutubuddin requested reinforcements from Ghazni which were sent. The army of Gujarat appears to have then retired. The Mahomedans now took the offensive and advanced on Gujarat. " The lofty forts of Pali and Nadul were found abandoned, the Hindus had collected at the foot of Mount Abu under Rai Karan and Dārāburs in the mouth of a pass." As Muhammad Ghori had been defeated in that very pass before, the Mahomedans would not attack them there. They, therefore, made a feint as if they were terrified and retreated towards Ajmer. The Hindus leaving the pass came into the open to attack them. A severe action was fought and the Hindus were signally defeated, most of the Hindu leaders being killed or taken prisoner. Rai Karan escaped ; but twenty thousand slaves, twenty elephants and arms beyond computation fell into the hands of the victors. " You would have thought that the treasures of the kings of the inhabited world had come into their possession. The city of Naharwala and the kingdom of Gujarat came under the dominion of the Mussalmans. The standards of victorious Khusru returned to Ajmer and thence to Delhi. Kutubuddin sent to Ghazni various treasures and rarities " (E. II p. 280-1).

This account shows that Kutubuddin after his victory somewhere near Mount Abu must have proceeded to Naharwala (Patan) and occupied and plundered that city. This event is said to have happened in 1197 A. D., but as stated before, Bhīma issues a grant from Anhilwad Patan in 1199 A. D. It seems, therefore, that Anhilwad was occupied later in 1199. The fact that Gujarat was overrun and the capital occupied appears clear from the reference to the terrible condition of Gujarat described in the grant of Jayantasinha dated 1202 who, after Bhīma had fled, retrieved the fortunes of Chālukya and driving out the Mahomedans recovered Gujarat

and its capital and ruled for a time in Anhilwad in place of Bhīma. The destruction of some of the temples built by Siddharāja Jayasinha may be dated at this time. Gujarat was sorely shaken, but was not finally subjugated by the Mahomedans till a century later.

2 KALANJAR.

Having destroyed the power of Gujarat and secured Ajmer, Kutubuddin turned his attention towards the next powerful Hindu kingdom on his border and attacked Kalanjar. We have already given the history of this attack in the chapter on the Chandellas and we will only give here a few particulars from the account given in the contemporaneous Taj-ul-Ma'sir. "In 599 H. or 1202 A.D., Kutubuddin accompanied by Altamash marched against Kalanjar. The accursed Parmar (Paramardideva) fled into the fort but after a desperate resistance submitted and accepted the same terms as had been imposed upon his ancestor by Mahmud. He, however, died and his Mehta Ajadeo was not disposed to surrender so easily and gave much trouble. He too was compelled to capitulate in consequence of a severe drought which dried up all the reservoirs of water in the fort. The fort of Kalanjar, celebrated throughout the world, was taken and the temples there were converted into mosques. Fifty thousand men were carried into slavery. Twenty elephants and countless arms were among the spoils. The reins of victory were then directed against Mahoba. The government of the country was conferred upon Hasan Amiral." This account as that about Gujarat is corroborated by Chandel inscriptions. The Chandellas obtained back the possession of Kalanjar and a large part of Chandel territory and like the Chālukyas of Gujarat lived as an independent ruling family for a century more as detailed in the chapter on the Chandellas.

3 LAKHNAUTI.

The third kingdom on the borders of Mahomedan rule now firmly established in Delhi, Kanauj and Benares was the kingdom of Bengal under the Senas; and the history of the fall of Bengal is the most marvellous that has been recorded by historians. The conquest was made by Mahammad son of Bakhtyar

Khilji and not by Kutubuddin and the account of it is to be found not in the contemporaneous *Taj-ul-Ma'sir* but is given by the author of the *Tabakat-i-Nisiri* from admittedly hearsay reports.

We give the account as given by the *Tabakat* with such comment as seems proper. Mahammad Bakhtyar was a Khilji (not Turk but Afghan) adventurer who sought employment and fortune under the expanding power of Shihabuddin Ghori. It is natural that when victorious people conquer countries far and wide, turbulent spirits from the home country come forward in numbers to advance their fortunes (as Maratha cavaliers did under Shivaji or Bajirao) and find employment as military administrators of newly conquered territories. Mahammad Bakhtyar Khilji was one such hair-brained adventurer who after some refusals obtained employment as governor of Mirzapur. Collecting an army of Turks and Afghans, he first attacked Bihar and conquered it, plundering town and country. He is said to have seized a Buddhist settlement described as a *Vihāra* (probably *Vikramaśīla*) and massacred all the defenceless shaven-headed Brahmins (Buddhists) and thrown away their sacred books "which none was left to read or explain." This event probably happened in 1199 A. D. as Mahammad Bakhtyar is described by *Taj-ul-Ma'sir* as appearing before Kutubuddin with presents from the conquest of Oudh and Bihar (probably at Mahoba). He was honoured with a robe and again sent to Bihar.

"He then planned the conquest of Bengal and secretly prepared an army and suddenly made a raid on Nadia the capital of Bengal. In his impetuosity he reached the city with only eighteen horsemen with him and entering it in an in-offensive manner, looking as if he were a dealer in horses, reached the palace and at once drawing swords attacked the guards. The palace was in consternation and none opposed him. The aged king Lakshmanasena heard the uproar as he was about to sit to dinner and knowing the reality fled by the back door. He escaped and went to Jagannath. The palace and the city were taken possession of by the army which soon arrived. It is needless to say that there was no resistance and the city was plundered and even destroyed. Mahammad

Bakhtyar made Gaur or Lakhnauti his capital which was the principal capital of the Sena kings."

Doubts have been expressed about the truth of this account. That the political government of Bengal should have been so lax and supine as not to know of the advance of an army over such a great distance (Vikramaśīla to Nadia) or that there was no preparedness to resist the dangerous enemy, when the whole country has talking of the fall of Delhi and Kanauj or that there was actually not a single blow struck in defence of Nadia or the kingdom is indeed strange. This is, however, a sheer exaggeration of the Mahomedan informants of the author of the *Tabakāt-i-Nasiri* if not of the historian himself. The absurd story that the birth of king Lakshmana was delayed for the arrival of the fortunate moment of birth by tying up the feet of the pregnant queen which is told in the *Tabakat* is proof enough of the absurd nature of the whole story. This event is placed by the *Tabakat* in 1199, the 80th year of the Lakshmanasena era; but it probably happened after his death and in about 1202 A. D. The account tries to explain the entire absence of defence by Lakshmana by the supposed superstitions of the Brahmin counsellors of the old king who had told him long before that the kingdom was fated to be taken by a Turk according to the prognostications of astrology. It is even added that when the king enquired what the mark of the conqueror would be, it was stated by the learned astrologers that the conqueror would have long arms reaching below the knees. The king sent men to ascertain what Turk had that mark and Mahammad Bakhtyar was found to have such long arms. There may be some truth in the fact that the resistance of the Hindus was weakened to some extent by the foretelling of the *Purāṇas* that *Bhāratavarsha* was fated to be conquered by *Mlechhas* or the absurd and fearful prognostications of astrologers. But the above story is on the face of it too absurd to be true and we at once set down this account of the fall of Bengal as exaggerated and untrue and Bengal may be taken to have fallen after much resistance against Mahammad Bakhtyar and not all at once but gradually as in the case of Gujarat and Bundelkhand.

For, this account of the *Tabakat* written about 1250 A. D., distorted as it must be from the natural desire of the bragging

adventurers who accompanied Mahammad Bakhtyar to exaggerate the courage of the conquerors and the cowardice of the conquered, as also from the inaptitude of foreigners coming suddenly into the midst of a strange people to understand their feelings and their ideas, and thirdly probably from a wish to have a hit at the Hindu belief in astrology, this foreign account must be tested and equated with the evidence of a contemporaneous Indian record, viz. the Bakerganj inscription of Keśavasena (J. R. A. S. Bengal Vol. VII pp. 40-50). This inscription no doubt exaggerates the prowess both of Lakshmanasena and his son, the grantor Keśavasena, and thus errs on the other side. But it makes no mention whatever of this ignominious defeat of Lakshmanasena. It may be urged that its omission was natural as inscriptions rarely record the defeats of the inscripitor; though disastrous fights with Turushkas are mentioned even in inscriptions as in Gujarat and Bundelkhand; but we may at least take into account the fact that Lakshmanasena is herein rightly praised as a valiant king who had raised three victory columns at Allahabad, Benares and Jagannath. It is impossible to believe that the valiant Lakshmanasena fled without striking a blow. Secondly we must admit that Keśavasena was still a powerful king ruling in Eastern Bengal. It is, therefore, certain that the descendants of Lakshmanasena ruled in Eastern Bengal for a long time after this event. It is also possible that Nadia may have been attacked after the death of Lakshmanasena during Mādhvasena's reign whose name appears to have been *erased* from this Bakerganj copper-plate (ditto p. 42). We, therefore, think that if we put the two opposite accounts together, we can only believe that Bengal fell after much resistance and not all at once, as already stated.

But even if it be conceded that the account given by the Tabakat represents facts, these are not as dishonourable as is usually supposed. In the first place it must be noted that Nadia was not the chief capital of the Senas. It was a Brahmin settlement newly made, which was almost a Brahmin vihāra, in an island of the Ganges and Lakshmanasena only occasionally resided there. The guards at the palace must have been few and the army in the city only nominal. Secondly, a

sudden raid on such a place is not impracticable.* Indeed such raids are recorded in history. Allauddin made such a sudden and wily raid on Devagiri in the Deccan a hundred years after this event. Nay only five years after this event, Shihabuddin Ghorî the conqueror of Hindustan was surprised in his tent pitched on the eastern bank of the Indus by a few Gakkhars who eluding guards reached the place through water and murdered Shihabuddin. Thirdly, to escape from such an attack and start fresh resistance from a new capital was not at all dishonourable but on the contrary proper and creditable. This was what Rājyapāla of Kanauj or Bhīma of Gujarat did against Mahmud or Rajaram did in Maratha history against Aurangjeb and this is what even modern governments do. They give up the capital attacked and making another town the capital, carry on resistance from there. This is exactly what Lakshmanasena and his descendants appear to have done. They established themselves at Vikrampur which was an important town to the east of Nadia (a grant issued from Vikrampur by Lakshmanasena has been found) and ruled for nearly a century more in Eastern Bengal, continuing their resistance to the Mahomedans, as in Gujarat or in Bundelkhand. The *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* records that when Nasiruddin marched on Lakhnauti, the Khilji had marched his forces from Lakhnauti "with the intention of entering the territory of Bang," i. e. against the Sena king (Raverty p. 629). Why such resistance eventually failed to re-establish Hindu power not only in Bengal but in the other parts of Northern India also, is the real question and the cause of this failure we will discuss at length later on.

Kutubuddin conquered or humbled the strong kingdoms on the borders of his Mahomedan empire. The work of destroying kingdoms a little more remote was carried out by his successor Altamash who was an equally brave and fortunate Sultan. Altamash was like Kutubuddin a slave but his valour was noted by Shihabuddin and he was given his deed of freedom

* The coming of Mahomedan dealers in horses was again a common thing at that time, at capitals of kings. Arab and Persians horses were prized by Hindu kings who paid high prices for them and Mahomedan dealers in horses constantly visited Hindu camps in those days and it was a common incident exciting no suspicion at all.

and preferred from place to place by him as also by Kutubuddin who gave his daughter in marriage to him, having originally purchased him at Delhi as the Sultan had forbidden his sale and purchase at Ghazni (Tabakat, E. II 322). When Kutubuddin died at Lohur (Lahore), the commander-in-chief of Delhi with the consent of nobles invited Shamsuddin Altamash from Badaun where he was governor and elected him Sultan. Some officers and governors like Kubacha opposed the election but they were defeated; "by divine favour every one who opposed or rebelled was subdued and all territories belonging to Delhi Badaun, Oudh, Benares and the Siwalik hills came into his possession." Even Lahore was taken from Yildus and Sind and Bakkhar from Kubacha in 1217 A. D. (E. II 324). Altamash subdued Bengal under Ghiyasuddin Baktyar who acknowledged him suzerain and paid him tribute (1225).

4 RANTHAMBHOR AND MANDAWAR.

Thus the Mahomedan Empire of Delhi came into the possession of another capable sovereign and he naturally turned his attention towards first conquering refractory Hindu nobles in his own territory. "In 623 H. (1226) he marched against Ranthambhor before which seventy sovereigns had failed. The Sultan's servants by the favour of the Creator took it. In 624 H. (1227) he marched against Mandawar within the Siwalik (territory) and its capture likewise, the Almighty facilitated and the Sultan returned with much booty" (Raverty's Tabakat p. 611). These two places were probably in the possession of Chauhan chiefs and they proving refractory were attacked and dispossessed.

We have seen that Ranthambhor had been attacked by Kutubuddin also but the chief had then submitted and been spared. Ranthambhor was again taken by the Chauhans and its last king was the valorous Hammir hero of the Hammira Mahākāvya. There is some dispute as to what Mandawar was and the mention of its location in Siwalik (not hills as in E. II but territory as in Raverty) leads to some doubt. Hānsi is similarly supposed to be in the Siwalik hills at the base of the Himalayas but it really is a place in Karnal District. But we have already shown that Siwalik meant Sapādalaksha territory

of the Chauhans of Sambhar (Vol. II p. 36). Probably Mandawar which was originally the seat of Nāhararai Pratihāra conquered by Prithvirāja, was now a part of the dominions of the Chauhans and a Chauhan chief was ruling there. Mandawar is now in ruins and is about 4 miles from the modern city of Jodhpur.

5 GWALIOR.

The next place which Altamash attacked was the fort of Gwalior which had been spared by Kutubuddin on its submission. This was a strong place within the Mahomedan empire and required to be seized. This place was not now in the possession of the Kachhwahas who seem to have removed to Amber a more distant place. It was in possession of Parihāras who (according to Gwaliornāmā published by Prince Balwantrao Bhayyasaheb Scindia) had seized the place. The Gwalior Gazetteer states that the Parihāras took the fort from Kachhwahas in 1129 A.D. Solankhapāla from whom Kutubuddin took it was a Parihāra. It was put in possession of Altamash in 1210 and was retaken by the Parihāras and hence this attack by him. "In 629 H. (1232 A. D.) Altamash marched against the fort and invested it. Malikdeo (Raverty reads Mangaldev) son of Basil (Raverty reads Maldev) began the fight. For 11 months the army sat before it. At last Malikdeo fled at night. About 500 men received punishment before the tent of the king. After appointing officers to Gwalior the Sultan returned to Delhi." (E. II p. 327). We think that the men punished were those of the Sultan's army itself who had been careless enough to allow Malik to escape and not men of Malikdeo; for none is stated here to have been captured nor could they be described as punished. And further an inscription on the Gwalior fort existing in Babar's time showed that Rajput ladies on the fort destroyed themselves in a pyre and the place is still called Johartal (Gwalior Gazetteer p. 125). The Rajput soldiers must have either died in the attack on the investing army or escaped. The subsequent history of the fort of Gwalior is given by Prince Balwantrao Bhayyasaheb which we need not give here in detail. The place changed hands often, the Tuars taking it in the days of Timur and holding it

for a time when it was taken again by Babar. During Mogul days it was used as a prison for princes. It was again taken by Bhadaura kings from whom it was taken by Scindia. From them it was taken by the English twice but it is now with Scindia.

6 BHELSEA AND UJJAIN.

"In 632 H (1234 A. D.) Altamash sent an army against Malwa and took the city and fort of Bhelsa. There was a temple there which was three hundred years in building. It was 105 gaj high. It was demolished" (E. II p. 328). This was probably the famous Bhaillaswāmin (sun) temple mentioned by Al-Beruni. The Garudastambha inscription of the 1st century B. C. belonged probably to a Vishṇu temple on the other side of the river Betwa which probably had already fallen.

Whatever this may be, the Udepur temple of Śiva some miles distant from Bhelsa is not the one referred to here. For this temple built by Udayāditya Paramāra which has also a very high pinnacle still survives to attest the glory of the Paramāra rule. This event happened during the reign of the last Paramāra king Devapāla who, as stated in the chapter on the later Paramāras, ruled from 1216 to 1240 A. D.

"From Bhelsa he (Altamash) proceeded to Ujjain where there was the temple of Mahākāla which he destroyed as well as an image of Vikramāditya who ruled Malwa 1546 years before this time. The Hindu era dates from his reign (as this figure leads to 1289 A. D. as the date of the capture of Ujjain which really is 1234 A. D. we may take 55 years as the length of Vikrama's rule). Some other images cast in copper were carried to Delhi with the stone image of Mahākāla" (E. II p. 328). There is no reason to doubt the truth of this concise unexaggerated statement, though we find no corroborating contemporaneous Hindu record. The temple of Mahākāla was then converted into a mosque which, history tells us, was again converted into a Hindu temple of Mahākāla in the days of Ranoji Scindia whose descendants still rule in Ujjain and worship Mahākāla. It may be mentioned that the present high-pinnacled temple of Mahākāla was built by the Shenvi Diwan of Ranoji Scindia, Ramachandra Bābā, who was childless and who, therefore, used most of his wealth in this

great work (1745 A. D.). Probably the present temple stands in the very place where the old temple stood. It may also be noted that later on the Mahomedan rulers of Malwa allowed the Hindus to have a Mahākāla idol set up at a short distance from the original temple (destroyed and converted into a mosque) and it is known now as the Vridhha or old Mahākāla.

This expedition into Malwa was apparently for the sole purpose of destroying famous Hindu idols, a religious expedition in the manner of the Somnath expedition of Mahmud. There was no attempt at conquest of Malwa and its reduction into a Mahomedan province. Probably the territory was too distant and not contiguous like Gwalior. We have already stated that the Paramāra rule endured for about a century more just as Gujarat remained under Chālukyas for about the same time. Malwa was finally conquered by Allauddin Khilji.

7 NAGDA, CAPITAL OF MEWAD.

We have sketched above the fall of almost all the leading Hindu kingdoms of Northern India, Chauhan, Rathod, Chandella, Chālukya, Sena, Parihāra and Paramāra. The Guhilots of Mewad came in their turn to be attacked later. Though we have not many details, we find that Mewad was attacked in the days of Nasiruddin while Jaitrasinh was ruling (1253 A. D.) and that its capital Nagda was destroyed. The Mahomedans were, however, defeated by Jaitrasinh and its hill capital Chitod remained intact. It continued to rule with vigour till even Chitod was taken by Allauddin Khilji.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DOWNFALL OF NORTHERN INDIA

—PRINCIPAL CAUSES.

The causes which led to the downfall of Northern India must be, and indeed are, different from those which led to the downfall of the Panjab. In the Panjab there were no Rajput kingdoms. Panjab, as stated before, was always ruled from outside, by Sind, by Kashmir, by Kabul. Northern India was always ruled by Hindu and local kings. Panjab was usually the land of foreign invasions and of foreign rule. Northern India had always defeated and driven out foreign invaders. Alexander did not cross the Sutlej at all. Menander came as far as Ayodhya but was eventually driven out by Pushpamitra. The Śakas came as far as Mathura but were driven away by Vikramāditya. The Kushans and the Huns indeed ruled rather long in the western part of Northern India but they were driven away by Skandagupta of Patna, by Vishnuvardhana of Mandsaur and finally by Pratāpavardhana of Thanesar. From 600 A. D. down to 1000 A. D. there were no foreign invasions. Mahmud indeed conquered Rājyapāl and imposed a tribute on Northern India but the Gāhadavālas soon drove out the foreign foe and stopped the tribute, while Rājyapāla had even been killed by the Chandellas and Kachh-wahas for submitting to Mahomedan yoke. In short the Aryan kings of Northern India had always held their own against foreign invaders. The Rajput kingly families of the Hindu period were unquestionably most heroic and did not brook submission. Why did they fall before Shihabuddin Ghori? There could be no lack of armies or of capable generals. Indeed Prithvīrāja was the greatest warrior put forward by the indomitable Chauhans to oppose the Mahomedan onslaught. He had actually defeated four kings successively. He held up the flood of Mahomedan conquest like a strong bund. Strangely enough as soon as the bund gave way, the flood rushed over the whole of Northern India and uprooted all the Rajput

kingdoms within the course of twenty five years. Why did the heroic Rajput kingly families, like the Chauhans and the Rathods, the Chandellas and the Paramāras, the Solankhis and the Haihayas succumb and why did Northern India fall so completely as never to rise again?

There was no superiority of physique or valour in favour of the Mahomedan combatants. The Rajputs were as hardy, powerful or heroic as the Turks and Afghans who conquered them. There was no difference of weapons. Neither the Afghans nor the Rajputs had fire-arms. Both fought with the same weapons, the sword, the lance and the arrow. Both had elephants in perhaps equal numbers. [The Moguls indeed conquered the Rajputs by the use of cannon; and so did the Marathas under Scindia. As stated already, before the scientific weapons of destruction of the western nations, India was bound to fall. But in the days of Shihabuddin Ghori, neither side used fire-arms, though Firishta and Chand Bardai by anachronism mention their use.

It can not be alleged that the religious fervour actuating Shihabuddin and his Mahomedans was stronger than that actuating the Rajputs. Although Mahomedan historians describe the former as making a religious war, Shihabuddin was fighting for conquest of territory and not for extending religion. Indeed we find that conversion of the people to Mahomedanism was not his motive in conquering Northern India, and conversions did not take place on a large scale in Northern India for reasons which we will presently see. On the other hand the Rajputs and the Hindus of Northern India were actuated by a more fervent religious zeal than the inhabitants of the Panjab. As stated before, religious zeal in the Panjab has always been weak; but the land of the Sarsvati, the Jumna and the Ganges has always been the stronghold of Hinduism being its birthplace. We, therefore, think that the impelling force of religion was equally strong on either side.

The foremost cause which is usually and properly assigned to the fall of the Rajputs is their internecine fighting. The Rajput kingly families always fought amongst themselves not so much for extension of territory as for establishment of super-

iority. At this very time we find Prithvirāj attacking his three great neighbouring kings of Gujarat, Bundelkhand and U. P. These fights were always tough fights as between European nations and doughty warriors on both sides always fell in great numbers. The fighting strength of all the four powerful kingdoms, i. e. of the Chauhans, the Rathods, the Chandellas and the Solankhis was thus reduced and each fell when fighting singly and separately against the strong common foe. Internecine warfare has always been the bane of the Rajputs. Though the Rajputs always neglected artillery and were, therefore, always weak in modern times, they could even then have driven out the Moguls, if only they had combined, as Manuchi distinctly states in his memoirs and they could have withstood even the Marathas, though not the English, for the Maratha artillery was in the hands of Europeans. Against Shihabuddin whose ambition was threatening India, of which the Rajputs must have had ample knowledge from informants, the Rajputs should have stayed their quarrels and combined. They did not stop their fights even against the common impending danger and they consequently were all destroyed.

The condition of India at this time resembled that of Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. Germany was divided at that time into several small but strong kingdoms the ruler in each of which aspired to the imposing dignity of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and consequently tried to humble though not destroy the others. In the same way in India each Rajput king aspired to being called Chakravartin or emperor and for that end tried to conquer other kings without attempting to annex his kingdom. Thus while the power of both was lessened, the conqueror gained no strength from increase of resources or dominion. Bhoja of Malwa for example fought with and humbled other Rajput kings and was called Mālava Chakravartin. Karna of Chedi followed his example. And Kumārapāla attempted to obtain the same honour. The rivalry between the Gāhadavālas and the Chauhans lasted for nearly thirty years, between Vijayachandra and Vigrahapāla and Jaichand and Prithvirāj and weakened both. As the Rāsā relates, ninety out of a hundred of Prithvirāja's sāmantas fell in his conflict with Jayachand in carrying off Sanyogitā. It is, therefore,

no wonder that the Rajput kingly families fell before Shiha-buddin as the Germanic states severally fell before Napoleon.

But while Germany was never finally conquered and subjected to foreign domination, Northern India was laid prostrate for all time. We have, therefore, really to find out the reason why even after temporary conquest as the natural consequence of defeat in battle, Northern India could not regain its feet and make itself free. The cause of this, in our view, lay in the rigidification of caste which took place about this time. We will show in our General Survey Book how caste which was fluid in the beginning of this sub-period became rigid by the end of the 12th century and the modern rigid caste system of India with its intricacies and its numberless subsections inside the main castes was evolved. While Kshatriyas married in previous times Vaiśya wives and Brahmins married Kshatriya and Vaiśya wives and often vice versa, each caste and subcaste now confined marriage and even food to itself. The social sympathy which existed previously among the various sections of the Hindu people was gone and it was replaced by a feeling of aloofness and even aversion.

But the most injurious result of this rigidification of caste was the vast diminution in the fighting strength of kingdoms. Even now this evil of the caste system in India is not adequately realised. It is often wondered how a nation consisting of 33 crores of inhabitants can be ruled by a nation of four crores. But it must be remembered that the fighting people in India scarcely number four crores while the whole British nation of four crores is the fighting reserve of Britain. In India, excepting the Panjab, the people are divided firstly by race into Aryans and Dravidians and secondly by caste into fighters and non-fighters. The Dravidian section of the Indian population is nearly more than one half and chiefly consists of non-fighters. In the Aryan section of the population again, only the Kshatriyas are by heredity and present occupation inclined to fight. The result is that in India about 10 per cent of the population is fit and disposed to fight, while the remaining 90 per cent by nature and heredity is not fit to fight and is, therefore, ready to accept the rule of any strong nation which happens to be successful. As we will explain elsewhere, the idea of a nation

did not develop in India and the people as a whole never thought of opposing foreign conquest. Especially at this time by the rigidification of caste the number of those who fought for independence was owing to internecine fighting limited and as soon as these viz. the Rajputs fell, the country as a whole submitted without demur to the foreign yoke.

This baneful effect of a rigid caste system, wherein the number of those who fight for the independence of the community becomes limited, was seen by the ancient law-givers and they attempted to remedy it by laying it down that though ordinarily it is the duty of the Kshatriyas to take up arms, it was yet the duty of all the three higher varnas to take up arms when religion was threatened and religion or Dharma, according to the Hindu notion, included politics and imposition of the yoke of a foreign people and religion was certainly a danger to religion. But where the people are, for generations, bred up in professions which are docile and in a spirit of submission, it is impossible to expect them to suddenly become fighters. Indeed, as stated before, when Shihabuddin conquered Kanauj, the rais and land-holders came forward and tendered submission. Moreover it must be noted that the population of Northern India is predominantly Dravidian, unlike the Panjab. It is even now so, the total number of Kshatriyas in U. P. is remarkably small. While, therefore, Shihabuddin Ghorî could raise an army from the whole of the overflowing population of the Panjab, of Afghanistan and of Turkestan, the Rajputs could not raise large armies in India nor would the people offer resistance as a whole to foreign yoke. It may be noted that in western countries at the present day, the whole population of a country becomes the recruiting ground for an army fighting for the nation's existence. Germany in the recent war could place in the field nearly 70 lakhs of soldiers and so could France and England. And the national sentiment is so strong in the west that the whole country takes the greatest interest in the national struggle. The condition of Northern India at this time was exactly the opposite. The Kshatriya population alone was the recruiting ground; it is indeed true that some Brahmins and Vaiśyas did fight even at that time, but these exceptions prove the rule viz. that the Brahmins and the Vaiśyas then, as now,

were as a rule unwilling and even unfitted to take up arms. The case was different during the days of the Guptas and the Vardhanas, of Dahir and Lalliya. Secondly, the people as a whole took no interest in the national struggle and without demur offered their submission to the foreign yoke, especially because, as we shall presently show, the Mahomedan rulers did not adopt any coercive measures for the spread of their religion.

Many of the remnants of the chivalrous, independence-loving Rajputs retired to the deserts and hills of Rajputana, or the ravines of the Chambal and the Jumna and other retired tracts and there and preserved their independence, thus leaving Northern India in general and the Madhya-deśa in particular, all the more helpless. Northern India, therefore, fell prostrate never to rise, because there was no national resistance. This will explain how while in Europe even small nations have successfully resisted attempts to enslave them, in India large countries like the Kanauj kingdom fell *finally* before the Mahomedans. These countries or kingdoms were large enough even singly to oppose successfully any Mahomedan conqueror. But the reality is that there was no national resistance and the resistance offered by the Rajputs was unavailing owing to their being outnumbered by reason of rigidity of caste. It is not a mere matter of accident that Sobieski the greatest leader of the Poles was able to finally stop the onward rush of the Turks at Vienna. The Poles were more heroic than the Greeks, no doubt, but the Poles fought as a nation and hence succeeded. In Northern India unfortunately, both Prithvirāj and Jaichand were defeated; but if the people had resisted as a whole, Northern India could not have been finally subdued by the Mahomedans.

The efficacy and the necessity of national resistance, was first realised in India, in our view, by Shivaji; under the inspiration of whose spirit Mahārāshtra resisted as a nation and fought against Aurangzeb. The Marathas, meaning thereby Kshatriyas, Brahmins, and the common people or Śūdras combined and fought as a man in the days of Rajaram and rose superior even to the whole combined power of the Mogul empire with which Aurangzeb in vain strove to crush them. The Marathas of the days of Shivaji and Rajaram, alone in Indian

history, offered national resistance and attained and preserved independence. They alone in Indian history verified the maxim laid down in western politics that no power however great can crush the independence of a people however small if they resist as a nation. India naturally could not realise the necessity of national unity when its kingdoms were ruled by Hindu kings of whatever clan. The Marathas first realised it after three centuries of Mahomedan rule. The Sikhs followed them with their religious conscription. The Indian people under English rule must realise the necessity of national effort if they are to attain Swaraj or political freedom.

The message of history for the future, therefore, is that not only the Rajputs should learn to confederate and unite, but the whole of the people of India and especially the Hindus whose caste system makes disunion their normal characteristic. It is not indeed possible to suggest that caste should be abolished. The evolution of the Hindu society for thousands of years has been developing caste and it would be impossible to induce the Hindus to give up caste. Moreover, the Rajputs have developed their highly chivalrous and heroic nature, through this very principle of heredity. Indeed the preservation of caste-purity of which the Rajputs take particular care has everything to recommend it. But the Rajputs not only of the east and the west but also of the north and the south, the Gurkhas, Dogras, the Bundelas and the Marathas must learn to unite on terms of absolute equality and more imperatively confederate for national uplift. But still, the Hindus, in spite of their caste distinctions must learn to confederate on terms of equality of status while preserving the independent growth of each main caste (though not of each subordinate subdivision which has come into being for fanciful reasons). The principle of confederation of independent units for political purposes was first thought out and practised by the American states and has now been followed by Germany. The confederation of Hindus, subdivided as they are, into independent castes, is the real problem of the future as previous history teaches us, and it must be practicable to achieve it, even if it be necessary to adopt for it, commensality of food, and drink and of some religious worship. There is, and there should be, no idea in

this confederation of the Hindus, of opposing or harassing the Mahomedans; for the confederation of Hindus and Mahomedans is also absolutely necessary for the political progress of the country. But it must be remembered that the Mahomedans are already a united and a strong community and the confederation of Hindus and Mahomedans can only be achieved and made permanent if the Hindus also become a united and strong community.

To conclude the disunion among the Rajputs the fighting arm of India and the rigidity of caste by which 9/10 of the people were made incapable or unwilling to resist foreign domination were the two main causes which led to the permanent enslavement of Northern India.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DOWNFALL OF NORTHERN INDIA.

—SUBSIDIARY CAUSES.

In the last chapter we have given what appear to us to be the chief causes of the fall of the Rajput kingdoms of Northern India, viz : first, the constant fighting among the several Rajput states and their consequent weakening and second, the rigidification of caste which made the several important sections of the people in each state, except the Rajputs, incapacitated and unwilling to fight. In this chapter we notice some subsidiary causes which contributed to the fall of these kingdoms, though these individually could not have led to that result. Most of the facts given here will have to be noticed again in our survey of the general condition of the country ; but it is as well to mention them here separately.

1. One may first again mention the absence of the feeling of nationality in the people of all these states. We have already said that in India at this time, as elsewhere in Asia, there were kingdoms but no peopledoms. The people did not feel that the state was theirs and the king ought also to be theirs. The country belonged to the king and any one might be king whom God chose. Under this view of the state, the sentiment of nationality cannot arise, nor, as stated in Vol. II (p. 220) and Vol. I (p. 123), the virtue of patriotism. There was the sentiment of loyalty, no doubt, and you find in the *Prithvirāj Rāsā* that sentiment appealed to everywhere. To die for the master was the highest dharma of the Rajput soldier. But when that master failed and another master was substituted by the will of God, the soldier was ready to die for him also. Thus we find even Kshatriya soldiers dying for Mahomedan kings and masters. This was doubly true of the common people who were not Rajputs i. e. of the caste whose duty it was to rule.

Though one essential of a state in its modern sense was indeed developing in India in the rise of separate modern

languages and Gujarat, Rajputana, Antarbed, Bengal, Mahārāshtra, Telangana, Tamilnādu and Malyālam could now be considered as separate countries by reason of separate languages, viz., their modern vernaculars, this did not develop the feeling of nationality among the speakers of the same language for the above reason and in each of these countries or provinces, there were consequently several kingdoms which fought with one another. Why these did not coalesce, we shall discuss later on, but we may state here that the sameness of language did not develop the sentiment of nationality in these provinces in the absence of the other essential conditions which give rise to the feeling of nationality.

2. There being no sentiment of nationality, the ingress of foreigners was usually not objected to. Except in Kashmir and Tibet which had impregnable boundaries, the ingress of foreigners was not prohibited, was not even watched. Hence Mahomedans came into the several kingdoms freely and often settled therein. Thus we find them settled in Nāharwala, in Cambay, in Sopara, in Mahārāshtra and even in the Kanauj kingdom.* They even insisted on being governed by their own magistrates, as is evidenced by Mahomedan writers, as also by the expression Hanjamana-Nagara-Trivarga already noticed in Thana inscriptions. That the strength of states is impaired by the presence of foreigners is seen clearly by the modern states of the west which exercise strict watch over the ingress of foreigners. Indian states did not realise this or feel the necessity of strict watch over them owing to the absence of the feeling of nationality. Though there is no recorded evidence of it, one can imagine how the presence of Mahomedans in the several kingdoms must have contributed to their eventual subjugation.

3. Superstition sometimes contributes its quota to the fall of nations and superstition acted like a double-edged sword towards the fall of India. While the Mahomedans believed

* The Benares Gazetteer states that in the city of Benares there are Mahomedan Mohollas which are anterior in date to the final conquest of Benares by the Mahomedans according to tradition, though it is difficult to believe that Chandra or Govindachandra or even Jaichand could have allowed Mahomedans to settle in Benares. Perhaps they settled in the time of the subservient Pratihāra kings.

that victory was bound to come to them "for the judgment of God was upon those who were against him and could not be avoided," the Hindus thought that India was bound to be overrun by the Mlechchhas in the Kali age. Superstition has often acted thus upon the mind of peoples. The Aztecs of Mexico believed that they were destined to be conquered by men coming from the east. When the Goths and the Vandals overthrew the Roman Empire, the Christians thought that the end of the world was coming on as foretold in the Bible and made no opposition. In India too, though there is no recorded evidence of it, except in the case of Lakhnauti where the Tabakat records that king Lakshmanasena had been told that he would be conquered by a long-armed Turk, the Hindus generally must have submitted to the new state of things through the superstitious belief that it was inevitable.

4. The maintenance of a strong and sufficient army is the first duty of every state. The Hindu states had probably neglected this duty at this time. The great reputation of India in this respect noted before had been lost by it at this time. The probability is that Hindu states did not at this time maintain standing armies as in the days of Harsha or Bhoja. The army consisted chiefly of the quotas furnished by the Sāmantas. Though not exactly alike, these Sāmantas were like barons in England, who maintained for the use of the state certain quotas of fighters, the expenses of the same being borne by the barons or Sāmantas from their fiefs. This is the same system as existed under the Moguls viz., of Hazaris and Panch Hazaris. Prithvirāj had probably no standing army of the state. He had probably only a small Huzur force. We know that the Peishwas, after the battle of Panipat, neglected to maintain a strong Huzur army, and the sagacious Ahalyābai expostulated often with Nana Fadnis for neglecting the Huzur pathak. The quota supplied by Sāmantas cannot always be relied upon, either in respect of number or of efficiency. The standing army of Mahmud or Shihabuddin Ghori must have been a more reliable force than the armies composed of the forces of Sāmantas called together hastily by the Hindu kings. Sāmantas or military sardars are again not disposed to fight stubbornly as there is a temptation to save themselves and their fiefs. We believe

that the absence of sufficient standing armies in the Hindu states at this time strongly contributed to their eventual fall.

5. It may further be observed that Hindu intelligence neglected the study of the science of war as well as the science of the proper conception of the state. Brahmin and Kshatriya intelligence revelled more in this subperiod in the study of poetics than in the necessary study of more useful sciences. The distinctions of heroines in love and despair, the essentials of poetry, poetical blemishes and embellishments, and the figures of speech engaged the highest intelligence of the land and even kings devoted their attention to writing elaborate treatises on poetics and dramaturgy. These works, no doubt, prove the fineness of Hindu intellect, but it should have devoted itself to more important studies. The attention and affluence of kings were bestowed more upon court-poets than upon generals; the stage attracted them more than the camp. The minute study of poetics led to the deterioration of taste and morals and the increase of voluptuousness can be marked from the *Karpūra-Manjarī* of Rajaśekhara to the *Rambhā Manjarī* of Nayachandra. The debasement of popular and kingly taste will be apparent from the first verse of adoration adopted even in Kanauj for such ceremonious and meritorious documents as inscriptions of grants of villages to pious Brahmins. Indeed luxury and voluptuousness were bound to overtake the people in this sub-period, since the last sub-period was the most prosperous period of Hindu history as shown in the last chapter of Volume II (pp. 247-258). Height of prosperity leads to decadence of morals and voluptuousness which undermine the physical and moral capacities of the people, as we see in the case of the Romans, the Arabs, the Moguls and others and it need not be wondered that the Hindu kingdoms in the twelfth century became weak, by reason of the very prosperity and happiness they had enjoyed.

6. Lastly, we cannot conclude this short survey of the subsidiary causes of the downfall of Rajput kingdoms in Northern India without drawing the attention of the reader to the recrudescence during this sub-period of the Buddhistic sentiment of *Ahimsā* which, as we shall show in our chapter on religious survey, is evidenced by the rise of new Vaishnavism and the great popularity, power, and progress of Jainism

and of Lingayat and other sects during this period. Though the rise of Vaishnavism or the spread of Jainism or other sects cannot be assigned as a direct cause of the downfall of Northern India, as Buddhism can be as a cause of the downfall of Sind, it cannot be denied that the dominance of the docile doctrine of Ahimsa throughout the Hindu society at this time made it inoffensive and weak. Most Brahmins whether Śaiva or Vaishnava, and almost all Vaiśyas Śaiva, Vaishnava and Jain accepted at this time the non-slaughter of animals as a binding religious principle and gave up animal food altogether as we will show later on. The result was that with the exception of the Rajputs the whole Hindu mass became unfitted as well as unwilling to fight. This influence of food on the nature of people can not be denied. The masses of Indian people in the several states excepting the Rajputs, (the Śūdras generally following the Brahmins and Vaiśyas through imitation as well as indigence) were like Indian elephants. In spite of its enormous size and strength, the elephant is by nature timid and inoffensive. The elephant's arm of offense, its trunk, is delicate and is easily slashed. The elephant is usually afraid to endanger its life and shrinks at the least display of fire. No doubt, it can be trained to fight and to courageously withstand fire. So also the vegetarian Hindu can be trained to fight and perform deeds of valour. But where there is no such training, both by nature being inoppressive are easily subdued and made to obey the master. There are no doubt examples of Brahmin and even Jain brave generals and soldiers in this sub-period, but the generality of the people being unaccustomed to fight and becoming by their food in aggressive and docile, when the Rajputs failed, all the Hindu kingdoms from the Sutlej to the Brahmaputra and from the Himalayas to the Vindhya succumbed and almost willingly submitted to the Moslem yoke within the short period of a quarter of a century. As stated in the preface to Volume I, the message of history to Hindus, especially those who have conscientious objection to a meat diet, is so to strengthen themselves by physical training and mental alertness as to enable them to take their share honourably in the internecine physical struggles of the human race which will never cease but will ever go on.

BOOK VIII.

GENERAL SURVEY.

CHAPTER I.

RAMIFICATION OF CASTE.

As stated in the beginning of this volume, we have a very valuable guide for ascertaining the social condition of Hindu India at the outset of this sub-period, in Al-Beruni who wrote his book on India in 1030 A. D. Al-Beruni lived among the Hindus at Multan and elsewhere in the Panjab and was an accurate observer. But unfortunately he sometimes mixes what he read in Hindu religious books which he studied in the original, with what he saw and his observations, therefore, are not always as reliable as those of previous Arab writers quoted in our second volume. However, we begin the description of the social condition of India in this sub-period, with quoting what Al-Beruni says on subject of caste in his book on India. Fortunately he was acquainted with Persian and Greek history and gives us facts from the west for comparison with Indian condition.

Al-Beruni shows that caste had developed in ancient times among the Persians, not to speak of the Greeks and Romans. "The ancient Chosroes had created great institutions of this kind (caste) which could not be broken through by the special merits of any individual nor by bribery. When Ardashir restored the Persian empire, he also restored the classes or castes in the following manner :--

1. Knights and princes.
2. Monks, fire-priests and lawyers.
3. Physicians and astronomers and other men of science.
4. Husbandmen and artisans.

“And within these classes there were subdivisions distinct from each other, like the species within a genus. The Hindus have also institutions of this kind. We, Moslems, consider all men equal except in piety and this is an obstacle which prevents understanding between us and the Hindus.

“The Hindus call their castes, *varṇas* or colours and from the genealogical point of view they call them *Jatah* (*Jati*). They are four from the beginning. The highest are the Brahmins; next come Kshatriyas. Their degree is not much below that of the Brahmins. Then follow the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. Between the two latter classes there is no very great distance. Much as these differ, they live together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings” (Sachau I pp. 99-101).

This long extract will show to us that this description of Hindu castes is not as accurate as that given in Volume II from previous Arab writers. The splitting of Kshatriyas into ruling Kshatriyas and cultivating Kshatriyas spoken of by Ibn Khordadba (Vol. II p. 179) is not even mentioned here. Probably in 1040 A. D. Rajputs had been so decimated and perhaps had fallen so low that they did not impress Al-Beruni separately. The statement in the Gāhadavāla inscription quoted before (p. 221) seems thus to be true of the condition of things at this time, that the Kshatriya ruling clans had almost been destroyed at least in the Panjab and U. P. and the recitation of the Veda had almost stopped when Chandra Gāhadavāla rehabilitated both. Secondly, Al-Beruni speaks somewhat from the books and not from actual observation and further says nothing about marriage. Ibn Khordadba stated that the Brahmins and Rajputs married from the lower caste of Kshatriyas and we have the historical mention of Rājāśekhara marrying a Chauhan lady. Probably in Al-Beruni's time (or later when castes were consolidated) such marriages had altogether stopped. Thirdly, Al-Beruni does not speak of intermediate castes which must have been many, nor of any subdivisions of the principal castes which probably had not yet arisen.

The castes among the Persians who were all Aryans were naturally different from those among the Hindus who were formed by a combination of Aryan and non-Aryan populations;

and hence the class of Śudras did not exist among the Persians. Moreover we do not know if caste distinctions among the Persians were not matrimonial, but were purely occupational. Among the Hindus, Pratiloma marriage was stopped in pre-Buddhist days and Anuloma marriage ceased probably at this time. Lastly, Al-Beruni says that all castes lived mixed together in the same houses and lodgings. This is probably a correct observation so far as the Panjab is concerned; for there was not much difference of food or habits between the different classes, all being flesh-eaters. In the rest of the country, this could not have been so; even if it were so in 1040 A. D., things changed so completely during the next two centuries owing to the recrudescence of the doctrine of Ahimsā that many castes gave up animal food and vegetarians and non-vegetarians could not have lived together in the same houses. Hence, after Al-Beruni, caste developed in exclusiveness to such an extent that the original four castes of India gave place in this sub-period to hundreds and thousands of sub-castes as we proceed to show.

We stated in our first volume that Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas formed undivided castes during the first sub-period (600-800). They remained so during the second sub-period also (800-1000 A. D.). But during the third sub-period, each of these castes became split into hundreds of sub-castes as inscriptions prove. The reasons were apparently, as shown above, 1st, a difference of food; 2nd, ideas of racial purity and 3rd, different social customs prevailing in different countries. We will take each of these castes separately and show how it became subdivided in this sub-period.

BRAHMINS.

In the beginning of this sub-period Brahmins all over India were one caste undoubtedly. In previous centuries Brahmins were distinguished by their gotras and their Śākhās only. Inscriptions of all countries, in previous sub-periods give only their gotras and Śākhās (or Vedic ritual) and never mention the names of any sub-section. Even in this sub-period for about fifty years we find the same practice prevailing. Thus a Chandella grant dated 1050 A. D. (I. A. XVI p. 206) describes the donee as a Bhāradvāja gotra, Tripravara Brahmin of Yajur-

veda Śākhā. In a Kalachuri inscription again (Kahla, Gorakhpur District U. P.) dated 1077 A. D. (E. I. VII p. 86), we have many Brahmin donees whose description consists of their gotras with pravara number of each and their Śākhās plus their place (village or town) of residence. So also a later Chālukya grant dated 1040 describes the donee as Kauśika gotra and Bahvṛicha (Rigvedi) Brahmin (B. B. R. A. S. XII p. 51). Later we begin to have the mention of the Brahmins' country of residence. Thus Kumārapāla's Praśasti at Vadnagar mentions the writer as a Nāgara Brahmin (St. 1208, 1151 A. D.). Some Chandella and Gāhadavāla inscriptions describe the Brahmin donees as Thakkura (E. I. IV p. 121) and in Gāhadavāla and Haihaya inscriptions they are described as Rāuta (E. I. XIV. p. 274). In a feudatory southern Malwa inscription dated 1135 A. D. we find the Brahmin donee described as Karnāta (I. A. XIV) with the Brahmin's gotra and Pravara added and it was an important discovery to find a Śilāhāra of Karhad grant describing the Brahmin donees as Karhātaka and Ghaisāsa Brahmins, the importance of which we will shortly notice. Names of country became so important that latterly the mention of gotra and Śākhā was omitted for Brahmins, though in the previous sub-period it was considered necessary (Vol. II p. 276). Thus in the Sāsabahu temple inscription (I. A. XV p. 36) dated 1093¹ we find names of many Brahmin donees without the mention of gotra. In an inscription of Bhola Bhima of Gujarat dated St. 1256 or 1200 A.D. (I. A. XI p. 72) the Brahmin donee is described without the mention of his gotra or Śākhā by his name only and by his Raikavāla Jhal or sub-section of Brahmin caste. In a Konkan inscription dated 1240 A. D. (J. R. A. S. Bombay IX p. 248) we have names of 32 Brahmin donees whose gotras are given but whose Śākhā is not stated and instead of it every Brahmin's surname is given. Surnames grew by this time, either from profession or from place of residence or other peculiarities and the importance of Śākhā was lost sight of. Surnames probably came into use among Brahmins in this sub-period such as Dikshita, Bhut, Chakur, P. Mahan, Upādhyāya, Pattavardhana* and so on. It is no doubt true that even so late as 1200 A. D. we find gotra and pravara of

* The name Trivādi occurring in this inscription is inapplicable as also Kramita.

Brahmins mentioned ; the continuance of their mention is not strange as Brahmins still keep up the memory of their gotra and pravara. But what is pertinent to remark is that along with gotras, family surnames begin to be mentioned and later on subcaste names based on country of residence. Thus in a Paramāra inscription dated 1226 A. D. (E. I. IX pp. 108 and 121) we have many names of Brahmin donees with gotra and pravara mentioned but in each case the surname is added, such as Pandit, Dīkshita, Dvivedi, Chaturvedi, Āvasthika and so on, and the places from which these Brahmins of the same surname came are different such as Mathura, Tripur, Akola, Dendavāna. So also in an inscription of Jayachandra dated 1177 (E. I. IV p. 129) the many Brahmin donees are thus described, 1 Deva Śrī Lotārka (gotra not given), 2 Bandhula gotra Purohita Śrī Paharajaya, 3 Sarkarākshya gotra Pandit Śrī Rishikeya and so on ; the word Pandit is abbreviated into Pam for four Brahmins and one is styled Dviveda. These epithets gradually grew into surnames of these Brahmins. In I. A. XIX (p. 353) we have the donee Brahmin described as Dākshinātya Karnāta Diveda Thakkura as also Āvasthika. The surname Avasthi has survived in Oudh among Brahmins but not among Deccani or Karnāṭaka Brahmins. The gotra thus retains for some time its importance among Brahmins at least and finds mention in inscriptions almost invariably. But as stated above, Pravara and Śākhā are usually omitted though all Brahmins have retained their memory down to this day.

Whatever this may be, we have not mention yet of the division of Brahmins into the modern two main sections viz. Pancha Gauda and Pancha Drāvida. It is not found even in the Skanda Purāṇa which we have placed in the ninth century A. D. (see Vol. II p. 39) properly enough. For the distinction arose even later than 1200 A. D. This main division is probably based on the flesh food of the former and the vegetarianism of the latter. But there is no doubt that Brahmins had sub-divided themselves into numerous sub-sections long before 1200 A. D., according to country of residence or its chief town, owing to peculiarities of customs, as also of ideas of purity of race. We find it recorded in the Nāgara Khanda of the Skanda Purāṇa where the whole history of Nāgara Brahmins and their

special good Hāṭakeśvara Śiva is given that an unknown Brahmin came to their town and a Nāgara Brahmin gave him his daughter in marriage. He was subsequently found out to be a Chāndāla to the consternation of the community and the Nāgaras thereupon made it a rule not to give daughters in marriage to any but known Nāgara Brahmins and the Nāgara known Brahmin families were enumerated. This arrangement seems gradually to have been adopted by all castes and sub-castes came consequently to deserve the name jnāti or known section. In the Abu inscription we have the word Nāgara jnātibhājā (Vol. II p 85) actually used by the writer to describe his caste or subsection (St. 1331 or 1274 A. D.). This story is apparently a later invention and probably an interpolation in the Skanda Purāṇa but it indicates the reason why marriage relations were gradually restricted to people of known pedigree residing in the same country. And thus began the subdivisions of Brahmins based on country of residence. Commencing from Kashmir we have thus Brahmins divided into 1. Kashmiri. 2. Nagarkotia (those who reside in Nagarkot the capital of Katoch kings in Kangra). 3. Muhyal in the Panjab (al is a termination which indicates subcaste). 4. Sārasvata. 5. Gauda (of Guda or Thanesar). 6. Narnol. 7. Kanojia and 8. Sarjupāria or residing beyond the Śarayu. 9. Jajhotia. 10. Tiwari. 11. Srimāli and 12. Pushkarnā or residing at Pushkar in Rājputana. 13. Sindhi. 14. Nāgara (of Ānandpura). 15. Dasor (of Daśapura). 16. Modha (of country formerly named Dharmāraṇya). 17. Gujarāti. 18. Malvi. 19. Bengali. 20. Ooriya. 21. Desha-stha. 22. Konkanastha or Chitpāwan (belonging to Chittapclana a town in Ratnagiri District). 23. Karhade (living under the Śilaharas of Karhad) 24. Karnāṭa. 25. Āndhra or Telugu. 26. Tamil and 27. Malyali or Nambudri. These are the main subsections of Brahmins recognisable as named after country of residence; but there are many subdivisions of these again based on various other grounds such as Daśas and Viśas in the north and Aiyars and Ayyangars in the south. For Brahmins divided further from their acceptance of this or that philosophy. The Ayyars are Smārtas i. e. those who look upon Śiva and Viṣṇu as equal, while Ayyangars believe Nārāyaṇa to be the highest god and follow the philosophy of Rāmānuja.

Later still the followers of Madhva and his Dvaita philosophy became a separate sub-section of Brahmins and were called Āchāryas. These gave up not only intermarriage but in many cases interdining also; though we have no direct mention of these restrictions in the Dharmaśāstras.

Strangely enough the northern Brahmins were looked upon in the beginning of this sub-period as purer in race as also in Āchāra or religious life and we have evidence, traditional no doubt, of many southern kings inviting northern India Brahmin families to settle in their countries. Thus we find the Sena king Sāmanta or Ballāla inviting Kanaujia Brahmins to settle in Bengal though tradition speaks of these Brahmins as having come in the time of Ādisūra, a fictitious king of earlier date; and we have mention of Brahmins coming from the north and settling in Orissa also in the days of the Kesari kings. We have mention again of Northern Brahmins being invited to settle in Gujarat by Mūlarāja and even so far south as the Tamil land we have mention of a Chola king inviting and settling in his country Brahmins from Northern India. In all these cases, these Brahmins formed separate sub-castes owing to their unwillingness to mix with local Brahmins, considered to be of lower purity, either in food or marriage. The Nagarakotia Brahmins alone who believe that they were invited by a Katoch king say that they consist of 13 families, 3 of whom were Kashmiri, 3 Kanaujia and 3 Sārasvata, the remaining four being local Brahmins. (These probably were not agriculturalists). The number of sub-castes was thus further increased. Then again we may believe that certain sections of Brahmins migrated to safer lands from the Panjab and the U. P. owing to invasions first and then oppression of Mahomedan conquerors. The Gauda Sārasvata Brahmins of Goa territory thus appear to have come from the region of the Sarasvati about this time. It is an unhistorical idea that they came from Bengal, for Guda is a name which originally was applied to the country round Thanesar and the peculiarity of these Brahmins viz. that they eat fish is mentioned even in the Mahābhārata as arising among Brahmins residing on the banks of the Sarasvati during a long famine. The Bengali Brahmins were emigrants from the

same ancient country of the Sārasvatas and are also hence called Gauda. We disbelieve the tradition of the Gauda Sārasvatas of Goa coming from Bengal because there is no historical reason why they should have left Bengal and further because their speech does not exhibit any linguistic and phonetic peculiarities of Bengal such as the change of s into sh and a into ō. The Chitpāvans are another section of Konkan Brahmins which has the tradition of coming there from outside. As stated in our Mahābhārata Mīmāṃsā they from their fair complexion appear to have come from the Panjab hilly districts into the hilly region of the Ratnagiri District after a short halt in the Thana District about Bassein where is the original first Konkan sanctuary of Paraśurāma. These instances will suffice to show that in this sub-period we have evidence of Brahmin families migrating to, or being invited to settle in, southern and eastern countries. The example again of Deccani Brahmins going to the Āndhra country in the wake of Chālukya conquest of Vengi and forming a separate sub-section of Brahmins called now Niyogi shows that there may be instances of Brahmin migrations after conquest, as happened in modern history after the conquests of the Marathas. The mode adopted by Nāgara Brahmins of defining their sub-caste by counting their families and their gotras was followed by all these various sub-sections and hence have arisen those hundreds of sub-castes into which Brahmins are now sub-divided and which restrict marriage and food to themselves. All these sub-sections acquired new names from country or town of their residence or from other causes, which became of paramount importance owing to restriction of marriage to each sub-section and gotra and Śākhā became consequently of minor importance. But it must be stated that all the sub-sections of Brahmins appear to have adhered loyally to their ancient Vedic religion. They not only preserved their Veda or Śākhā but also its special ritual and also the memory of their gotras and pravaras and still preserve the gotra and pravara law of marriage prohibition enjoined by the smritis, the gotras and pravaras being enumerated in the Śrauta Sūtras. And hence it is that gotra and pravara among Brahmins and even Kshatriyas remain the same throughout the

whole of India though Brahmin and Kshatriya families everywhere acquired new names from curious causes. These names became no doubt predominant, but they never acquired so great an importance among Brahmins at least as to destroy the importance of gotra, and the gotra law of marriage is still the supreme law of marriage among Brahmins.

Many of these subcastes of Brahmins especially in Northern India were then non-vegetarian and they continue so down to this day. Al-Beruni describing the food of Hindus says "Christians are not allowed to kill, so also the Brahmins." The rules given hereafter apply to Brahmins (as Christian rules apply to bishops and monks), but not others. First, strangulation of certain animals only is allowed viz. sheep, goat, gazelle, rhinoceros (genda), water and land birds such as peacock etc.; Second, forbidden animals are ox, camel, horse, elephant &c., tame poultry, fish and all kinds of eggs.

NOTE:—MARCO POLO ON LAD BRAHMINS.

The description given by Marco Polo of Brahmins of the country called Lar by him deserves to be quoted and discussed here. Marco Polo travelled in India about 1280 A. D. roughly and wrote about 1300 A. D. Though this account is thus a hundred years later than our period, it cannot be considered inapplicable, as the condition then of the country must have been the same as in 1200, Mahomedan conquest coming later. Speaking of the province of Lar, he says (Marco Polo by Miss Yule Vol. II p. 360) "All Brahmins come from that country on the west. They are best merchants and most truthful. They eat no flesh and drink no wine and lead a life of chastity. They wear a thread of cotton on their shoulders which crosses the breast and the back. They have a rich and powerful king who sends Brahmins to purchase best diamonds in Soli (Chola) and best pearls. They believe in bad and auspicious hours for every week day and transact business only at auspicious times. They are long-lived as they are very abstemious and they have capital teeth owing to a certain herb they chew."

"There are other brahmins called Chugi (Jogi) who are longer-lived, who are devoted to the idols. They live upto 150 or even 200 years. They eat rice and milk only. They drink a potion of sulphur and quicksilver twice a day which leads to longevity. Some of them are ascetics who go about stark naked. They have a small ox of pewter or gold tied over their forehead. They daub themselves with cowdung ashes. If any one does them good, they put the ashes in the middle of his forehead. They eat from dry leaves of the apple of paradise (plantain?). They would not kill any animal even a fly or a flea. They fast many days and drink

nothing but water. They sleep on the ground and yet they live long. They burn their dead."

Miss Yule observes on this in a note that "Lar deśa included southern Gujarat, Thana and Chaul. Konkani Brahmins adopted trade only when they were expelled from Goa. This high praise of the truthfulness of Brahmins was just and as old as the Greeks. It is not only given by Greek writers but by Hiuen Tsang and also by Arab travellers."

It is somewhat difficult to determine to whom the above description applies. Lar no doubt according to Arab travellers included Thana and Kolaba districts and had a language of its own called Lari. But Marco Polo later describes the kingdom of Thana separately. We have seen that Śilāhāra kings ruled in Thana. Lār deśa was again distinct from Gujarat which is also separately described by Marco Polo and which with its capital Patan was ruled by Vaghela kings in about 1300 A. D. The language of this part is described again as distinct and peculiar (p. 392). Thus upto 1300 A. D. modern southern Gujarat or Lār deśa was distinct from Northern Gujarat politically as well as in language. The people apparently had a king of their own, though in previous centuries, they were under the Rāshtrakūṭas and later under Western Chālukyas of Kalyan. The Brahmins of Lār deśa are not now, however, known as a separate sub-caste. But probably they were a distinct sub-caste then and went for trade to such distant countries as the countries of Chola and Pāndya which produced diamonds and pearls. The Konkani Brahmins are not much known as traders though their truthfulness as of other Brahmins must have been anciently well known. The surnames Pattavardhana, Ghalisa and Ghaisāsa now found among Konkani and Karhada Brahmins only and mentioned in a Goa Kadamba inscription dated Śaka 1171 or 1249 A. D. (J. R. A. S. Bombay IX p. 243) indicate that these families were traders; what trade these surnames indicated, we are not able to determine. The four Brahmins mentioned in an inscription dated 1190 A. D., of Bhoja II Śilāhāra king of Karhād are named: 1. Adityabhata 2. Lakshmidharabhata 3. Karhātaka Prabhākara Ghaisāsa and 4 Vāsiyana Ghaisāsa (gotra nowhere mentioned). The word Karhātaka here plainly indicates a subcaste and Ghaisāsa plainly imports a profession which is not religious. But certainly these did not trade in diamonds and pearls as Marco Polo states. We must, therefore, believe that Lad Brahmins were a distinct sub-caste spread over the whole of southern India who traded in diamonds and pearls and who were known then for their great veracity. It appears that Marco Polo met them in the Pāndya country as he describes Lar Deśa just almost immediately after the Pāndya country. The country named by him as Maabar is certainly the Pāndya country which produced pearls. Of this country he says rightly that "there are no tailors here. All people, men and women, rich and poor, including even the king go about naked with a strip of cloth round their loins. Even the soldiers go to fight naked, with lance and shield," He describes the naked king as distinguished only by the fineness of the loin cloth and the necklace of precious stones, a description which reminds one of that

by Kalidāsa in *Raghu* (पाण्डुरोयमंसर्पितलम्बहारः). The Brahmins of Dravida even now move about almost naked. Marco Polo next describes the kingdom of Mutfli, an inexplicable name; but it is certainly the Āndhra kingdom of Warangal as it is described as ruled then by a queen (daughter of Pratāparudra) and as diamonds are said to be found in its mountains, referring probably to the mines of Golkonda. It is in these countries apparently that Marco Polo came across the Brahmins of the Lar country which is described next as lying in the west and which must mean the country of Lāta or modern southern Gujarat.

The ascetics described seem to be Śaiva ascetics but those with a metal ox on their foreheads can not be Jangamas as these do not burn their dead but bury them. The Vīraśaiva schism (Lingāyat) had no doubt arisen already. But the Lingāyats had probably not yet gone to Konkan or Lāta where even now they are scarcely to be found. These ascetics, therefore, do not now survive as even Miss Yule thinks.

They again cannot be Jains, though their abstention from all animal slaughter, their injuring not even a fly or a flea and their long fasts may suggest their being Jains. But Jains do not use cowdung ashes nor apply them to the forehead of their disciples. They, therefore, must be Śaiva ascetics of an order which is not now in existence. They perhaps were followers of Lakulīśa whose chief sacred place is near Broach, as already stated. The whole description, therefore, according to our view, does not apply to Konkan Brahmins though it is suggestive of them and applies to Lad Brahmins who are now found, not in South Gujarat, but all over the Deccan including Hyderabad territory and Berar. They are still a mercantile community but are very religious orthodox Brahmins.

THE RAJPUTS.

Going on to consider the next chief caste of the Kshatriyas, we find that it also subdivided during this sub-period though not into numerous sub-sects. It could not, for obvious reasons, subdivide on the basis of town or country of residence. It had already divided itself into two main sections viz. those who cultivated and those who did not. The former were naturally considered lower in grade and the latter who were rulers of kingdoms, at least heads of villages or districts, were considered to be higher in grade. These latter were now called by distinction Rajputs a word used in inscriptions of this period to denote the ruling Kshatriyas generally (e.g. E. I. XIV p. 159 Ballālasena insc. जज्ञिरे राजपुत्राः). They were first looked upon as even higher than Brahmins, as shown in Vol. II (p. 178). This higher status of the Rajputs described by Arab travellers of the

preceding century is not mentioned by Al-Beruni who, as often stated before, speaks more from Hindu law books than from actual observation. Or it may be that during the period of Mahomedan invasions many of the Panjab Rajput ruling families were destroyed ; and when the Gāhadavāla king Chandra drove the Mahomedan oppressors out of northern India and reconstituted the Kshatriya caste, it naturally assumed its position as defined in the Hindu Śāstras, viz. next to that of the Brahmins. Yet they were considered equal to the Brahmins in all respects as Al-Beruni himself admits that their degree is not much below that of the Brahmins. Thus they were allowed to study the Vedas and did study Vedā and Śāstra and we have already seen how noted kings such as Bhoja and Govindachandra were as learned in the sacred and profane lore as the most learned Brahmins.

In the usual manner, the Rajput or ruling families of India constituted themselves into a sub-section about 1100 A. D. by the enumeration of the orthodox pure Kshatriya ruling families of the time. In this enumeration Panjab remained naturally excluded, being then entirely under Mahomedan rule ; and there indeed were no ruling Kshatriya families then in the Panjab. The Himalayan ruling families also did not come in the enumeration for another reason which we will notice later on. The South Indian ruling families were also excluded as they were apparently not considered of pure Aryan race and of Kshatriya descent. The Kshatriya families ruling in Mahārāshtra were, however, included as they had continuous marriage relations with the ruling Kshatriya families of Northern India. The number of these Rajput families was found to be 36 and this number soon became traditional, as we find it mentioned in the Rājataranginī of Kalhana of 1159 A. D. Which were these 36 families in the beginning it is difficult to determine, as no unquestionable list of that date has come down to us. We have treated the list in the Rāsā as contemporaneous with Prithvirāj though the Rāsā in its present form is undoubtedly to be placed in the 16th century A. D. (vide Vol. II p. 70) and we will examine in a note how far that list represents the correct political condition of the country about 1100 A.D. It may be noted that by this enumeration the

surnames or family names of the several clans further acquired importance and the gotra of each family, although each had its separate gotra, gradually became of no value even in matters of marriage. Indeed inscriptions of this period often look upon the clan name as gotra itself e. g. Guhila gotra, Pratihāra gotra etc. (See also Vol. II p. 177).

In the Rāsā list firstly the Senas of Lakhnauti are conspicuous by their absence and this supports the view that their power in Bengal was established later than 1100 A. D. Next we note that all ruling families of South India viz. Gangas, Chclas, Pāndyas and Keralas are also not in the list. The only explanation seems, as stated above, to be that their claim to pure Kshatriya origin was not admitted as they had no marriage relations with the Kshatriyas of Northern India. The ruling Kshatriya families of Mahārāshtra occupying an intermediate position geographically, naturally came to occupy an intermediate position racially. We have already said that the Śilāhāras are the only truly Maratha family which finds a mention in the list of the 36 royal clans (p. 247). As to the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūtas of the Deccan, though they are, according to our view, distinct from the families of the same name of Northern India, their inclusion in the 36 under the same names can not be denied. But it is remarkable that the Kadambas of Goa are not mentioned among the thirty-six. We have uncontested evidence that two princesses from this family were married into the Gujarat Chālukya family during this sub-period.* Probably the Rajputs of Northern India gradually confined their sub-caste to Northern India and refused to continue marriage relations with Kshatriya families of Mahārāshtra,† as these families had marriage relations with Non-Aryan ruling families of South India also. The Maratha Kshatriyas, consequently, after this period, including the Śilāhāras, became a separate group or sub-caste and they too had their own enumeration of 96 Maratha families to which marriage was thenceforth confined.

* The Kumārapāla Charita mentions such a marriage in the verse कर्णोपि कर्णाटनृपाङ्ग-जायाश्चकार पाणिग्रहणं जयायाः ।; it also mentions Karṇa's marriage with a Kashmir princess कणयि काश्मीरपतिः स्वपुत्रीं प्रेषीदथो मैणळदेविनाम्नीम् ॥

† Karṇa Vaghela declined for example to give his daughter to the Yādava king of Deogiri about 1300 A. D.

The Rajputs from Western Himalayas formed a third group which became a distinct sub-section, not only on account of its isolation but also of certain marriage customs peculiar to them. In the Himalayas then survived and still survive marriage customs of ancient India by which the higher castes could take wives from lower castes, the caste of the progeny being unaffected viz. that of the father. We find thus, even now, three grades of Kshatriyas in the Himalayan region adjacent to the Panjab viz. Rajputs, Rāṇas or Thakurs and Rāṭhis. The Rajputs take girls from the Thakurs and these from the Rāṭhis but do not give them their girls. The Rajputs of the Himalayan region, however, though they have old mixed marriage customs still prevalent among them, are pure in race as the Rāṭhis are not Mongolians but Aryans, are in fact Kshatriyas lower in grade only because they follow agriculture. They further allow Karewa or widow remarriage which is prohibited to the Rajputs as to Brahmins and Vaiśyas. Full information is given in "Castes and Tribes of the Panjab" relating to minor sub-divisions of the Rajputs of the Himalayan region amongst whom the Katoch are the leading family with the Maharaja of Lambagram at their head. But the names of the several Sūryavanśi and Chandravanśi families of the highest,* middling and lowest grades with names based chiefly on place of residence such as Jammuwal, Guleria, etc. it is not necessary to give here in detail.

In the Panjab itself the Kshatriyas of the western parts were mostly forcibly converted to Mahomedanism in the days of Mahmud and of Shihabuddin and these do not now use or even like the name Rajput, though they still preserve old Kshatriya clan names of Mahābhārata or Greek days such as Yaudheyas (Johiyas), Ānavas (Janjuas) etc. and still observe certain Hindu customs such as calling a Brahmin at the birth of a child or at marriage. In the eastern parts, Rajputs are still found but they are immigrants from lands further east and south in Mahomedan times, as they use the orthodox clan names from the list of the 36 royal clans such as Paramāra, Chauhan, Tuar, Rathod, Kachhwāha, &c.; and these have still marriage

* The Miyaṇs are the highest, a name taken from the Mahomedans, Miyaṇ meaning the most respected.

relations with the Rajputs of Delhi and Rajputana. The Panjab and the land of the Sarasvatī as also Pāṇchāla was the ancient land of Brahmins and Kshatriyas and all Brahmins and Kshatriyas in the east and south of India came originally from this region. It, therefore, follows that Paramāras and Chauhans, Rathods and Kachhwāhas are clan-names which originally must have come from the Panjab itself in ancient times. Or these names which do not find a mention in the Mahābhārata may have come into existence in the south and the east, in the middle land and in Rajputana, in the sixth century or later, among Kshatriya clans driven out of or leaving the Panjab under stress of Kushan and Hūṇa invasions. Certain it is that most of the names of clans in the list of 36 are not found in the Mahābhārata; and as they are found in the eastern parts of the Panjab at the present day, these Rajputs must have gone from the south. Local tradition also supports this inference as the Rajputs of Eastern Panjab believe that they came there from the Delhi region and from Rajputana in Mahomedan times. These Rajputs, therefore, cannot be treated as a separate group and must be included in the Rajputana group.

Thus we have three sub-sections of the Kshatriyas of India; subsections which probably came into existence between 1100 to 1200 or 1300 A. D. viz. 1st the Rajputs of the 36 clans inhabiting Rajputana, Gujarat, Kathiawar, Malwa, U. P. and Eastern Panjab; 2nd Rajputs of Western Himalayas and 3rd the Maratha Kshatriyas. These three groups do not intermarry and do not interdine and they may, therefore, be looked upon as real sub-castes with their usual restrictions. Though the sub-castes of pure Kshatriyas thus are only three, there are numerous other sub-castes who claim to be Kshatriyas and whose existence probably goes back to our sub-period. We may, of course include those Kshatriyas who are considered lower in grade because they follow the occupation of agriculture, the Rāṭhis for example of the Himalayan region and the Marathas of the Deccan. The words Rāṭhi and Maratha probably have a common origin viz. Rāshṭra* which shows that they form the

* The word Rāshṭrika in Aśoka inscriptions is explained by Smith as meaning inhabitants of Western Ghats but the word may indicate these Rāṭhis of the Himālayan region also

country, being the common people or the settled agriculturists and must be distinguished from the Śūdras or labourers. The description by Al-Beruni of the four castes, however, indicates that while the Rajputs or Kshatriyas were treated as equals of Brahmins, the agricultural Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas had come to be looked upon as not much superior to Śūdras, being prohibited the study of the Veda. Besides these agricultural Kshatriyas, there were other sub-castes which also claimed the rank of Kshatriyas and which must have come into existence in this sub-period such as Bundellas, Raghuvaṁśis &c. though we have no positive written evidence about their claim. The tendency of Hindu society at all times in India is to establish various sub-castes which usually claim to be included in the higher varṇa nearest to them.

The Kshatriyas of South India claim to belong to solar and lunar races also. They form a separate sub-caste which we have not taken into consideration in the above enumeration. So far as we have seen, we have not found in inscriptions an example of a South India Kshatriya marrying a northern Kshatriya princess. The Dravida warrior clans were no doubt treated as Vrātya Kshatriyas by the Manusmṛiti and the Purāṇas support their solar and lunar race origins. The Āndhra Kshatriyas are called Rāju—a Sanskrit word—and Vellala. It is unnecessary to go further into the status of the Kshatriyas of South India as we have not found the subject discussed at length anywhere.

NOTE:—THE 36 RULING FAMILIES OF KSHATRIYAS.

We have held that the list of 36 ruling families of Kshatriyas was made during the reign of Chandra Gāhadavāla who is said in inscriptions to have rehabilitated the Solar and Lunar Kshatriya races. This king ruled from 1080 to 1100 A. D. and the 36 families then enumerated must have been actually ruling at that time. We have not got the original list; but two ancient lists, incomplete and rather incorrect, are given by Tod viz. the Rāsā list and the Kumārapāla Charita Sanskrit list (the other two given by him seem to be later as they contain undoubtedly later names). If we compare these two lists they appear to be copies from the same original list. Let us see how they agree and differ.

Rāsā List.

Kumārapāla-Charita Sans. List.

Ravi	Ikshvāku
Śaśi	Soma
Yadu	Yadu
Kakustha	X
Paramāra	Paramāra
Sadāvara	X
Chauhan	Chauhan
Chālukka	Chālukka
Chhindaka	Chhindaka
Silāra	Silāra
Abhīra	X
Doyamata	{ Makvāna
Makvāna	
Chapotkaṭa	Chapotkaṭa
Parihāra	Parihāra
Dhānyapālaka	Dhānyapālaka
Rājyapālaka	Rājyapālaka
Nikumpa	Nikumpa
Hula	Hūṇa
Guhila, Guhilaputta	Ohila X

From the note of Gaurishankar on this list we find there are some eight or nine names which are found in the Kumārapāla-Charita list which were omitted by Tod and the three out of which found in the other list are,

Rathod	Rath.
Kārattapāla	Kārattapala
Aniga	Anaga.

There are many names in both lists which are now unidentifiable; and even Tod could not identify them. Moreover the identification by Tod of some is unquestionably mistaken, as it could not but be, in the absence of the epigraphic evidence which we now possess. We proceed to show how this list, especially that in the Rāsā, correctly depicts the political state of the country and its Rajput kingdoms about 1100 A. D. We take the identification of names made by us in Vol. II.

The first five namely Kakustha (Kachapaghāta), Paramāra Sadāvara (Tomara), Chāhamana, Chhandāka (Chandella) are the well-known kingdoms of Gwalior, Malwa, Delhi, Sambhar and Bundelkhand described in this volume. The sixth Silāra is the Śilāhāra kingdom of Thana. The seventh Abhiyara or Ahira kingdom has not been located by Tod but it must have been in southern India. Chapotkaṭa and Parihara were the kingdoms of Anhilwad and Kanauj which had just passed away but there still must have been small kingdoms remaining such as that of Mandavar of the Pratihāras.

The Guhilot kingdom of Mewad was well known as also the small kingdom of the Guhilas in Mangrol (Kathiawar) already described (p.301). The Yadus under whom come now Yādavas, Bhatīs and the Jādejas and Chūdāsamas of Kathiawar were represented then by the Yādavas of Biana and Mathura or Mahātan. The Bhātīs of Jaisalmere are not mentioned in this list because probably they were not then in Jaisalmere which according to tradition was founded in 1157 A. D. (Gaurishankar's Tod p. 224) and the latter two were not yet established in Kathiawar and Cutch which were then under the Chālukyas of Anhilwad. The Tānks had a kingdom at this time at Kāshthā on the Jumma as pointed out by Tod. They are not, according to our view, descendants of Takshaka Nāga as many imagine. The Hūṇas had a kingdom at Badoli on the east coast of the Chambal opposite Bhaisroda "where in a beautifully carved temple there is a Hūṇa Vivāha Mandapa." (Gaurishankar's Tod). The Gaudas or Gaurs have nothing to do with the Senas of Bengal whose power was established in Bengal itself later than 1100 and who are consequently not mentioned in this list. They came from Guda or the country about Thanesar and they had at this time an extensive kingdom about Ajmer which was taken from them by the Chauhans as tradition recorded by Tod states. (This tradition is not believed by some). The Badgujars also were a powerful ruling family then and were in possession of the country round Amber with Rajpur as their capital and from this they were dispossessed by the Kachhwāhas according to another tradition recorded by Tod. They are mentioned in the Rāsā list under the name of Garua which certainly is the Prakrit form of Gurjara. Nikumpa lastly had a kingdom at that time in Khandesh as an inscription noted by Gaurishankar dated 1153 A. D. proves. They had also a small kingdom in Jaipur territory. Nikumps. therefore, unlike the Silāhāras are both Northern India and Southern India Kshatriyas. Among the Marathas their name is now pronounced Nikam.

Besides these, we have of course the mention of Rathod or Rāṭh and Rājapala, the leading kingly families of Kanauj and Monghyr, while the Kalachūri Haihayas of Chedi are also included in the Rāsā list. What ruling families the other names indicate it is difficult to decide and neither Tod nor Gaurishankar or Mohanlal Pandya has been able to ascertain. The Dāhimas were well-known and as descendants of Dadicha Rishi are mentioned in inscriptions; but the name given in the Rāsā list is Dadhishat. This amśa is detailed in an inscription dated 1000 A.D. in the Kansern temple in Parbatsar Dt. Jodhpur State (E.I. XII p. 61). They were feudatories of the Chāhamanas of Sāmbhar. They migrated from Thalner on the Godavari to Marwad, and held Parbatsar, Jalor and Sanchor up to 1300 A.D. "Chhacha (the inscripator) was a ruling prince and not an Ādā Rajput (ditto)," Kāratapāla, however, are not Kathis and Kathis had no kingdom in Kathiawar about 1100 A. D. Nor can Jats be mentioned in the list as they never were looked upon as Kshatriyas, nor had they any kingdom at this time. In the absence of historical evidence we can only say that the remaining names of ruling families are not yet ascertainable.

KĀYASTHAS.

The Kāyasthas who claim to be of Kshatriya origin find frequent mention in the inscriptions of this sub-period. They can be included in the Kshatriya varṇa though they form an intermediate caste according to the Smṛitis. The Kāyasthas were writers by profession and hence as writers of inscriptions they are constantly mentioned. They too seem to be divided at this time into sections according to their country of residence, like the Brahmins; for we have mention of a Gauda Kāyastha in an inscription dated 1000 A.D. (E. I. XII p. 6); the word Anvaya is not used here; but where it is used it indicates the family such as Naigamānvaya of Bijolia Insc. (Bengal J. R. A. S. LV p. 40) or Gaudānvaya of Siwalik pillar Insc. (I. A. XIX p. 218). It may be noted that we sometimes come across Kāyastha writers in inscriptions from southern India, as in the Konkan insc. of Aparāditya. The tradition among the Kāyastha Prabhus of Konkan that they came there from Northern India in later days may be reconciled with this mention of Kāyasthas in about 1100 by holding that these are represented now by the Davane Kāyasthas.*

VAIŚYA

The Vaiśyas also split into sub-divisions during this sub-period, following the example of Brahmins, on the basis of habitat. There is no mention, however, in the records of the period, of the names of the modern 84 sub-divisions of the Vaiśyas of Northern India. There are some family names such as Prāgvātānvaya or Kārāpaka Vamśa (Bijolia Insc.). There is also a mention of Poravāla and of Modha (I.A. XI p.72), Modhānvaya-prasūta-Mahākshap.; but the word anvaya added shows that they were family names and not names of sub-castes. These Vaiśyas were often Jains and hence perhaps the sub-sections were not endogamous. In the south and in the Himalayan region, there were Vaiśyas who were Śaivas; the temple of Baijanāth in Kangra is stated in its inscription to have been built by two Vaiśya brothers; and the Lingāyat Vaiśyas in the south are well known as Viraśaivas.

* The word Prabhu is added in this inscription to a minister's name and not to the name of the Kāyastha writer.

ŚUDRAS.

It is needless to say that the Sudras must also have subdivided at this time into innumerable sections not only on the basis of the province of residence, but also of their innumerable employments; each profession or employment consolidating itself into a sub-caste restricting marriage to itself. Indeed at this time the practice of Anuloma marriage entirely ceased, as we shall presently show, and every caste and sub-caste from the Brahmins downwards restricted marriage to itself. This together with ideas of purity and peculiarities of food and customs was a great incentive to the formation of sub-castes all over the society. The formation of all the innumerable sub-castes in every varṇa or chief caste and intermediate caste into which Hindu society is divided at present took place, according to our view, during this sub-period (1000-1200), whereas in the preceding sub-periods the main castes and intermediate castes were one and undivided throughout India. Although, therefore, Al-Beruni mentions only four varṇas following the Smṛitis, the tendency to the development of sub-castes had arisen ever in his time; but the actual division took place after him.

UNTOUCHABLES.

From the most ancient times, the outcasts or untouchables were divided into many classes and they always lived outside of towns and villages. Those usually mentioned in inscriptions are Meda and Chāṇḍāla, the scavenger and the executioner, who were the lowest among them. But Al-Beruni gives other names. He describes the outcasts as follows: "After the Śūdra follow the people called Antyaja who render various kinds of services and who are not reckoned among any caste. There are eight classes of them, *who freely intermarry* with each other, except the fuller, the shoe-maker and the weaver. These eight guilds are fuller, shoe-maker, juggler, basket and shield maker, sailor, fisherman, hunter of wild animals and birds and weaver. These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes and outside them".

"The people called Hādi, Doma, Chāṇḍāla and Badhatau, are not reckoned among any caste or guild. They are occupied

with dirty work like the cleansing of the village. They are considered as one sole class. In fact they are considered like illegitimate children and they descend from Śūdra father and Brahmanī mother as children of fornication. Therefore, they are outcasts". (Sachau Vol. I chap. X). The above extract shows that even in Al-Beruni's time (1030 A. D.) there were two main divisions of the outcasts, the second one being the worse of the two. Indeed Khurdadba (900 A. D.) also mentions two untouchables' castes viz. the Chāndāla and the Lahuda. The latter viz. Lahuda were rope-dancers or naṭas. Thus this two-fold division is very old and the eight untouchables of the Lahuda class mentioned by Al-Beruni are exactly those enumerated in a Smṛiti text viz. the fuller, the shoe-maker, the weaver, the basket-maker, the rope-dancer, the fisherman, the hunter and the juggler. That they intermarried except the first three is a strange observation which perhaps may be a mistake. At any rate in modern times, they do not, following the usual tendency of all Hindu sub-castes to restrict marriage to their own self. It passes understanding why the fuller, the weaver and the basket-maker should have been treated as untouchable. They had no doubt been treated as such until recently. Being a subdivision with work not unclean and with marriage restricted to itself as mentioned by Al-Beruni, their untouchability was nominal. And since they have now become touchable, there is no reason why the other five classes of the same list should remain untouchable. The word Dom is not found in the Smṛitis nor Hādi and the word Badhatau is inexplicable. These four untouchable castes performed uncleanly work and must have, therefore, been treated as most untouchable.

Caste in India, as we have elsewhere explained, rests on racial as well as occupational difference and it is well-known that the first three varṇas are Aryans by race, as also the castes intermediate between them. The Śūdras and the untouchables are Dravidian by race. The main profession of Brahmins is that of religious service and of Kshatriyas is that of arms. Vaiśyas were agriculturists in ancient times; but they gave up agriculture in the Buddhist period as it involved the killing of insects (see Vol. II p. 182). In mediæval times the occupation of agriculture mainly belonged to Śūdras; and Khurdadba in 900 A. D.

properly says that Śūdras were those who were husbandmen by profession (ditto p. 172). But while Vaiśyas gave up agriculture, some Brahmins and Kshatriyas took to agriculture in the mediæval period and the Parāśara Smṛiti by a special provision made it allowable (see Vol. II p. 183). But this led to the degradation of these to the status of Śūdras as in the Deccan and even in the Himalayan region. The Nagarkotia Brahmins, we were informed in Kangra, did not intermarry or interdine with the local Brahmins who were agriculturists and who are now even labourers or coolies. The Rāṭhis who are Kshatriya agriculturists in the Himalayan region are admitted to be only third grade Kshatriyas who may give daughters to, but cannot take daughters from, higher grade Kshatriyas. We find local agriculturist Brahmins similarly treated as Śūdras by new-coming Brahmins in Orissa (see Vol. II). In the Deccan there are some agriculturist Brahmins who are also looked upon as degraded, and the agriculturist Kshatriyas, Malis and others, are treated, though improperly, as Śūdras.

It is a thing worth noticing that the Rajputs in this sub-period, though their profession was that of arms, distinguished themselves not only by their valour but also by their learning. Indeed some of the most famous learned kings in this sub-period have made their names immortal, such as Bhoja, Govindachandra, Ballālasena and Lakshmanasena, Aparāditya, Someśvara Chalukya, Rājendra Chola and others, by their treatises on different subjects which still survive and are read with benefit. The art of singing and dancing was also developed and patronised by these kings, notably by Harsha of Kashmir, Udayāditya of Malwa and others but most notably by Rājarāja of Tanjore. Tanjore is still famous for its singing and dancing. The Kshatriyas, therefore, were properly described as almost the equals of Brahmins by Al-Beruni. They were proficient both in Śāstra and Sāstra and kept up their traditional love of independence and of knowledge characteristic of the Aryan race.

CHAPTER II.

CHANGE IN MARRIAGE AND OTHER CUSTOMS.

The marriage customs of the Hindus underwent a momentous change during this sub-period. In previous centuries Brahmins and Kshatriyas could marry and did marry women from castes lower than themselves. Even Khurdadba writing about 900 A. D. states that Brahmins could take wives from Kataria or Kshatriyas (though they did not give them their daughters) and we have the well-known instance of Rājasekhara marrying a Chāhamāna lady about 900 A. D. Al-Beruni, however, writes that "formerly a Hindu could marry a woman of his caste or lower caste, but in our time a Brahmin never marries a woman except from his own caste". Naturally in all castes and even sub-castes marriage outside the caste ceased entirely. Why this restriction arose does not appear clear. Probably the lower position assigned by the new provisions of Smṛitis to children of lower caste wives, a fact corroborated even by Al-Beruni who states that the progeny of such former marriages was treated as of the caste of the mother, must have been found inconvenient. In the same house thus of a Brahmin father, there would be children who would be Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. The Manu Smṛiti rule was, as shown in Vol. II, that all such children were Brahmins and in some cases, of an intermediate caste higher than that of the mother. The difference of food and drink between a Brahmin, a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya, the Brahmins and Vaiśyas in the middle land and southern India abstaining from flesh also, must have again caused great trouble in such a mixed family. The result naturally was that marriage was restricted to the same caste and even sub-section of a caste or sub-caste.

The other conspicuous change which came over Hindu society was the growth of the custom of child marriages. When such marriages began to take place can not be definitely determined. But certain it is that child marriage was a general custom in the days of Al-Beruni who observes (Sachau Vol. II chapter XIX p. 155), "The Hindus marry at an early age and hence parents arrange for the marriages of their children." This

is in fact the rule that obtains at present. Al-Beruni's remark is certainly from observation and not from Smṛitis though we may believe that the Parāśara Smṛiti provision (अष्टवर्षामुद्वहेत) making marriage of a girl of 8 years as the normal marriage was already formulated. We have seen that Prithvirāj's first marriage was a child marriage. Vikramānka Chālukya of Kalyan's daughter's marriage with the Kadamba of Goa heir-apparent was also a child marriage. Such examples among Rajput princes indicate that child marriage was the prevailing custom among all the Hindus of the period. Bāṇa describing the marriage of Rājyaśrī in about 600 A. D. describes her as fully grown up and his description of the marriage ceremony indicates that consummation of marriage took place on the day of marriage. Thus child marriages must have come into vogue between 600 and 1000 A.D. Why they did so, it is difficult to determine. As child marriages were already prevalent in 1030 A. D., it can not be argued, as is sometimes done, that they came into vogue owing to Mahomedan oppression. We have stated elsewhere that they came into vogue owing to people's desire to prevent women becoming Buddhist nuns. Buddhism allowed women of a grown-up age to become nuns and hence the marriage of girls at an early age must have become popular as a precaution. Buddhism was suppressed towards the end of the 8th or 9th century A. D. and the custom of child marriage must have grown further into popular favour. Whatever the reason, certain it is that it was an established custom in the beginning of this sub-period and further grew during its course.

Among the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas, Śākhā and gotra lost their importance during this sub-period and the different sub-castes counted by names the families or nukhs which formed that sub-caste or sub-section and marriage outside the the family or clan or nukh and inside the sub-section became the rule and continues to be so to this day. This example was followed by all the different sub-sections of Śūdras and even the outcasts, and throughout the Hindu society marriage became restricted not only to the same caste but also to the same sub-caste, or sub-section of a sub-caste. Naturally the feeling of solidarity in the Hindu society decreased and the Hindus have always consequently remained weak as a people. As stated before, it

is not possible to give up caste among the Hindus, the division being both racial and occupational; but it is possible and advisable to reduce the number of sub-castes, by amalgamating their sub-sections which have come into existence for fanciful ideas of purity of blood or other fastidious reasons.

The prohibition of widow remarriage among the Aryan castes is an ancient custom among the Hindus, as old as the Sūtras or perhaps the Vedas: and Al-Beruni says rightly of his time that widows could not re-marry; they might either burn themselves on the pyre of their dead husband or lead an ascetic life (Sachau Vol. I, p. 155). "The widows of kings" he adds "are usually burnt unless they are old or have sons alive." The new custom of child marriage combined with the ancient custom of the prohibition of widow-remarriage led, however, in due time to that miserable class of women among high caste Hindus called child-widows; and strangely enough the rule of *Manu-smṛiti* which provided for the remarriage of girls whose husbands died before consummation of marriage was also at this time put into abeyance by a *Kalivarja* provision. We will speak of these *Kalivarjas* later and show that these provisions came into being probably during this sub-period itself. It passes understanding why the remarriage of child-widows was also stopped.

Al-Beruni states that a Hindu cannot have more than four wives. This is indeed strange as we have come across no such limit to the number of wives in the law-books nor in tradition or history. Kings especially married as many wives as they liked and Śrīkrishṇa had 108. Prithvirāj too had, according to the *Rāsā*, more than 8 queens. Al-Beruni, rightly however, states that the Hindus have no divorce among them which is perhaps a custom which characterizes Hindus only and continues to this day undoubtedly to their honour.

"The Hindus marry strangers and not relatives" (Sachau Vol. II, p. 155). This refers to their law of marrying outside the family but inside the sub-caste as already described.

Marriage outside and below the caste was, as said above, prohibited. But even in the same caste different sections arose based on purity of blood and *Āchāra* or religious conduct

and this led during this sub-period to the rise of that strange usage called Kulinism in Bengal. The five Brahmin and the five Kāyastha families which were imported by Ballālasena who was himself a learned man in the Hindu Dharma Śāstra were directed by him not to mix their blood with the local castes believed to be inferior in purity of blood and Āchāra. By degrees, however, the inferior families were allowed to give their daughters to higher family men and these Kulinas married many wives for the sake of the dowry they brought. This was allowed in the days of Lakshmanasena according to a writer in J. B. XXXIV. It is believed by him that 28 generations have passed since these families were brought.

The strangest observation of Al-Beruni in this connection is that harlotry is allowed among the Hindus meaning (vide Vol. II, p. 185 statement of Khurdadba) probably that fornication is not punished. No doubt in all temples there were harlots dedicated to the worship of the idols by dancing, especially in Śiva temples. And kings derived large revenues from the temples. But Al-Beruni thought the presence of harlots drew people to the temples and thus increased their revenues. Al-Beruni is good enough, however, to remark that the Brahmins would not allow a single harlot to dance in temples but the kings allowed them for revenue to pay the soldiers, an observation which, however, is not probably very correct both as regards the Brahmins as well as the kings.

Going on to describe other customs of the Hindus at this time we have noticed already the prevalence of the practice of Satī, which was then a living institution. Then there was the custom of putting an end to one's life in old age by drowning in the river Ganges or other sacred river. We have instances of noted kings so destroying themselves, such as Someśvara of Kalyan and others. The tree at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Prayag was still famous and is mentioned by Al-Beruni. But his statement that "burning oneself is forbidden to Brahmins and Kshatriyas by a special law; they, therefore, drown themselves in the Ganges" (chap. LXV p. 158 Sachau Vol. II) is remarkable. The special law probably refers to the Kalivarja provision on the subject viz. भृग्विपतनैश्चैव वृद्धादिमरणं तथा ॥. This rule strictly interpreted would mean that the suicide of

CHANGE IN MARRIAGE AND OTHER CUSTOMS

old men and others by falling into fire or from precipices was prohibited; and would leave the permission to drown oneself in a river intact. However, as the practice of committing suicide by drowning oneself still continued, such interpretation would be necessary. There is here clear reference in Al-Beruni to a Kalivarja provision.

With regard to dress and ornaments we have to record very little, as we have not come across any special remarks of Al-Beruni on the subject. As stated in Vol. III (p. 187) the dress of the people in Sind, the Panjab and the adjoining parts of the country must have been composite, with tunic and trouser added to the old dress of the Hindus viz. two dhoties. The rage of the Hindus for ornaments remained the same as before and the ornaments of idols mentioned in the Sāsabahu temple record (I. A. XVI) show what ornaments princes and rich men used. But there is an interesting description of the dress of the women of Kanauj in the following verse of Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*: "With ear-rings dancing on the cheeks and with the long necklace moving, down to the navel, the dress of the women of Kanauj deserves to be honoured, their upper cloth going completely round the waist down to the anklet.* This shows that northern women wore two pieces of cloth the upper one covering not only the shoulders but also the lower person down to the feet. It left the head, however, uncovered as otherwise the ear-rings would not be visible and the necklace was put over the *uttariya*. The women of the south, including Gujarat, at present have no upper cloth; but their one cloth is long enough to serve the purpose of the upper cloth also. The custom of covering the face in the north and in Gujarat seems to be a later custom arisen in Mahomedan times. We may infer that men too all over India wore two pieces of cloth.

Lastly the food of the people has already been described in detail. The Brahmins in the north ate the flesh of certain animals only and abstained from wine. In the south Brahmins abstained from both. The Vaiśyas followed the Brahmins. Indeed Jainism having prospered and Vaiśyas being generally Jains it may be said that Brahmins followed the Jains and dis-

* ताटंकवल्लनतरङ्गितगण्डलेखमानाभिलंबिदरदोलिततारहारम् ।

आश्रोणिगुल्फपरिमण्डलितोत्तरीयं वेषं नमस्यत महोदयसुन्दरीणाम् ॥

armed their criticism by logically and correctly observing the doctrine of Ahimsā. The wave of Ahimsā was on the land in this sub-period and beside Jains, Vaishnavas and Lingāyats became strict vegetarians. This led to the restriction of confining food also to each sub-caste. Whereas in former times Brahmins had no objection to dine with Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and even some good Śudras, they now restricted themselves to their own caste, nay, even sub-caste, since some Brahmins still continued to eat flesh, as proved by a Kalivarja text. Thus not only intermarriage but even interdining ceased during this subperiod among the different subsections into which Hindu society was now split up.

The Kshatriyas also were impressed and some of them also gave up flesh though at certain times only. There are a few Vaishṇava Kshatriyas also who do not eat flesh. Nor does it appear that they kept up their old reputation of being abstainers from wine, at least the reigning kings as Arab writers of the last sub-period testified. For Al-Beruni records: "They drink wine before having eaten any thing; then they take their meals" (p. 180 Vol. I Sachau). This is observed of Hindus generally; but we must restrict it to Kshatriyas. The further remark that "they do not eat their (cows') meat" (ditto) is, however, applicable to all Hindus. The Hindus had long ago given up beef and considered its eating one of the five most heinous sins. The slaughter of cows and bulls even for sacrifice had also long been given up and in the returning tide of Ahimsā at this time this prohibition must have formed one of their most absolute tenets as even now it is; and Hindus and Mahomedans then must have been as now at bitter feud on this most tender point.

The Hindus then as now burnt their dead. The Sūtaka was duly observed. Al-Beruni mentions even the Sūtaka for childbirth, 8 days for a Brahmin, 12 for a Kshatriya, 15 for a Vaiśya and a month for a Śudra. This appears strange. The four unclean days of menstruation of women are also mentioned. The godāna or hair-cutting ceremony took place in the third year and the perforation of the ear in the 7th or 8th year. The last custom distinguished the Hindu from the Mahomedan in particular. Al-Beruni also mentions the garbhādhāna ceremony the importance of which must have increased when the custom of child marriage became predominant.

CHAPTER III.

RELIGIOUS DISUNION.

While in the preceding sub-period, India was in the happy condition of having one religion viz : Hinduism, except in Sind, in this sub-period India drifted back into the unhappy condition of professing three religions and having schisms within each notably within Hinduism. In addition to Sind, Ghazni, Kabul and the Panjab, in this sub-period came under the sway of Mahomedanism and Gujarat and Rajputana came under the sway of Jainism, though Jainism declined in the south. And within Hinduism itself the dissensions among the different philosophies and worships became most acute. The result was that India became weak in one essential characteristic at least, of a strong nation viz : unity of religious belief among the people. We will in this chapter describe the spread of Mahomedanism in the north-west and the progress of Jainism in the west and will also describe the growth of antagonistic schisms within Hinduism itself.

MAHOMEDANISM

We have already described the founding of the Moslem Turkish kingdom at Ghazni and the conquest of Kabul and the Panjab by Sabuktagin and Mahmud. As a consequence not only 'White India' (to the west of the Indus consisting of Kabul and Zabul) and the Panjab lost their independence but most of their population was forcibly converted to Mahomedanism. This happened in the beginning of this sub-period (975-1025 A. D.). Both Sabuktagin and Mahmud adopted the policy of forcibly converting the people of the conquered country to Mahomedanism, from motives of political expediency as well as from religious fanaticism. The opposition of the people to such forcible conversion was weak owing to the weakness of their Hindu religious feeling, especially to the west of the Indus. These people have since then so completely become Mahomedan that they have even lost all memory of the fact that they were

Hindus only 900 years back, even in the mountainous tract of Ghor. Afghans and Pathans have now even come to believe that they are the descendants of Semitic peoples come from Assyria and Arabia. The people of the Panjab in its western portion where they have mostly been converted, however, still maintain their old clan names as Rajputs or Jats and continue to confine marriage relations to themselves and to observe certain ceremonials of the old Hindu days. Panjab became generally Mahomedan by the end of this sub-period (1200), Shihabuddin Ghorî having further carried on the work of forcible conversion to Mahomedanism though not to a great extent. The hilly portion of the Panjab, however, and Kashmir which still retained its independence remained Hindu.

In eastern Panjab even Mahmud, as we have seen, did not rigorously carry out the policy of forcible conversion and Shihabuddin also did the same. In the region of the Sarasvatî, the Jumna and the Ganges, it was practically abandoned and the United Pr. still remain mainly Hindu. The reasons of this changed attitude appear to be; first even Mahomedan fanatical conquerors get tired of forcibly converting people. Secondly, perhaps Mahmud saw the political utility of keeping the people divided in religion in provinces remote from the centre. Thirdly, Kutubuddin and Altamash were not fanatical Moslems and were wise rulers who, like the British, saw the justice and even the wisdom of not interfering with the religion of the people. Lastly, the people of this region were far more staunch Hindus than the people of the Panjab and notably of the region beyond the Indus. This region is the birth-place of the Brahmanic faith, the home of the Āchāryas of Hindu philosophy, of Rāma and Kṛishṇa adored as Avatāras of God by the Hindus. For these various reasons we think the people of this part of the country remained unmolested in their religious belief and still continue to be the staunchest orthodox section of the Hindu population in the whole of India. The present Mahomedan population in these parts is not descended from converted Hindus, but from those outsider Mahomedans who came in as officers during Afghan or Mogul rule at Delhi. It is naturally in a minority and hence in the political map appended to this volume, this tract may be taken as Hindu.

Lower down in Bengal the policy of forcible conversion was, it seems, later adopted by Khilji governors and succeeding Bengal kings to some extent and hence the Mahomedan population in Eastern Bengal predominates. But this happened later than our period and hence Bengal may also be taken as Hindu in the map above referred to. But though thus from the Sutlej to the Brahmaputra and from the Himalaya to the Vindhya, the country was wholly Hindu in the beginning of this period and only sparsely Mahomedan at the end of it, the unity of religious belief even in this region was marred during this sub-period by the progress of Jainism notably in Gajarat and Rajputana and of Vaishnavism in Bengal. Curiously enough Jainism declined in the south in this sub-period. It would be interesting to note this progress of Jainism in one part and decline in another and try to explain it as far as can be done from the scanty historical evidence available on the subject. It will be necessary for this purpose to sketch briefly the rise and progress of Jainism up to the beginning of this sub-period.

JAINISM.

Jainism is often confounded with Buddhism both by many western scholars as also by some Purāṇa writers for the simple reason that Ahimsā is a common tenet of both and that Jina is a name applied both to Mahāvīra and to Gautama. And even the name Buddha can be and is applied to both (e.g. बुद्धो जिनः पातु वः) meaning awakened. Jina means conqueror (of the mind) and the epithet was originally applied to both these teachers. Then again the name Jaina of the followers of Mahāvīra is only a later name, the former name applied to them being Niggrantha. Both Mahāvīra and Gautama were again contemporaries. But there is no doubt that Gautama is the later of the two. As a protestor against the Vedic religion, Gautama Buddha is the last and Mahāvīra preceded him in time as also in thought as we proceed to show. Let us see in what points they protested against the Vedic religion. The thinkers of the Upanishads had already begun to speculate on the highest metaphysical questions and had developed certain philosophic ideas, though they continued to stick to their old Vedic religion.

That religion including the philosophic thoughts of the Upanishads taught the following namely :—

1st—The revelation of the Vedas.

2nd—The worship of the Vedic gods Indra, Varuṇa etc. and the post-Vedic developments of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

3rd—Highest efficacy of animal-sacrifices to the Vedic gods.

4th—The Chāturvarṇya theory including the sacerdotal sanctity of Brahmins i. e. the priests at the sacrifices.

5th—The theory of Āśramas chiefly of the third for practising Tapa and the 4th for attaining Moksha by Sanyāsa or renunciation. The Brahmins began to teach that these two Āśramas were open to Brahmins only. *

6th—The theory of Ātman (soul) and the highest Brahman or impersonal God or Supreme Soul, and

7th—The Theory of Karman and transmigration of Ātman.

Already the teachers of the Upanishads had begun to preach that animal sacrifices did not lead to the highest goal but were lower in merit, though they did not condemn them, and preached that Moksha could be obtained by Sanyāsa only. The Bhagvadgītā countenanced both; indeed as an orthodox doctrine it did not condemn the views about sacrifices and Sanyāsa or the Chāturvarṇya or the Āśrama theory with the allied philosophies of Tapa and Sanyāsa (Yoga and Sāṅkhya). But it preached the new doctrine of Bhakti of Viṣṇu which would take even *women and śūdras* (denied absolution by Brahmins) to the highest goal.

Such was in a nutshell the development of religious thought in India till about 1000 B. C. While the orthodox believed in all these tenets, different teachers denied some of them and accepted others. The many protestant thinkers who arose hereafter are, however, forgotten but the last two Mahāvira and Gautama were more powerful than the rest and founded

* Not only Sanyāsa but even Tapas was not allowed to the Śūdras, though it was for a long time allowed to Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. The episode in the Rāmāyaṇa in which Rāma is told that a Brahmin child died owing to the sin of a Śūdra practising penance and Rāma goes to Dandakāranya to kill that Śūdra and when he is killed the Brahmin child regains its life is illustrative of this belief that Śūdras are not allowed to perform Tapas much more Sanyāsa.

protestant religions which survive to this day. Both Gautama and Mahāvīra denied the first five items, and accepted the last viz. the law of Karman; but while Mahāvīra accepted also the two Āśramas of Tapas and Sanyāsa, Gautama went beyond him and denied Tapas and only stuck to Sanyāsa. Naturally he was heard with greater zest, especially as he admitted all people whether Aryans or non-Aryans (the Traivarnikas and Śūdras), whether male or female, to his order of Sanyāsa and did not recognise Tapas or self-mortification at all. There was no God nor Atman; at least, Buddha asked his followers not to think about them. He, however, laid the greatest stress on a moral life for a layman and on renunciation in addition for a monk. Mahāvīra was behind him, so to speak, in protest and believed in self-mortification such as fast etc., and insisted on absolute renunciation including the abandoning of clothes for monks. He too laid the highest stress on a moral life for laymen. Both, of course, supported the Yoga and Sāṅkhya philosophies but absolutely denied the Vedas and the Brahmins.

Naturally Buddhism, as the latest and the greatest protest against Brahminism succeeded more than Jainism. Moreover, it seems to us that while Buddha preached to the common people in their language, Mahāvīra did not, and the Buddhist canon was soon evolved in Pali while the Jain canon remained unwritten for a long time. The Buddhist monk life again was easy, while Mahāvīra insisting on nudity and self-mortification, Jain asceticism was more difficult to practise. And finally, Buddhism received immense impetus from the two imperial followers, Aśoka and Kanishka. Buddhism, therefore, became the predominant religion, especially in Northern India, for many centuries while Jainism remained in a minority. In the religious map of India we have prepared from the detailed account of the travels of Hiuen Tsang and which we have appended to the first volume, it will be seen that in some parts such as Kapiśa, Sind, Magadha and Malwa, Buddhism was predominant while it shared the inhabitants equally throughout almost the whole of India. Jainism appears only in isolated places and in a minority i. e. in Bihar, in Orissa or Kalinga, in Chola and in Karnātak in the 7th century A. D. Later when Kumārila and Śankara made the final attack on Buddhism,

Jainism, as an unimportant opponent, was not chiefly noticed and went on, while Buddhism was rigorously attacked and finally supplanted. It must be remembered, however, that in intellectuality Jainism was never inferior to Buddhism, for we find Jainism, as a separate philosophy, is tried to be refuted in the *Brahma-sūtras* of *Bādarāyana*. Indeed we think that the Jains from the very beginning were posted in all the necessary *Sāstras*, logic and grammar especially, and their proficiency in astrology and medicine always attracted the respect of the common people. It seems that intellectual Brahmins also joined the ranks of Jains as of Buddhists from time to time owing to conviction as well as for honour and contributed to the maintenance of the reputation of the Jains for learning.

Like Buddhism, in fact like every other religion, Jainism was early divided into two sects. While the *Digambaras* insisted on nudity for monks, the *Svetāmbaras* allowed them white clothes (two in number). The Jains who went to and preached in the south were of the *Digambara* sect, the *Svetāmbaras* in southern India being mostly traders come in recent times from Gujarat or Rajputana. The first great teacher who went into the southern country was *Bhadrabahu* who is said to have gone from Ujjain during a famine and went with many followers as far as *Śravaṇa Belgola* in Mysore territory. There must be others who went from Bihar via Kalinga along the eastern coast. It is thus we find the Jain religion established in *Āndhra*, in Tamil land and in *Karnāṭaka*, though not in *Mahārāshṭra*, from early centuries of the Christian era down to the days of *Hiuen Tsang* and later. The Jain ascetics being learned men took up the three vernacular languages of the three countries and produced the first literature in them viz., in Tamil, Kanarese and Telugu, and for this reason they succeeded in impressing the common people in these lands. There were thus and there still are Jains among the common people in these provinces while there are very few in Northern India among the illiterate masses.

The Jain pandits first used Sanskrit words in their unchanged or *Tatsama* forms in vernacular writing, and thus embellished Tamil, Kanarese and *Āndhra* literatures. They did not use the modulated Prakrit forms like the Buddhists;

and thus added beauty to their vernacular writings. They also wrote the grammars of these local vernaculars in Sanskrit. They again appear to have started schools for children; as strangely enough we find in Āndhra, Tamil and Karnāṭaka and even in Mahārāshṭra that the first sentence taught to children in writing varṇamālā is still the Jain salutation "Om Namaḥ Siddham". The Telugu people use the formula "Om Namaḥ Śivāya, Siddham Namaḥ" (Andhra-Karnatak Jainism p. 64. Studies in South Indian Jainism by Ramaswamy Ayyangar, M. A. The latter portion is said by him to be Buddhist; but it seems also to be Jain). "The first part has been added subsequently by Śaivas in the south to obliterate the influence of Jains, and when the Śaivas themselves started Matams and Pāthasālas or primary schools in villages and towns." "In Kalinga or Ooriya the formula is "Siddhirastu" which is clearly Jain" (ditto). In Mahārāshṭra "Śrī Gaṇeśāya Namaḥ" is added to "Om Namaḥ Siddham". These relics show that formerly Jain ascetics took a great share in teaching children in the southern countries.

The Jains also exerted their best to secure influence at the several Hindu courts in the south. In the Tamil land, the Pāndyas and Cholas made donations to Jain gurus, and Jain temples and monasteries were built near Mādura, the capital of the Pāndyas, even in the early centuries of the Christian era. In Gangavādi in Mysore territory, the Gangas appear to have specially patronised the Jains and probably they were themselves Jains. Samantabhadra was a great Digambara Jain teacher who according to Śravana Belgola Inscription No. 44 "beat the drum" (literally and invited opponents to refute him) at Pātaliputra, in Malwa, in Sind, in Thakka country (the Panjab) and then came to Kānchī in the south and thence came to Karnāṭaka. "He was followed by Sinhānandi who founded, it is believed, the Gangavadi state." Samantabhadra is the author of the important Jain work "Āpta Mimāṃsā" the most authoritative exposition of the Syādvāda doctrine. Pūjyapāda was another learned Jain who is the author of the Jain Sanskrit grammar "Jinendra Vyākaraṇa", Akalanka is said to have confuted the Buddhists at the court of Himaśītala in Kānchī and thereby procured the expulsion

of Buddhists from South India" (p. 33 ditto). Thus the Jains both by their learning and asceticism secured favour in the courts of the several kingdoms in the south and many kings gave them inam villages as also built temples and carved colossal images of Jina. It may be noted that both Buddhism and Jainism while they denied God and idol-worship eventually drifted into the worship of Buddha and Jina as God and built temples with their images (though it must be conceded that certain Jain sects do not believe in images or worship any forms). The Jains erected statues to their Tirthankaras and worshipped them in large temples. "This method of worship was highly impressive and attractive and it was imitated by the Hindus" (p. 77 ditto). The result was that stupendous Hindu temples arose in the south under different kingly dynasties as has also been related in Vols. I and II. In fact we have always held that idol-worship among the Hindus, though not originated by the Buddhists and the Jains, has been greatly fostered by their example.

Having so far cursorily described the progress of Jainism we will now go on to describe its decline and even fall in the south during the sub-period treated of in this volume, chiefly by the aid of the above mentioned treatise by Mr. Ramaswamy Ayyangar. The opposition came from the revival of Śaivism and its powerful preachers. "If Sambandar (a Śaiva saint) brought about the downfall of Jainism in the Pāndya kingdom, Appar drove the Jains out from the Pallava country" (p. 66). This was in the beginning of the 8th century; but the Cholas who came to power at the end of the 10th century were devout devotees of Śiva and persecuted the Jains more cruelly than the previous rulers. We have already seen that one Chola king is said to have died because of the curse of the persecuted Jains. It need not, therefore, be doubted that the Cholas did use their political power for the suppression of Jainism. In the great temple built at Madura by Rājarāja Chola, he placed the statues of the 63 Nāyanārs or Śaiva saints of the Tamil land for worship; but "in the frescoes on the walls of the Mantapam of the Golden Lily tank of the temple of Mīnākshī at Madura are paintings of the bloody episodes in the bitter struggles between Jainism and Hinduism." (p. 79).

Turning from Tamil land, to Karnataka i. e. the Southern Maratha country and Mysore, we find that the early Chālukyas, in the former, though staunch Hindus themselves, patronised Jains and made grants to Jain temples and sadhus. Under the Rāshtrakūṭas in the second sub-period of our history (800-1000) Jainism prospered and as stated in Vol. II (p. 203) even some Rāshtrakūṭa kings became devotees of Jain saints and Jainism spread even among the cultivating population of the Southern Maratha country, the Vaiśyas being generally admirers of Ahimsā here as elsewhere and therefore usually Jains. The Ganga kings in Mysore were themselves Jains; and the last representative of the Rāshtrakūṭa line Indra IV being a son of Kṛṣṇa III by a Western Ganga princess was a devout Jain. When the later Chālukyas overthrew the last Rāshtrakūṭa king Kakkala, Indra IV tried to set up the Rāshtrakūṭa power but failed and as a devout Jain killed himself by Sallekhana, a Jain vow (Vol. II p. 151). In Malkhed, we found in the fort the remains of a Jain sanctuary (Vol. II p. 354) and in the town itself, there is a Jain Basti. It seems, therefore, clear that Jainism progressed in the Southern Maratha country at the end of the 10th century. But the later Western Chālukyas who came to power in this sub-period (1000-1200), Tailpa and others, were devout Śaivites and persecuted Jainism. "If the traditions of the country are to be believed, Jain statues and idols in the *Bastis* were thrown away and the Paurāṇic gods were substituted." (p. 112). Mr. Ramaswamy wrongly considers the rule of the later Chālukyas as short-lived. It was not overthrown by the Kalachūris in 1126 but in 1159 A. D., and Kalachūri rule was itself short-lived. It is, however, probable that the Kalachūri usurpation was a religious movement, Vijjana Kalachūri being a Jain. But Vijjana and the Kalachūri rule fell soon before the returning tide of Śaivism, as we will shortly describe, in a new form viz. the Lingayat schism.

In Karnāṭaka proper beyond the Tungabhadra, the Gangas ruled for a long time and they were followers of Jain saints. The Gangas were overthrown by the Cholas of Tanjore in about 1004 A. D.; but gradually the Hoysalas established their power in Gangavādi. They were in the beginning followers of Jainism but the famous Viṣṇuvardhana was

converted to Vaishṇavism by Rāmānuja and Vaishṇavism has since then been firmly established in Mysore territory. "Loosing support of the kingly family in Mysore, persecuted by the Cholas in Tamil land and displaced by the Lingāyats in Southern Maratha country, Jainism naturally succumbed in southern India finally. Though a respectable number still followed the faith, they no longer obtained political influence from popularity either among the people or with the princes."

It remains to describe how Jainism declined in Āndhra where it had been established since the days of Khāravela when Digambara Jains came to it from Bihar directly. From the monogram by B. Seshagiri Rao attached to the above-mentioned treatise, it appears that local tradition and *Kaifiyats* show that Jainism was overthrown by the rising power of Śaivism there also. Āndhra Rajputs, Pūsapātis and others, stood for the Vaidic religion. The Eastern Chālukyas later patronised Śaiva poets one of whom Nannaya translated the Mahābhārata into Telugu and added support and strength to Śaivism. This Śaiva revival was further strengthened under the Eastern Ganges who were Śaivas in the beginning. The Kākatiyas of Warangal were also Śaivas and persecuted the Jains more rigorously. Lastly "the worsting of the Jains by Ganapatideva of Warangal when they were defeated in disputation with Tikkāṇa, author of the Telugu Mahābhārata (?) is more famous and is described in a poem in the Oriental Manuscripts Library in the Madras Museum" (p. 28 ditto).

Such is the history in substance of the decline and fall of Jainism in southern India during this period and the fall may be attributed chiefly to the revival of the popularity of Śiva worship. We need not recount the many stories of miracles wrought by Śaiva saints or of victories of Jain disputants and of the Yogic powers of both, Yoga being taken up and lauded to the skies by both religions; nor need we detail the stories of how the Jains were persecuted and even impaled by Chola intolerant kings who gave up the traditional toleration of Hindu monarchs. But we proceed to describe how Jainism while it decayed in the south prospered and progressed in the west in this very sub-period.

We have said in Vol. II that Jainism was not in ascendancy in Gujarat and Rajputana during the previous sub-period (800-1000) and we may place its progress there in this sub-period. Why this Ahimsā religion progressed at this time under the rule of Śaivite Rājput kings with all their pride of arms and their trade of killing is really a wonder. And yet in all Rajput states, in Sambhar and Mewad, in Malwa and Gujarat, Jainism made progress at this time, the rulers being all worshippers of Śiva, in fact as staunch Śaivites as the Kshatriya rulers of southern India. There was no doubt the returning tide of the Buddhistic or Jain feeling of respect for non-slaughter. From the Upanishadic times, the Hindus have alternately been swayed by this regard for Ahimsā and have alternately given up their adherence to Vedic animal sacrifice. The revival of Hinduism or rather Vedic-Āryanism under Kumārila and Śankara had subsided and the tide of Buddhist Ahimsā feeling was no doubt returning. But while it did not assist Jainism in the south for reasons which we will presently explain, it led on Jainism to popularity in Gujarat, Malwa and Rajputana. We believe in the powerful influence of personalities and we attribute the progress of Jainism in the western parts of the country in this sub-period to the influence of the great Jain pandit Hemachandra.

The story of the life of this great Jain teacher is not obscure as that of Kumārila or Śankara; for he is associated with the reigns of two great kings of Gujarat, Jayasinha Siddharāja and Kumārapāla. It does not, however, appear (as we once thought) that he was a southern Jain or he received his inspiration from the south. Indeed the Jain teachers of the south were all Digambaras, who, it may be admitted, carry the doctrine of renunciation to all its logical demands. The Jains of Gujarat and Rajputana were and are mostly Śvetāmbaras who allow two white clothes to their Munis; and Hemachandra was a Śvetāmbara both as student and teacher. He was born in a Jain Vaiśya family in Gujarat and was given in early life by his mother to her Jain teacher who saw his great intelligence and his future promise. He became an Āchārya and came to Anhilwād as the head of its Jain sanctuary. His birth is placed in 1084 A. D. and death in 1168 A. D. at the age of 84. He

signalised himself by his great works viz. his Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, his Kāvya Dvyāśraya wherein the history of the Chālukyas of Gujarat themselves is told and illustrations of his grammatical rules are also given and his Deśi Nāmamālā or dictionary of Deśi or local (not Sanskrit) words. It is said that he was once taunted by a Hindu pandit that after all he used the grammar of a Hindu (Pāṇini). He thereupon composed an exhaustive grammar of Sanskrit and Prakrit himself. The grammatical treatise was taken in a great procession laid on the temples of an elephant on which the author was himself seated and was deposited in the royal treasury. It was dedicated to Jayasinha Siddharāja and hence named Siddha Hema. Hemachandra does not appear to have travelled through India, but his influence on Kumārapāla was so preponderant that he procured several privileges for Jains from him and had animal slaughter prohibited on certain days sacred to the Jains.* The preponderance of Jainism in Gujarat may be dated from his time, at least, the great respect which is paid to the doctrine of Ahimsā in that land.

In the Chauhan country also and as far north as the Sutlej Jainism seems to have spread during this period, so much so that almost all Vaiśyas in Marwar may be said to have accepted Jainism. And these merchants of Marwar have carried Jainism to the farthest parts of India by their sojourn therein for trade. In Malwa and Mewad too, under later kings though they themselves remained staunch Śaivites. Jainism seems to have come into favour at this time, Examples of kings who favoured the Jains have been recorded in the several chapters of this history and it is not necessary to mention them here again.

NEW VAISHNAVISM.

In the rest of Northern India we do not find Jainism much in favour with the princes or the people though Jain Vaiśyas were to be found all over the country. Neither under Gāhadvālas, nor under Pālas or Senas, do we find Jainism much in

* Jains represent that Kumārapāla was converted to Jainism in old age by Hemachandra and the date assigned is St. 1216 or 1159 A. D. But this does not appear probable for reasons given in chapter 7 Book VII.

favour. But though Jainism did not prosper in the middle nor in the east of Northern India, the revival of the feeling of Ahimsā was not less strong there than in the west in this sub-period. We have seen that the religion of Buddha received fresh inspiration in Magadha from new teachers and some learned Buddhists went as usual on a preaching mission into Tibet and reformed that religion of peace in Tibet (p. 225). But more marked than this was the revival of Ahimsā doctrine in the appearance of new Vaishṇavism. This new Vaishṇavism appeared in Bengal at this time with the same intense regard for Ahimsā as was exhibited by Jainism and Buddhism. Indeed new Vaishṇavism may be looked upon as Jainism tacked on to the old worship of Śrīkrishṇa, as Christianity may be described as Buddhism tacked on to Judaism. Buddhism was dead in India at this time except in Magadha. Buddha had been changed into an Avatāra of Viṣṇu and Buddhists had generally turned into Vaishṇavas. Naturally the respect for Ahimsā came back with the force of a returning tide; and Vaishṇavism took up Ahimsā as it had never done before. The Bhagavadgītā, no doubt, preached Ahimsā long before the rise of Buddha himself but the Ahimsā of the Bhāgavatas was reconciled as evidenced by the Mahābhārata with Vedic religion of animal sacrifice by the doctrine that slaughter in Vedic sacrifices was no slaughter. But the slaughter of animals in propitiation of the Deity was plainly indefensible and was always the weak point of the Vedic religion as of Judaism and both Jains and Buddhists assailed it with success on this point and their preachers generally scored victory over Hindu or Vedic opponents. New Vaishṇavism, by taking up the doctrine of Ahimsā more rigidly than before, disarmed the Jains and thus succeeded in appealing to the common people by returning to their old god Viṣṇu in the form of Śrīkrishṇa and by stopping Vedic sacrifices with animal slaughter. This new Vaishṇavism not only stopped animal sacrifices but further adopted the Jain doctrine of abstaining from meat diet. From the Indus to the Brahmaputra this new Vaishṇavism became predominant at this time (1000-1200) and animal slaughter and animal food was renounced by Vaishṇavas. Even now in the Panjab Vaishṇava food means meatless food.

It does not appear that this new Vaishṇavism came from the south or was due to the teaching of the Vaishṇava Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Nor was its rise due to the teaching of Śāṅkara who was a thorough supporter of the Vedic ritual. Whatever the influencing cause in Northern India, it was certainly not the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the date of which, we have elsewhere shown, could not be earlier than the tenth century A. D. And we find in Kashmir history king Avantivarman (855-884) a thorough Vaishṇava of the new type, prohibiting totally the slaughter of animals in the kingdom of Kashmir (see Vol. I p. 221) as in the old days of Meghavāhana. The Buddhist love for Ahimsā returned again in the ninth century and Avantivarman used his political power for establishing Ahimsā, being himself a devout Vaishṇava. The imperial Pratihāra Bhoja was a Parama Vaishṇava (Vol. II p. 109) as also his grandson, though we are not quite sure if they were of the type of Avantivarman i. e. total abstainer from animal food and prohibitors of animal slaughter. The Gāhadavālas were worshippers of Lakshmi or Śrī who is invoked in their inscriptions in the beginning and also of Dāmodara. They were practically Smārtas as they are described in inscriptions as Māheśvaras but they are also always described as worshipping Vāsudeva at the time of making land grants. In Magadha, the Pālas were Buddhists and therefore thorough supporters of the doctrine of Ahimsā; but even there we find a queen hearing the whole Mahābhārata recited to her. In Eastern Bengal the Senas were in the beginning devotees of Śiva but Lakshmanasena, their most noted king, became a Parama Vaishṇava and he must be taken to be a perfect supporter of the doctrine of Ahimsā. He himself must have abstained from flesh, though we have no evidence to hold that he prohibited animal slaughter in his kingdom. His Vaishṇavism appears to have come from Jagannātha in Orissa where the new Vaishṇavism became dominant at this time for reasons we shall sketch later on. Thus in Northern India at this time, Jainism in the west and Vaishṇavism in the north and east became predominant with their doctrine of Ahimsā as their prominent tenet.

But though this new Vaishṇavism and Jainism were at one on the doctrine of Ahimsā, they unfortunately differed

most strongly on the question of asceticism. The Hindu world has also swung alternately between asceticism and epicurianism, the philosophy of self-mortification and that of self-indulgence. Śrīkrishṇa's life practically preached the doctrine of the enjoyment of world's blessings, though he always preached the value of the golden mean. His worship, however, soon drifted into what may be called for want of a better word, Epicurianism which appeared in Bengal and in Mid-India at this time and soon became popular. While therefore, the new Vaishṇavism taught Ahimsā like Jainism, unlike Jainism it taught the enjoyment of worldly blessings. The swing went naturally to the other extreme point of the swing like a pendulum and licentiousness became the leading feature of this new Vaishṇavism. The cult of Rādhā worship does not appear to have yet arisen; for Rādhā is not mentioned even in the Bhāgavata. But the amours of Krishṇa with the Gopīs had become the leading doctrine of the Vaishṇavas at this time; for even the Bhāgavata the chief new Purāṇa teaching the Vaishṇava cult, could not but depict these amours in their objectionable character, concealed in later times under the allegorical cloak of Vedānta. For in the Bhāgavata, a direct question is asked by Parīkshit as to whether these immoral deeds of the great are an example to be followed by ordinary beings. Śuka does not say in reply in the Bhāgavata that these were mere allegories embodying the yearning of the human soul for the Supreme Soul; but straightly answers that the teachings and not the actions of great men are to be followed. The Bhāgavata, therefore, plainly held these amours to be not only historical, but also unworthy of being imitated. The Rādhā cult was, however, a natural outcome of this belief in the amours of Śrīkrishṇa, as the human mind can not be satisfied without assigning one woman as the object of greatest love and we find Gītagovinda of Jayadeva, a court-poet of Lakshmanasena, describing at this time in most enchanting tones the amours of Krishṇa and Rādhā who is still an adulteress.

We are not concerned here with the further development of the Rādhā cult wherein she becomes a wife of Krishṇa; as this belongs to a period later than 1200 A. D. In the days of Lakshmanasena this Rādhā cult was just rising and probably

the Vaishṇavism which came to Bengal in his days from Orissa was without Rādhā. But that it was full of lascivious teaching can not be denied. As we have said above, the Hindu mind had swung at this time towards Epicurianism from asceticism and the extreme prosperity of the Hindu kingdoms at this time tended in the same directions and we have already adverted to the popularity of the Alamkāra Śāstra at this time. This is a question which has to be carefully sifted yet; but we have no doubt that the Vaishṇavism of Bengal and Orissa of this time fully countenanced the legends of the amours of Śrīkrishṇa and the Gopīs, and in general placed enjoyment above asceticism.* Though Vallabha and Chaitanya had still to come and to debase or refine this amorous aspect, the seed was sown at this time. This epicurian aspect of Vaishṇavism coupled with its Ahimsā must have appealed more to the people than Jainism and thus prevented the Spread of the latter in Northern India.

New Vaishṇavism also appeared in the South at this time; but it was devoid of this debased feature. It took up of course Ahimsā and disarmed Jain criticism. It, however, supported asceticism. It further accepted the revelation of the Vedas and the priesthood of the Brahmins and the Varnāśramdharma and thus appealed to the orthodox sentiment of the people. It also opposed the philosophy of Śankara which left little room for the practice of devotion which was a dominant doctrine of Vaishṇavism from of old and for this purpose had to put a new interpretation on the Upanishads, the Bhagvadgīta and the Brahmasūtras, the sacred philosophical books, so to speak, of the orthodox. A new powerful Vaishṇava teacher arose at this time in the South. The Tamil land always was, even according to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the stronghold of Vaishṇavism and Vaishṇava saints or Ālavārs sang the praises of Viṣṇu there from of old as the Śaivite saints the Nāyanārs sang the praises of Śiva. But Vaishṇavism had to be supported by a new philosophy opposing that of Śankara and Rāmānuja came forward at this time to do that work. His life is well-known and is well-given in Dr. Bhandarkar's "Vaishṇavism". He was

* The obscene figures sculptured on the temple of Jagannāth built by Chodaganga at this time (1150 A. D.) can have no other explanation.

born in 1017 A. D. and he first studied under an Advaita (Śāṅkara) philosopher, Yādavaprakāsha, at Kāñchi. Being dissatisfied with his teaching, he applied himself to the study of the Prabandhas of the Ālavārs and "drank in their spirit of devotion." He succeeded Yāmunāchārya as a Vaishṇava teacher at Śrīrangam near Trichinopoly and did his life's work there by writing his Bhāshyas on the three sacred books above mentioned. The Chola kings of his time were Śaivas and they wanted him to renounce Vaishṇavism. He thereupon took refuge with the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana in Mysore who was inclined towards Jainism (1096 A. D.) and converted him to his faith.

The teachings of Rāmānuja spread in the south and in later centuries were taken to the north by his future follower Rāmānanda. "His Vaishṇavism is that of the old Pāñcharātra system combined with the Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu elements. The most prominent name of God with him is Nārāyaṇa and the name Gopāla Kṛishṇa is conspicuous by its absence (p. 57)". Rāmānuja's system is free from the debased cult of Rādhā. He takes up no doubt the Bhakti doctrine of the Bhagavadgītā but it is reduced to the form of a continuous meditation on the Supreme Soul. He has given a Brahmanical form to the traditional doctrine of devotion wherein Śūdras are not regarded as capable of attaining highest Moksha. But in the later school of Rāmānuja from Rāmānanda, the Śūdras asserted themselves (ditto). Thus though Rāmānuja stuck to the orthodox doctrine about the sanctity of the Brahmins, his northern school gave it up and removed its objectionableness on the ground of caste, though it did not give up Varṇa altogether.

NEW OR VĪRA ŚAIVISM.

While this new Vaishṇavism in different forms was thus developing in opposition to Śaivism in the east and the south i. e. in Āndhra and Tamil land, Śaivism was again asserting itself in Karnāṭaka in the rise of the Lingayat schism at this very time. It was in fact a strenuous re-assertion against Jainism which for a few years suddenly strove to obtain mastery over it in northern Karnāṭaka under the Kalachūri usurpation, a frantic effort so to speak by Śaivism to regain its lost ground.

Before we give the history of this neo-Śaivism, we must give a short summary of the history of Śaivism itself from the beginning as we gave the summary of the history of Jainism which it supplanted, in order that the Lingayat schism may be properly understood.

Śaivism is no doubt as old as the Vedas, Rudra being praised even by Rigvedic Rishis both in his terrible as well as his gracious form as Śiva. When the Vedic philosophers developed the idea of a supreme God of which all other gods were manifestations, and when the thinkers of Upanishad days evolved the Para Brahman doctrine, there was a division among the Vedic worshippers. Some raised Vishṇu to this highest position while others adopted Śiva as the highest God, though the predominant opinion seems to be in favour of Vishṇu. (See अग्निर्वैदेवानामत्रमो विष्णुः परमः Ait. Ār.). The identification of Śiva with the Para Brahman appears to be a later idea, as it is not to be found in the oldest ten Upanishads but is to be found distinctly first in the later Śvetāśvatara. This difference of opinion was bound to arise since, as stated before, every religion in its growth splits itself into two stems (like a tree), these again giving rise to several branches. Vedic Aryan religion thus in the post-Vedic period divided itself into Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. Śaivism appears to have, however, become the religion of the commonalty as the common people are more afraid of ghosts and demons, as also of the terrific aspects of nature; and Rudra Śiva was early considered to be the god of demons and of diseases. Moreover, the phallic worship of the aboriginal people, to which there are plain allusions in the Vedas, was identified with Rudra worship in the post-Vedic period at a very early date; much earlier than Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar is disposed to assign to it (p. 115). For non-mention, as we have often insisted, is not conclusive proof and because Patanjali refers to images of Śiva and not to the Linga form, or because the coins of Wema Kadphises give on the obverse the human figure of Śiva, it cannot follow that Linga worship^s was not known in their days. The plain reference to linga worship as the worship of Śiva in the Mahābhārata shows that it was already orthodox about 300 B. C. Of course, Śiva was then as now worshipped in both forms namely a human form with five

heads and the Linga form. But the Linga worship became popular especially as it soon assumed a highly philosophical or esoteric meaning in which its original idea was entirely lost. Even now Linga worship is nowhere associated with any obscene idea. This esoteric blending of Aryan and Non-Aryan worship made it the worship of the common people at a very early period.

Śaivism like Vaiṣṇavism also early developed its own separate philosophy and the Pāśupata philosophy is referred to in the Mahābhārata along with Pāñcharātra and Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Vedānta. (Indeed knowledge is therein said to be five-fold as above). The Vedānta Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa (150 B.C.) also refute both the Pāñcharātra and the Pāśupata tenets. What these doctrines were we are not able to find at first hand. They are quoted by Śankara in his Bhāṣhya or given by Mādhava in his Sarvadarśhanasangraha. **There** are many Śaiva Āgamas but they are of *recent* date. All Śaiva sects believed strongly in asceticism and Hiuen Tsang speaks of Śaiva monks residing in Śiva temples. These appear mostly to be followers of the Āgama of Lakulīśa, a famous Śaiva philosopher probably of the sixth century, who arose in Gujarat (at Kāyāvātāra Tīrtha in Broach District). They are described minutely even in inscriptions as well of this sub-period as of the previous sub-period. Their names end usually in Śiva or in Rāśi (e.g. Hārīta-rāśi, the guru of Bappā Rāwal). They had also an apostolic succession and in one inscription the saintly line is described with as great fulness as the kingly line. But the questions vital to our inquiry remain unsolved. We do not know whether these ascetics were Brahmins only or belonged to all castes, whether the Lakulīśa Āgama accepted the sanctity of Vedic sacrifices with animal slaughter and whether it prohibited animal food. The Śivatāntrika works have to be studied carefully for the elucidation of these points and with our limited knowledge of them it is difficult to express a definite opinion. No work of Lakulīśa himself has yet been found.* But it is very probable that the different Śaiva sects allowed all castes to become ascetics of their order and for them

* The Pañchādbyāyī of Lakulīśa is not yet found though references to it are numerous.

at least they prohibited animal food. But for lay devotees, it does not seem that Śaivism insisted on vegetable food as Vaishnavism did and it is for this reason that Śaivism was the general religion of the common people and especially of all heroic Rajput families which came to the front in the seventh and eighth centuries by opposing the onward rush of the Mahomedans. The great deeds of Bappā Rāwal in this connection were inspired by his saintly guru Hārītarāśi. The other Rajput kingly families also, as we have seen, were followers of Śaivism during the past sub-period and even in this sub-period with a few exceptions. Such was the religious condition of the country generally and of Kuntala especially under the later Chālukyas who were staunch Śaivites, when Jainism suddenly made headway under the Kalachūri usurpation.

Though the accounts of the Jains and of the Lingayats as given in their Basava Purāṇa differ, certain central facts are common to both. Basava the founder of the Lingayat sect was a Brahmin who was for some time even minister to Vijjana, the Kalachūri commander-in chief of the Chālukyas who had just usurped their power. Basava appears to us to be himself a great reformer and thinker and we differ, with due deference, from the view of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar that Basava was "merely a strenuous supporter of an existing sect" called Ārādhyā. Basava's doctrines are so distinct and novel that he must be considered the founder of a new sect. The Basava Purāṇa in effect expresses this view when it represents that Basava was an Avatāra of Nandi sent by Śiva to establish Śiva worship which according to Nārada had disappeared from the land. He may have taken some tenets from an older sect called Ārādhyā; but he certainly gave it a new and a distinct turn. His maternal uncle Baladeva was the minister of the king before him and he himself became minister after his uncle's death. It is said that his sister was married to the king while the Jains represent her to be a mistress of the king. It seems that the latter is a misrepresentation; and it is probable that Basava, not being a believer in the caste system, must have had no objection to this Pratiloma marriage. This itself shows that Basava made a most pronounced departure from old practice. Basava and the king who was a Jain must both have

had a contempt for the caste system believed in by the orthodox ; but their religions differed on other most vital points and naturally brought them into violent conflict. Basava spent large sums from the treasury on Jangamas or Lingayat religious men. The king thereon denounced Basava who fled. There are discrepant accounts as to what happened thereafter. But certain it is that Vijjana was assassinated by a Jangama (1167 A. D.). Thus began the feud between the Jains and the Lingayats. The Kalachūri usurpation was short-lived being supplanted by the Chālukya Someśvara, the rightful king in 1182 A. D. But the Lingayat sect spread in Kuntala or Southern Maratha country rapidly and finally almost drove Jainism out of the Karnāṭaka country.

We must advert here to the peculiar doctrines of this new Vira Śaiva or valiant Śaivite sect which enabled it to drive out Jainism. In the first place Basava adopted Ahimsā as his main doctrine and thus satisfied the popular trend of opinion which was now entirely in favour of nonslaughter, and removed one vulnerable tenet of Hinduism which Jains successfully attacked. He also denied the Varnāśrama Dharma, another vulnerable point of Hinduism. He denied that Brahmins had any special sanctity and affirmed that every one was entitled to attain the highest goal. The Vaishnavas of the South could not give up the ancient varṇa system of the Hindus and stuck to it. But Basava boldly came forward to abandon caste and in his days intermixture between Brahmins and even Chāndālas took place. He even denied Sanyāsa and Tapa and thus going beyond the Jains scored a point over them and every one, he preached, must live by his own toil and never beg, not even the Jangamas, their priests. Basava is thus almost the first Indian thinker who preached the dignity of labour and stopped all beggary. He alone preached that only Kāyaka (work) led to Kailāsa. He insisted on a strictly moral life for all men with perhaps greater success than Jainism and Buddhism ; for the Lingayats as a community eschew all frivolity and generally lead a highly moral life. Lastly, he stuck to the old Linga worship of the common people and did not thus disturb their god. Of course Basava had to infuse a higher esoteric meaning into the symbol and to insist upon his followers wearing con-

stantly upon their person the sacred Linga. He had done away with the Brahmanic thread and he substituted for the same a silver thread with Linga attached to it. Having denied the Brahmins and the caste system, Basava had naturally recourse to the language of the people in which to preach to them. Basava cared not to copy the Jains in carrying on disputations with orthodox pandits in the Sanskrit language; but spoke pithy words of advice and doctrine in the Kanarese which have become the scripture of the Lingayats. For this reason also, Basava's sect secured victory over the Jains and even over the orthodox in the view of the common people. To the present day, among the agriculturists and the trading population in Karnāṭaka, the Lingayats are in preponderance from his time.

It does not concern us to detail the various philosophical tenets of the Lingayats as compared with those of Rāmānuja or Śankara for which the reader may refer to the learned treatise of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar on Śaivism. But we may mention that the Lingayats after denying caste, as usual with Hindus, developed a sort of caste system in which the Āchāryas and the Jangamas are Brahmins so to speak, the later being married. The Panchamas also consist of other castes though they are few in number. The Lingayat sect as a social reform is very much in favour of women who have the same Upanayana ceremony as men in early age, who are not compelled to observe untouchability in their monthly sickness and who are believed to be as capable of attaining the highest goal (Sāmarasya) as the men. The sect have prescribed a Gayatrī of their own (Om Namah Śivāya) and have also a gotra-pravara system of their own. They are total abstainers from flesh and wine.

NOTE--RICE ON VĪRAŚAIVAS AND THEIR APOSTLES.

We give the following extract from Rice's History of Kanarese Literature in connection with the Lingayat sect and its founder Basava and other apostles (pp. 49-55). The Vīraśaivas (stalwart) are distinguished from three other Śaivas viz: 1 the Sāmānya and 2 Mīśra who worship Viṣṇu as well as Śiva and 3 the Śuddha Śaivas who worship Śiva only but do not wear linga. The distinctive peculiarity of Vīraśaivas is that they (both men and women) always wear on the person a small stone linga in a silver or wooden reliquary suspended from the neck. The Jangamas or Lingāyat "religious" wear it on their head. The investiture with the linga like Upanayana is the most sacred rite of childhood.

Basava taught that men of all castes and even outcasts were eligible to enter the Lingayat sect. Other peculiarities are that they do not cremate their dead but bury them ; and they permit the remarriage of widows. Their scriptures consist of 28 Śaivāgamas. Śivagītā is also highly placed. Their leading doctrines are ashtāvaranam and shatsthala. Reverence is paid to 63 ancient saints (Tamil), only eight of whom are Viraśaivas. Among the later saints are Basava and his chief disciples. Their principal Maṭha is at Chitaldrug in Mysore territory.

Basava the reputed founder of the sect was an Ārādhyā Brahmin. In his childhood he resided at Kappadi at the junction of the Malaprabha and the Krishna where was a Śiva shrine named Sangameśvara. Here he became conscious of a call to revive the Viraśaiva faith. When his father-in-law and maternal uncle who was a minister to Bijjala died he was called to succeed him. His sister Padmāvatī was married to the king. He had another sister whose son was Channa Basava his greatest disciple. In concert with him he began to propound his new doctrine and new mode of worshipping Śiva. Having charge of the king's treasury, he spent large sums in supporting the Jangamas. A Brahmin minister named Manchana accused him of embezzlement. The king tried to arrest him but he fled and being joined by his adherents defeated the king who was compelled to re-instate him.

Of what followed there are different accounts. The Lingayats say that the king wanted to put out the eyes of two Lingayat devotees when Basava cursed Kalyan, directed one of his disciples to kill the king and retired to Sangameśvara where he was absorbed into the Linga. The Jains say that Basava sent the king a poisoned fruit and fled to Ulavi at the foot of the Western Ghats where he was besieged by the king's son and in despair he threw himself into a well.

To Basava are attributed prose works (in Kanarese) expository of the Lingayat faith viz. Shatsthala-vachana. Rājajnāna-vachana, Sheta challra-vachana, Rājayoga-vachana and Mantra gopya.

His chief disciple was Channa Basava who is considered even higher than Basava, being looked upon as an avatāra of Śiva himself. As Basava was engrossed in state business, the religious movement was largely under his direction. It is said that after his uncle's death he was admitted to the royal favour. Other leading associates were Maḍivāla Māchayya, Prabhudeva and Sidharāma of whom wonderful stories are told in Channa Basava and other Purāṇas.

Thus during this sub-period, Jainism spread in the west and Śaivism in the south and Vaishṇavism in the east and even in the north as far as Kashmir. These two again were divided into several sects which developed different philosophical systems with their different concepts and different terminologies, so that the intellegentia of the country was torn by conflicting

views on metaphysical questions. These schisms not only adopted different gods as the supreme deity but further represented other deities as subordinate to their highest God. Along with the two dominant schisms Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, the worship of Durgā and Gaṇapati also developed their philosophies and Āgamas and separate modes of worship in which these gods were represented as the highest. These schisms probably also belong to this sub-period though we have no definite grounds to hold this. The social changes effected by these different schisms were also various and the lay followers who could not fight on high philosophic questions fought on minor points such as the supremacy of this god or that god or such questions as the sacred character of Brahmins, the necessity of nudity for monks or the fitness of women to attain salvation. The Hindu world was thus divided into different and differing sections which often warred with one another; and thus lost national strength for which unity of religious beliefs is an essential qualification. And the one point on which these differing schisms were unanimous was the Ahimsā, doctrine; they all discountenanced, if not actually prohibited, animal slaughter and animal food and thus added to the weakness of the Hindus for national defence. Even the new Śaivism of Kashmir propounded by Abhinavagupta and Kallata* appears to countenance Ahimsā for otherwise it could not have prospered in the reign of the thoroughly Vaiṣṇava king Avantivarman mentioned in the beginning. It may, however, be admitted that the generality of people in Northern India and in Mahārāshtra were followers of the old Smārta religion in which all the five gods of Hinduism were treated as equally great. But in the south and the east Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism which had together supplanted Jainism fought with each other with great animosity and kings used their political power for the suppression of worships other than their own. We have seen how a Chola king called upon Rāmānuja to declare that Śiva was the highest God. Even to this day this animosity

* In Vol. I (p. 221) we said that we did not know who this Srikallata (said by Kalhana to be born in the days of Avantivarman for the salvation of the country) was and that we surmised that he was a Vaiṣṇava writer. It appears, however, from Dr. Bhandarkar's *Śaivism* that he was a Śaiva philosopher but he must have been as above stated an advocate of Ahimsā.

between even the lay followers of Saivism and Vaishnavism continues in Karnatak, Āndhra and the Tamil land, the religion and philosophy of Madhva—a religious philosopher of the 14th century—adding a third party to the contest.

We were surprised to come across an attempt to combine the two antagonistic worships of Śiva and Viṣṇu made by Vijayasena of Bengal in his Deopārā inscription (E. I. p. 307). He was a Śaiva but the Vaishṇava cult was probably spreading in Bengal from Orissa and his grandson Lakshmanasena, as we have seen, became a Parama Vaishṇava. Vijayasena, therefore, may have thought of combining the two worships, by combining the two gods Śiva and Viṣṇu in the same image and in the temple he built and properly called Pradyumneśvara, he placed an idol which was composed of Śiva and Viṣṇu joined together. The description of the idol given in this inscription is as follows: “We bow to this image called Pradyumneśvara wherein both the husband of Lakṣmī and the husband of the daughter of the mountain reside and play in unity in which the two goddesses standing between their lords have somehow caused an obstacle in the carving of one undifferentiated body. The decoration of the Destroyer of the world is formed by a spotted silken cloth serving as the elephant’s skin and the big necklace on the chest as the big serpent, sandal-wood paste as ashes and the string of sapphires in the hand as the rosary of Rudrākṣhas the Garudamaṇi being the Gonasa and the string of pearls as the necklace of bones”.* This description shows to our mind that the same idol looked as Śiva and Viṣṇu.

Vijayasena was a Kshatriya from Deccan Karnātaka and curiously enough this unifying spirit was exhibited in Mahārāshtra itself in the new Vaishṇava cult which arose about the end of this period in the worship of Vithoba of Pandharpur. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar thinks that this worship came from the south and that the word Vithoba is a Kanarese form of Viṣṇu.

* लक्ष्मीवल्लभशैलजादयितयोरद्वैतलीलगृहं प्रद्युम्नेश्वरशब्दलान्छनमधिष्ठानं नमस्कुर्महे ॥
यत्रालिङ्गनभङ्गकातरतया स्थित्वान्तरे कान्तयोः देवीभ्यां कथमप्यभिन्नतनुताशिल्पेऽन्तरायः
कृता ॥ २ चित्रक्षौमेभचर्मो हृदयविनिहतस्थूलहारोरगेन्द्रः श्रीखण्डक्षोदभस्मा करनिहितमहानील
रत्नाक्षमालः ॥ वेषस्तेनास्य तेने गरुडमाणिलतागोतसः कान्तमुक्ता नेपथ्यन्नस्थिमालासमुचित-
रचनः कल्पकल्पालिकस्य ॥ ३ ॥

But the Vithoba Vaishnavism was entirely different from the Vaishnavism of Rāmānuja. And the Prakrit form of Vishṇu in Bengali and Ooriya is also Vishṭhu.* But the Vaishnavism of Pandharpur is different from the Vaishnavism of Bengal also. It has no lascivious aspect. It entirely eschews all reference to Gopls. Even Rukmiṇī appears in Pandharpur at a later time. The Vishṇu idol at Pandharpur is unaccompanied by any female deity. Its form is also unique, having both hands akimbo and it has a linga on the crown of its head. Who put up this idol is yet undiscovered as Pundarikā the first devotee of Vithoba is a mythical person. The historical references given by Dr. Bhandarkar show that originally the place was holy on account of Vishṇu idol only. The Bhimarathi is mentioned in an inscription of 1249 A. D. This leads us to believe that the Vithoba of Pandharpur must have been there about a hundred or at least fifty years before. In a stone-inscription in Pandharpur itself dated 1270 A. D., Bhānu, a son of Keshava is recorded to have performed an Aptoryāma sacrifice in which "crowds of people and Vithal and the gods were gratified." (Bhandarkar Vaishnavism p. 81-88). Pānduranga is a name of Śiva according to Hemachandra and there is a temple of Śiva at Pandharpur which pilgrims have to visit first, before visiting Vithoba. The Vitthal worship at Pandharpur is again unconnected with any philosophy and is a purely devotional worship as developed by Nāmadeva (1270 A. D.) and Jnāneśvara, the oldest leading Vaishṇava saints of Mahārāshtra. The temple of Vithoba was built from subscription raised all over Mahārāshtra as appears from the Chauryaśi-stone-record in the temple itself of about 1300 A. D. Though the Vithoba cult developed in Mahārāshtra in the 13th century, it came into Pandharpur probably about the end or the middle of the 12th century† in the sub-period treated of in this volume. Strangely enough it was devoid of all animosity against Śaivism or against the Vedic religion of sacrifice and has no connection with any philosophy Dvaita or Advaita. It further does not

* The Kanarese form is Bittideva.

† The Mahānubhāva cult arose in Saka 1186 or 1263 A. D. after this sub-period in Mahārāshtra itself no doubt with asceticism and complete renunciation of caste added to Ahimsā and the Bhakti of Dattātreya added to that of Vishṇu. It has connection with the later history of the Deccan and its fall.

renounce caste though people of all castes are admitted into this cult and are all equal before God and absolution through devotion is open to all, male or female, Brahmin or non-Brahmin. It truly carries on thus the pure Bhaktiyoga doctrine of the Bhagavadgītā.

It is unfortunate that these attempts at unifying Śaivism and Vaishnavism did not catch and that Hinduism remained and remains split into two main schisms. It is not possible to ask Hinduism or Jainism to give up Ahimsā as it is but the logical outcome of their spiritual development. It is difficult also to decide whether monism is true or dualism and nothing is lost if people agree to differ on the question whether God and the world are one or are two. But surely, Hinduism can give up the controversy whether Śiva is greater or Viṣṇu. Yet a Chola king persecuted people for believing that Viṣṇu was greater and Adhirājendra called Krimikantha by the Vaishnavas destroyed a Vaishnava temple on the Chidambaram hill (I. A. 1912). Attempts were made by later thinkers like Tulasidas, in imitation of the plain attempt of the Mahābhārata, to reconcile the two worships, the animosity between which seems to be as old as the Mahābhārata, by showing that Śiva praises Viṣṇu as the highest God and Viṣṇu praises Śiva as the highest (see Upamanyu Ākhyāna in the Anusāsana Parvan). But an attempt may also be made in the wake of Pradyumneśvara by combining the two gods in the same idol or like the idol of Vithoba in Pandharpur having a Śiva Linga on its head, a Śiva Linga may have an image of Viṣṇu carved or fastened on its top. If such attempts at combining the two worships are systematically made, this split in Hinduism can be made up and one cause of weakness among the Hindus at least can be removed.

NOTE 1—DIFFERENT VIEWS ON MOKSHA OR ABSOLUTION.

There was a diversity of opinion among the Hindus and even the Jains as to who were fitted to attain Moksha or final deliverance from rebirth. Of course every religion has an idea of Moksha or absolution differing in its form; but in other religions there is no disqualification for any particular class of people. Al-Beruni says on this subject (Chap. IX Vol. I p. 104). "The Hindus differ as to who will attain Moksha. Some believe that only Brahmins and Kshatriyas will attain Moksha as they alone can study Veda. But others say that every one is entitled, as Vyāsa says, 'Learn the twenty-five and you will be liberated whatever your religion may be'. Again the Bhagavadgītā states that "even women, Vaiśyas and Śūdras will come to me if you follow me. What then Brahmins and Kshatriyas". Al-Beruni's knowledge of the subject is clearly accurate. Anciently it was believed that only through Veda Moksha could be achieved. This is not unnatural as Christians also believe that final beatitude can be attained only through the Bible and Mahomedans believe that it can be attained through the Koran only. The Upanishadic Aryans developed the further doctrine that Moksha could come only through Sanyāsa or renunciation and this idea was taken up by Buddhism and Jainism. (Christ seems to have taught the same doctrine). As women and Śūdras were debarred from both the study of the Veda and Sanyāsa, they were believed to be unfit for attaining Moksha. The liberal yet orthodox Bhagavadgītā preached the new doctrine of Bhakti or devotion and held that although women and Śūdras (Vaiśyas were also added to these) could not study Veda or do Sanyāsa like Brahmins and Kshatriyas according to the orthodox view, they could approach God through devotion and attain to final beatitude. Vyāsa laid stress on knowledge only as believed in Sāṅkhya and preached "Know God truly and you will be absolved". The liberal broad-minded view of the Bhagavadgītā is indeed creditable to the thinkers of the time of Śrī Kṛishṇa and Al-Beruni recognises it. But he attributes it to the circumstance that Śrī Kṛishṇa was himself a Śūdra. It is inexplicable how this wrong notion was entertained by Al-Beruni who had very accurate knowledge of the Hindu religious books. Shrikrishna was thought to be a son of Nanda who really was a Vaiśya. But in Al-Beruni's days, a Vaiśya was little better than a Śūdra; especially cowherds were Śūdras and hence probably this mistaken idea of Al-Beruni about the caste of Śrī Kṛishṇa. In the present sub-period the Hindus appear to have still believed that Brahmins and Kshatriyas alone could attain Moksha. The Kshatriyas yet retained their right to the study of the Veda. But the theory grew later on that they were debarred from performing Sanyāsa and hence Brahmins alone could attain final beatitude.

The Vaishṇava idea of final beatitude was different from the Vedantic but Rāmānuja was a strict orthodox philosopher and it seems

to us that he insisted on Sanyāsa as a *sine qua non* for the attainment of Moksha. The Virāśaivas or Lingāyats had a different idea of Moksha their highest God being Śivā; but they believed that every one including women could attain to Moksha i. e. to the service of Śiva in Kailāsa. The Euddhistic idea of Moksha was again different and their word for it was Nirvāṇa; but they insisted on the necessity of Sanyāsa which was open to all including women. The Jains originally were a little less liberal, as already stated, than the Buddhists and the Digambaras preached that Sanyāsa in the highest sense was necessary for attaining Kaivalya. We have already mentioned the disputation which was held between a Digambara philosopher and a Śvetāmbara, on this very subject at Dhar before a Paramāra king, the former holding that clothed monks and women were not fit to attain final deliverance. The idea of final deliverance from rebirth was common to all these different sections; but they differed as to the nature of Moksha and as to the persons who were fit to attain it as above and thus added to the state of religious disunion in the country.

NOTE 2—RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN SOME PARTS.

It may be noted that the kings of Northern India were tolerant and there are no instances of Śaiva kings persecuting Vaishṇavas and Hindu kings persecuting Buddhists or Jains or vice-versa. Indeed they were so tolerant that they also extended their liberality to the opposite faith. Thus Govindachandra a Parama Śaiva made a grant of 6 villages to two Buddhist saints for the maintenance of Bhikshus in a Vihāra in Jetavana (E. I. XI p. 22). On the other hand, we find the Buddhist king Madanapāla granting a village to a Brahmin for reading the Mahābhārata to his queen who appears to have been a Hindu. Indeed it may be remarked that in Northern India Saivites married Vaishṇava ladies and Buddhists married Hindu ladies. One of the queens of Govindachandra, a Parama Maheśvara, was a Buddhist princess. Jains and Hindus also intermarried and intermarry even now in Northern India. The Gāhadavāla kings from their inscriptions appear to have been very tolerant; for in the religious ceremony performed by them at the time of making gifts of land they, though Māheśvaras, worshipped both Śiva and Viṣṇu while other kings are described as worshipping either Śiva or Viṣṇu only.

Again inspite of the destruction of Hindu temples by Mahomedans in Northern India in this sub-period, the Hindu kings of Gujarat and Mahārāshtra, as also the people, were tolerant enough to allow Mahomedans to build mosques in their towns especially on the sea-coast. Nay we find in Somnath itself a Khoja merchant from Hormuz in Persian gulf building a 'Mijigiti' (Masjid) with the consent of Parama Pāsupatāchārya Mahā Pandita Mahattara Dharmamūrti and Abhaya of the Panch Kula while Malikdeva was the local officer in behalf of Arjunadeva Chālukya who ruled in Anhilwad. The Mijigiti was not only given land for its building but some bazars were assigned for its maintenance by the Hindus and this

whole thing was recorded in a stone inscription drawn up in Sanskrit dated St. 1320, Valabhi 945, Sinha 151 and Hijri 662 with the usual imprecations against any one interfering with the Masjid and the gift (Bhav.Insc.p. 225). This speaks volumes of the tolerant spirit of the Hindus of Gujarat. We have already noted that Jayasinha Siddharāja personally inquired into the complaint of a Mahomedan about Parsis throwing down a Masjid in Cambay [and restoring it at his own cost (E. II.). The Rāshtra kūṭas again and even the Chālukyas before them, allowed Mahomedans to build Masjids in their territory, allowing Mahomedans to have even their own jurisdiction (Vol. II. p. 166). The Śilāhāras of Thana again addressed their grants to Parsis and Mahomedans who were settled in Sanjan and who appear to have enjoyed special rights. This attitude of the Hindus of Gujarat and Mahārāshtra and their kings is indeed fit to be extolled and specially noticed. There is no wonder, therefore, if the people and kings of these two regions were tolerant towards the Jain religion. We have already shown how the Chālukya kings of Gujarat in this sub-period and later the Veghela kings gave encouragement to Jainism, honoured Jain Pandits and gave donations to Jain temples. Though the Chalukyas of Kalyan were not tolerant towards the Jain faith, the Śilāhāra kings of Karhad, especially Vijayāditya, while they remained devotees of Mahalakshmī of Kolhapur, were very liberal to the Jains and gave their temples and ascetics many villages (E. I. III p. 207). Jainism probably spread both in Gujarat and the southern Maratha country during the reigns of these kings.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHANGED ASPECT OF HINDUISM.

In the previous chapters we have spoken of the ramification of caste and the change in marriage and other customs which took place in this sub-period of Hindu history. We have also spoken of the rise of new sects of Śaivas and Vaishṇavas in this sub-period which caused religious disunion in the Hindu society. We will speak in this chapter of other aspects of Hinduism generally and show how Hinduism assumed its modern form at the close of the mediæval Hindu period and how essentially it differed from the Vedic form of Hinduism or what may be called Vedic Aryanism. It is impossible that Hinduism could have remained the same through the long period of 4000 years which elapsed from the recital of the Veda-saṁhitās by Vyāsa down to the conquest of Northern India by Mahomédans. Yet it seems that the Hindu religion still kept itself in touch with the religion of the Vedic Rishis.

THE VEDAS.

We will commence with the Vedas which were always looked upon as the revelation of the Hindn religion. Vedas were still learnt by heart especially by the Brahmins whose prime duty it was to preserve them. The following observations of Al-Beruni are important in this connection: "The Brahmins recite the Veda without understanding its meaning and in the same way they learn it by heart. Only a few of them learn its explanation and fewer still master its contents" (Sachan Vol. I p.128). This state continues to this day and there are very few Brahmins learned in the Vedas. The change from ancient or pre-Buddhistic times may be marked when almost every Brahmin and even Kshatriya and Vaiśya had necessarily to study the Veda. Al-Beruni proceeds to state that "the Brahmins teach the Veda to Kshatriyas, but they are not allowed to teach it even to Brahmins. The Vaiśyas and Śūdras are not allowed to learn it." The Vaiśyas, as said before, having

turned Buddhists neglected the study of Veda and lost touch with it. The orthodox Kshatriyas still learnt the Veda and can learn it even now, though very few do it. But we have clear evidence here that the modern doctrine that there are no Kshatriyas in the Kali age had not yet arisen and Al-Beruni's statement not only proves the acceptance of the existence of Kshatriyas but also their right to study the Veda in the eleventh century. The dictum कलावायन्तयोः स्थितिः arose in the fourteenth century, according to our view explained in Vol. II (Appendix) and this is a further confirmation of that view.

“The Veda mostly contains hymns of praise and treat of the various kinds of sacrifices to the fire which are so numerous and difficult that you can hardly count them.” Even orthodox Brahmins at present do not know how many sacrifices these are, for, as we shall presently show, Vedic sacrifices became obsolete since Al-Beruni wrote his interesting account of India.

“They do not allow the Veda to be committed to writing, because it is recited according to certain modulations. They, therefore, avoid the use of pen as it is liable to cause error. The Veda is consequently often lost.” There is no doubt that in consequence of this superstition a large part of Vedic literature had been lost already before the 10th century. But Al-Beruni gives the further information that not long before his time Vasukra a native of Kashmir, a famous Brahmin, undertook the task of explaining the Veda and committing it to writing, because he was afraid that the Veda might be forgotten. “He has taken upon himself a task from which all shrink.” Thus Veda was first written about 1000 A. D. in Kashmir for the purpose of commenting upon it, by Vasukra. We do not know whether this first Bhāshya on the Veda survives. Of course it must have been utilized in the existing Bhāshya of Mādhava Vidyāranya composed in the south at Vijayanagar.

VEDIC SACRIFICES.

The religion of the ancient Vedic Aryans consisted chiefly of keeping the sacrificial fire and performing daily and occasional Vedic sacrifices. King Aśvapāti, in an Upanishad, speaking of the religiousness of his subjects said that “there

was no householder in his kingdom who did *not* keep the sacrificial fire." Things had so changed by this time that it might have almost been said of the subjects of any Hindu king that there was no householder who kept the sacrificial fire. Even Brahmins have now given up keeping the sacrificial fire. However, there were a few Brahmins in Al-Beruni's days who did keep the Vedic sacrificial fire. He records "those Brahmins who kept one fire were called 'Ishtins' while those who kept three were called; Agnihotris" (ditto p. 102). "If he besides offers an offering to the fire (performs a sacrifice higher than the daily one) he is called Dikshita." We come across Dikshita and Āvasthika as honourable epithets of Brahmins in inscriptions of this period. In modern days these epithets have become mere surnames. A few higher sacrifices are no doubt now and then performed throughout the whole of India especially in the south. But it may be taken that this Vedic mode of worship viz. the daily sacrifice in the household fire is now generally in abeyance.

OCCASIONAL SACRIFICES.

But occasional sacrifices must then have been performed as now such as at the time of upanayana or of marriage. The ceremony of the gift of land appears in this sub-period to have always been performed accompanied by a sacrifice in fire. Indeed inscriptions of this sub-period recording grants of land always mention the elaborate religious ceremonies which were performed on such sacred and ceremonious occasions. The descriptions are indeed very interesting and show how all over India, Hinduism was practically a blend of Vedic and Puranic worships. The grantor king bathes in some sacred river at a well-known Ghatta or Ghat, offers Tarpana water to gods, mortals and the manes (a ritual enjoined in Vedic Sūtras), praises the sun (also a Vedic worship), then worships Śiva and Vishṇu (Puranic deities) and finally offers oblations of ghee into the sacred fire (Vedic worship again); and then pours water on the hand of the donee consecrating the gift.* This

* यमुनायां स्नात्वा यथाविधि देवक्रुषिमनुष्यभूतपितॄंश्च तर्पयित्वा सूर्यभट्टारकमुपस्थाय सर्वकर्तारं भगवन्तं शिवं विश्वाधारं वासुदेवं समभ्यर्च्य हुतवहं हुत्वा (I. A. XIV p. 103). Sometimes the mention of the worship of Vāsudeva is omitted.

ceremony shows that the Rājput kings were not only orthodox Hindus but attached importance to and actually exercised the right of, performing Vedic sacrifices. But these sacrifices were always performed with ghee offerings as is often specially mentioned. It is remarkable that even Jains accepted gifts after such Vedic sacrifices for the greater validity of these gifts by Hindu kings.

IDOL-WORSHIP.

Though thus Hinduism was in this period and is even now a blend of Vedic and Puranic worships, the Vedic ritual such as Tarpana, Suryopasthāna and Havana gradually declined in importance and the worship of the Puranic gods, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Devī, and Gaṇeśa and even Sūrya became the normal and chief part of Hindu daily worship. Whether idol-worship is countenanced by the Vedas or not we will not stop here to enquire. But the Vedic Sūtras do not mention worship of idols in the daily service of God. After the suppression of Buddhism which began in the denial of God and ended in the universal worship of Buddha's images, Hinduism took up idol-worship with greater zest and it seems that the daily worship of small idols in every household came into vogue and was prescribed in the various nibandhas and works on religious practice. It is difficult to say whether the modern Panchāyatana worship came into vogue at this time or was prescribed by Śankara in order to avoid the constant fight between worships of different gods. But certain it is that there were small images of different deities in every household at that time as at present. For the ceremony of worshipping Śiva or Viṣṇu or both by kings when making land grants mentioned in inscriptions can not refer to worship in temples. The images worshipped must have been the images in the royal household. They were either images of metal or small unfashioned stones of a particular appearance and with particular signs to be seen even now in Hindu households, which were considered to represent the different deities. This idol-worship in every household must have eventually thrown into the background the Vedic sacrificial fire therein.

Of course there were besides temples in every town and village dedicated to different deities in which idols of stone or

metal were placed and worshipped. Kings, queens, ministers, rich merchants and even mendicant Brahmin ascetics who secured large donations made in reverence to their holy character, vied with one another in building superb and stupendous temples to their tutelary deities, chiefly Śiva and Vishṇu and India was in this period full of such temples throughout its length and breadth. The idols placed in these temples were usually of stone, but these were sometimes of silver and gold and even of precious stones; and bigotry came to the help of opulent kings and merchants by prescribing different merit and fruit to the construction of idols of different precious materials. Al-Beruni, probably quoting from Varāhamihira, details this different merit as follows: "The benefit of a statue made of precious stone will be common to all men and women of the empire. A golden statue will bring power to him who erects it; a statue of silver will bring him renown and one of bronze will bring him increase of rule, while one of stone will bring acquisition of landed property" (ditto p. 121). Thus were rich kings and merchants prompted to make statues of gold and silver and even precious stone inviting marauders and conquerors to commit sacrilege. Al-Beruni, however, cleverly adds that the Hindus honour the idols on account of those who erected them and not on account of the material of which they are made. Thus a stone idol was as good as a golden one for the devotee and precious idols were useful only to the plunderer and the thief. In spite of the plundering of temples and the removal of golden idols by Mahmud, the Hindus, however, still continued to make golden idols and to decorate stone idols with precious ornaments during this sub-period as inscriptions already noticed prove. This rage of decorating idols still continues though perhaps the fashioning of golden idols is no longer in vogue.

We have already described in Chapter VI-16 how idolatry had drifted into bigotry at this time in India. The idolatry of the Hindus was a mystery to the philosophic mind of Al-Beruni, though even he notices how the whole human race in ancient times including even the Arabs was idolatrous. There were, however, sober men in India, candidly admits Al-Beruni, who did not worship idols. While commenting on

the ludicrous views of the Hindus on the subject of idols, he states that these views were held by the common uneducated people. "Those who march on the path to liberation or who study philosophy and theology would never dream of worshipping an image manufactured to represent God. We may not give the stories of Ambarīsha and Nārada related by him to explain how Hindus took to making idols; but it is necessary to detail the several famous idols in India described by him. First there was the idol of the sun at Multan "It was of wood covered with red Cordovan leather with two rubies for the eyes. It was said to have been made in the last Kṛitayuga (i. e. 43 lakhs of years before). Mahomed Kasim who conquered Multan spared it as it was a source of great revenue. On the same place, however, he built a mosque. When Karmatians occupied Multan, Jālam Ibn Shaiban broke the idol and killed the priests. He shut the mosque built by the Caliphs and made the sun-god's mansion his (Karmatian) mosque. When the blessed king Mahmud swept away the Karmatian rule, he made again the old mosque the place of the Friday worship and left the Karmatian mosque to decay". This is a very interesting account about the temple of the sun-god of Multan and the vicissitudes of its fortune.

The information given in the next para of Al-Beruni is still more important; indeed we must apologise to the reader for not having looked into this mine of information earlier. It is to be wondered how even Elliot did not come across this passage. It solves two difficulties which puzzled both Elliot and ourselves. Al-Beruni says (p. 117 Vol I Sachau) "At Thanesar there was an idol highly venerated by the Hindus, called Chakrasvāmin. It is of bronze and is nearly the size of a man. It is now lying in the hippodrome at Ghazna together with the Lord of Somnath which is a linga of Mahādeva. The Chakrasvāmin idol is said to have been made in the time of Bhārata as a memorial of the war of that name". Now this statement solves two mysteries. The name of the idol of Thanesar given as Jagasom by later Mahomedan writers is a plain misreading in Persian of Chakrasvāmin which must be a Vishṇu idol and not a Śiva one. Secondly, although Utbi does not relate Mahmud's expedition to Somnath, this state-

ment of Al-Beruni recorded in 1030 A. D. and therefore almost a contemporary statement, removes all doubts about the truth of the Somnath expedition.

These idols superstitiously believed to be fashioned thousands or even lakhs of years before must have been highly venerated and must have also been invested in the popular mind with miraculous powers. Riches consequently flowed into Multan and Thanesar which, therefore, eventually invited destruction on themselves.

Al-Beruni refers to one more famous idol viz. that of Śārādā in Kashmir visited even by Śankara. The other famous idols in India of which we have historical mention were the Śiva-idols in Kashi and Ujjain, the Bhailkasvāmin idol (Vishṇu) at Bhelsa, the Vishṇu idol at Jagannath (p. 268) and of Vithoba at Pandharpur and the Mahālakshmi idol at Kolhapur (p. 293), not to speak of the Śiva idols at Kānchi and Rameśvar referred to by Al-Beruni himself. We have already spoken of the Devī idol at Kotkangra and the idols at Mathura and Kanauj described vaguely by Utbi as destroyed by Mahmud.

Varāhamihira's Brihatsamhitā is by name quoted by Al-Beruni here with regard to how the idols of different gods were to be fashioned. Two or three interesting points may be first noted which appear from this quotation. First, it is doubted by many if there were temples of Rāma before Rāmānanda; but Varāhamihira refers to idols of Rāma, son of Daśaratha and as Al-Beruni quotes this statement, it shows that there were idols of Rāma certainly from the 6th to the 11th century A. D. Secondly, idols of Vishṇu are said to be with *eight*, four and *two* hands, and in these, different weapons or things are to be placed. The idol of Vishṇu with two hands has to be made with conch in one hand and as drawing water by the other; a description which is rather strange and which does not apply to the idol of Vithoba at Pandharpur. Thirdly, there were idols of Baladeva, of Pradyumna, of Sāmba, of Brahmā, of Indra, and Yama, of Revanta son of the sun, of the sun himself, of the seven mothers, of Bhagavati and lastly of Vināyaka* with the elephant's head

* Hanumān though not mentioned here must have been worshipped in this period as we find his figure stamped on coins of the Chandellas (p. 181).

or a human body." All these except the last two have latterly gone out of fashion. We, however, ourselves saw in the Baijanath temple in Kangra at the entrance an idol of Gaṇeśa with six hands with weapons in the several hands as described by Jnāneśvara in his famous Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgītā. This Baijanath temple has images of different gods carved on the outside of its walls and its pinnacle which are so charming and so true in detail to the description of the different Āyudhas, Pārishadas and Vāhanas of the several gods that they are worth studying. This temple was built about 1200 A. D. as an inscription in it records.

"The worshippers of these idols kill sheep and buffaloes with axes (Kuthāra) that they may nourish themselves with their blood." This is a strange observation, perhaps taken from the Tāntric worship of Devī and not from actual observation. With regard to the pujaris of the different gods, Al-Beruni gives the following information: "To the idol of Viṣṇu are devoted the Bhāgavatas, to the idol of the sun the Magas, to the idol of Mahādeva, "anchorites with long hair, who cover their skin with ashes, hang on their persons the bones of dead people and swim in the pools". (p. 120). This observation is supported by inscriptions of the period, especially with regard to the worshippers of Mahādeva. Thus in the Badaun inscription (E. I. I p. 64) there are two Śaiva ascetics described at length. The first named Varmaśiva was an inhabitant of Anahilpātana who in his boyhood, while in the Deccan country, removed an idol put up by the Bauddhas and who in later age by his austerities and learning became famous. He came to Badaun in his wandering and was placed in charge of a Śiva maṭha built by one Rulha, a Divira minister to the king of Badaun. The other ascetic was originally "a Brahmin in the Hariyāna country (round Delhi) who gave up wealth and the world for the worship of Śiva. His disciple a Gaudaja (of Gauda country) Brahmin with Vatsagotra having five pravaras and named Isānaśiva, was placed on the throne of ascetics by his guru after due trial. He built a fine Śiva temple, with a high pinnacle in that city of Bharata with the help of the same minister Rulha to the king of Badaun and the temple was given in charge of the first ascetic". From this description

Śaivite ascetics appear to be both Brahmins and non-Brahmins and they followed the same severe austerities and pious mode of life. The non-Brahmin ascetic was usually entrusted with the worship of the deity in Śiva temples, as is the practice even now. Many inscriptions speak similarly of Śaivite ascetics being placed in charge of temples. Thus the Bhera-ghat inscription of Ālhanadevi speaks of a Lāta ascetic* being placed in charge of a Śiva temple built by her (E. I. I p. 52); and two Śiva temples built by a Brahmin ascetic of the Vātsava gotra and by Gangādhara a pious and learned Brahmin of Madhyadeśa are mentioned as placed in charge of Śaiva ascetics in E. I. II (p. 52 and 41).

MATHAS.

These anchorites whether Śaiva or Vaishṇava lived in Maṭhas which were usually built alongside of the temples. Hiuen Tsang has recorded that Śaiva anchorites and Jain or Nigrantha ascetics lived in their respective Maṭhas and temples. The institution of Maṭhas is thus as old as 600 A. D. undoubtedly and was probably copied from the Buddhist Vihāras. In this sub-period Buddhism disappeared except in Magadha and it is probable that Buddhist temples and Vihāras were converted into Śiva or Viṣṇu temples and Maṭhas. We have however, distinct mention of Maṭhas being built in inscriptions of this period. E. I. II (p. 310) mentions a Vyākhyānaśālā also, and an Udyānaśālā as built near the Śiva temple erected. Thus the temples provided halls for Vyākhyāna or preaching as well as Maṭhas for the residence of Tapasvis. These Maṭhas have now disappeared in most places excepting South India. At present we ordinarily see neither Vihāras for Buddhist Sanyāsis nor Maṭhas for Paśupata Yogis or ascetics.

ĀGAMAS AND TANTRAS.

The different modes of worship of the different gods and the different modes of Tapas and Sanyāsa followed by the different sects of ascetics gave rise probably during this sub-

* लाटान्वयः पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्राशिर्विधिवद्व्यधत्ताम् ।

स्थानस्य रक्षाविधिमस्य तावद्यावन्मिमीते भुवनानि शम्भुः ॥

period to new codes called Āgamas and Tantras which laid down provisions for such worship and asceticism. The Āgamas were many but related to the special worship of the five gods of modern Hinduism. There were sub-sects even under these five different systems and the forehead marks prescribed by them were also different, so as to distinguish one sect from another at first sight. The Vedas were called Nigama and this new scripture which was held more binding was called Āgama. The Tantras were again similar treatises giving different modes of worship with Mantras and practices of a secret character. It seems that in these methods, both Brahmins and non-Brahmins stood on an equal level. The Vedic Tapas and Sanyāsa was reserved for Brahmins only but the asceticism of the Āgamas was open to all Hindus apparently. It is necessary to study this Āgama and Tantra literature, varied and vast as it is, before one can treat it historically and in detail. But it is certain that such scripture had come into existence even before Śankara's time, as he seems to have had disputations with Pāsupatas and others. But they grew into greater importance in this sub-period and various ascetics are described in inscriptions of this time.

MULTIPLICATION OF CEREMONIES OR RITUAL

The rise of this new sacred literature naturally led to the multiplication of ceremonies and ritual. Dharmaśāstra was studied in almost every kingdom and elaborate treatises on ceremonies and ritual were composed by learned Brahmins and even kings. Vijnāneśvara's Mitāksharā was the first detailed treatise of this period on Dharma based on Yājñavalkya Smṛiti; it was composed at Kalyan in the Deccan. King Aparāditya of Thanā composed another treatise called Aparārka. In Bengal Ballālasena himself wrote Dānasāgara on various dānas or gifts and the learned men in the court of his son Lakshmanasena composed other treatises such as Brahmakarma-Samuchchaya. At Kanauj under Govindchandra also, Dharmaśāstra treatises were composed and lastly we may mention the voluminous work of Hemādri viz. Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi composed about a hundred years after this period. These will give us an idea of how modern Hinduism has gradu-

ally evolved from Purāṇas and Āgamas and has changed the original simple aspect of Vedic Aryanism. For example we may refer to the simple ceremony at the obsequies of such a great king as Pratāpavardhana described by Bāṇa, noted at length in Vol. I (p. 98) and to the elaborate ceremony with many gifts and Śrāddhas described in the Garuḍa Purāṇa. In almost all matters, ceremonies were multiplied; while new rituals and vratas came into vogue in relation to the worship of the five Purāṇic deities which it is not necessary to detail. The daily religious duties of a Brahmin especially became so engrossing and detailed that very little time was left unoccupied. The occasional ceremonies were also multiplied. In place of the Vedic sacrifices, new sacrifices were prescribed with elaborate ceremonial, but without animal slaughter especially in connection with the worship of Viṣṇu and Devī. Rathayātrās in connection with the Puranic gods came into vogue, perhaps in imitation of Jain Rathayātras. In short the worship of Puranic gods in accordance with new Āgamas or the amplified Purāṇas threw into the background Vedic religious worship of the Vedic Sūtras, though among Brahmins and Kshatriyas, these continued to be performed with added Puranic ritual.

We give in a note the fast and festival days described in detail by Al-Beruni observed in the Panjab in his time. They are nearly the same as now, though some have fallen into abeyance. They relate to the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu chiefly and to the worship of Devī and Sūrya. There must have been added many new holy days as fasts or festivals after the time of Al-Beruni in accordance with the Āgamas and Purāṇas. Indeed Al-Beruni's list itself can not be considered as exhaustive; such specially holy days are sometimes mentioned even in inscriptions and we have the mention of Govindadvādaśī in a Kalinga grant (E. I. IV) The editor of the inscription has given the definition of this day* which contains certain astronomical peculiar conjunctions. Particular positions of the sun and the moon and the several planets in different

* फाल्गुनस्य च द्वादश्यां कुम्भस्थितदिवाकरे । नक्रस्थिते सूर्यसुते जीवे कार्मुकसंस्थिते ।
पुष्यर्क्षे षष्ठसंयुक्ते शोभने मानुवासरे । भोविन्दद्वादशी प्रोक्ता देवानामपि दुर्लभा ॥

Nakshatras and constellations came in for special holiness also and added to the number of specially holy days. It is needless to add that the number of Śrāddhas also increased. We have the mention of the Kanyāgata Śrāddha in an inscription of Visaladeva of Gujarat dated 1254 (I. A. II p. 194).

EXTENSION OF PURĀNA LITERATURE.

Besides the rise of these sectarian Āgamas and Tantras, the mediæval Hindu period was characterised by the amplification of the Purāṇa literature. The old eighteen Purāṇas were again amplified by the addition of sectarian matter relating to the worship of the above mentioned five deities which are properly called Purāṇic. The Purāṇa glorify Śiva and Viṣṇu, Devī and Gaṇapati and prescribe various vratas in propitiation of them. The worship of Śiva was the most popular and ten Purāṇas are devoted to the glorification of Śiva, four being devoted to that of Viṣṇu and two each of Devī and Gaṇapati.* Sun worship probably lagged behind; but the addition of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in the 10th century A. D. gave great impetus to the worship of Viṣṇu. Different rituals and modes of worship of these deities came into vogue. The several holy places in the whole of India in connection with famous idols of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Devī, and Gaṇapati are enumerated and extolled in these Purāṇas. The Śkanda Purāṇa describes eighty-four Śiva lingas in India, with Puranic stories in connection with the greatness of each linga. The holy places belonging to Viṣṇu, to Devī and to Gaṇapati are mentioned with appropriate stories in other Purāṇas. All this literature may be assigned to the first and second sub-periods till in the third sub-period we find the Purāṇas as they are today.

RISE OF MINOR SMRITIS AND PURĀNAS.

The needs of these changed aspects of Hinduism and of the increase of ritual and ceremony could not be satisfied by the promulgation of Āgamas and the extension of the eighteen

* अष्टादशपुराणं दशभिर्गीयते शिवः ॥ चतुर्भिर्गीयते विष्णुर्द्विभिः शक्तिश्च विष्णुः ॥

Purāṇas. Hence minor Smṛities besides the old eighteen conventional Smṛitis and new minor Purāṇas besides the old eighteen were composed probably in this or preceding sub-period. We have shown elsewhere that the Bhāgavata must have been composed in the tenth century. It would be an interesting study to see how the minor Smṛitis and Purāṇas introduce new practices which came into vogue in the Hindu period, to see in fact to what time and place they can be ascribed by a consideration of their contents. The literature is, however, extensive and its study is a matter of great labour; but it seems nearly certain that this literature arose about this sub-period, especially when we find the mention of Kalivarjas in some of the minor Purāṇas and notably in the Āditya Purāṇa. These Kalivarjas give us almost a complete idea as to how modern Hinduism has changed from Vedic religion of the Sūtra period. The practices said to be prohibited in the Kaliyuga, as enumerated in detail in these Purāṇas, are really practices which had gradually ceased during the long period which had elapsed from the Vedic Sūtras (circa 1000 B. C.) down to the end of the mediæval period (circa 1200 A. D.) and which could be easily found from a comparison of what modern Hinduism allows with what the Vedic Sūtras and even the Smṛitis sanction. This list gives us a complete idea of the changed aspect of modern Hinduism. Such transformation required some sanction; the Kalivarja provisions, therefore, were enunciated as given in these new minor Purāṇas and the Nibandhakāras or writers of modern treatises on Dharmaśāstra quote them as authorities from these Upapurāṇas.

THE KALIVARJAS.

A minute study of the Kalivarjas which we give in an Appendix will reveal to us the fact that some of these prohibitions came into vogue in this very sub-period, though some must have been introduced in older times. We have already shown that the prohibition of suicide by burning or leaping from a precipice referred to by Al-Beruni as a special provision must have come into vogue about 1000 A. D. For in the previous sub-period we have historical evidence of devout Hindus destroying themselves by burning on a pyre.

Kumārila himself in this way is said to have put an end to his life by ascending a pyre (700 A. D.) and Kumāragupta is also described in an inscription (Vol. I p. 97) as burning himself to death in a pyre of cowdung cakes. So also the prohibition of marriage outside of caste or Anuloma Asavarna marriage clearly belongs to this sub-period, as we can be sure from the instance of Rājaśekhara marrying a Kshatriya wife (circa 940 A. D.). Again Sanyāsa seems to have been prohibited during the Buddhist period as also Agnihotra. Both appear to have been resuscitated after Kumārila and Śankara; and they are still practised though by a very few Brahmins only. They are thus contradictory provisions in the Kalivarjas on the subject. Secondly, while some of the Kalivarjas are reasonable and clearly prompted by a sentiment of humanity, or moral purity such as the prohibition of cow-sacrifice (go-medha), horse-sacrifice (aśvamedha) or human sacrifice (purushamedha), there are many prohibitions which can only be attributed to the growth of bigotry. The ideas of purity of caste increased so far among all castes and especially among Brahmins that not only marriage but food and even water was prohibited with any person outside the caste. Nay in some sub-sections of Northern Brahmins such as the Kanojias, water and food from a stranger but of the same caste is prohibited. In South India even the shadow of an untouchable is looked upon as polluting. In the previous sub-periods Brahmins could take food from Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas and certain Śūdras (Vol. II p. 185). This was now prohibited by a Kalivarja text. But interdining among Brahmins and Kshatriyas or Vaiśyas does not seem to be prohibited by any text; but the practice gradually ceased, probably in this sub-period owing to bigotted notions of caste purity.

PROHIBITION OF RECONVERSION.

But the greatest harm caused by such bigotted notions of purity of caste was the prohibition of reconversion which came into practice even in Al-Beruni's days and without any provision in the Kalivarja texts. It seems that Al-Beruni had a talk with some learned Brahmin on the subject; for he clearly says that there is a penance prescribed for the purification of

persons "carried away into a Moslem country as slaves and returning" and he actually describes the penance; but adds that the Brahmin remarked that such persons were never taken back into the caste (Sachau, Vol. II p. 163). Such was the state of public opinion even in Al-Beruni's days; it is needless to state that in the course of this sub-period and later this bigotted sentiment of the Hindus must have gathered strength and persons forcibly converted had no help but to remain in the religion forced upon them. 'Once a convert always a convert' became the maxim of intolerant Hinduism and we know that thousands of Hindus have consequently, most often without their fault, become irretrievably Mahomedans and Christians.

NOTE:—AL-BERUNI'S ENUMERATION OF FASTS
AND FESTIVALS.

FAST DAYS.

Al-Beruni describes Hindu fast days in detail. They belong to the Panjab and Kashmir. They are the same as now but there are important variations. He says (Vol. p. 175 Sachau) "The 8th and 11th of the bright half are fast days, the 11th being specially sacred to Vāsudeva and they wake all night." The Ekādaśī fast as observed even now is here properly described. The fast on the 8th has practically disappeared. It was sacred to Devī; among Jains it is still observed. The Bhādrapada black Ashtami is described by Al-Beruni as Jamnāshtami. This shows that his months are Pūrṇimānta. "The sixth day of Chaitra is holy to the sun" a fast day not now observed, as sun-worship has nearly disappeared now. "Ashādha day with moon in Anurādā was observed as a fast day", is not well understood; but the Devaśayanī Ekādaśī is well described. It is a fast day all over India now. "The Śrāvaṇa full moon day was holy to Somnāth." It is not a fast day now, but in Somnāth on the sea-coast its importance must have been great as it is the Nārālī Pūrṇimā day when the south-west monsoon gets spent and the sea becomes calm. "Āśvina 8th is holy to Bhagavatī, the fast is broken when the moon rises." This is observed even now especially by women. "The 5th Bhādrapada is holy to the sun, His rays admitted through windows are offered incense and flowers". This must have been a special day of Multan the famous sun temple of which has already been described. The wakening of Vāsudeva day in Kārtika (11th) is also mentioned; its special importance when the moon is in Revati is not now known. "It is also the first of the Bbīshma Pāncharātra days of fast. Brahmins break fast on the second day." This is also not generally known now. "The sixth day of Pausa is a fast day in honour of the sun." This is the day preceding Rathasaptamī but they do not fast now on this day.

"The third day of Māgha is a fast day for women; it is called Gaurītritiyā." Al Beruni mentions more Tritiyās than one and Akṣhatritiyā is one of these as will presently appear. It is remarkable that Rāmanavamī fast is not mentioned by him. Probably Kāma was not much worshipped in the Panjab and perhaps this is so even now.

FESTIVALS.

We go on to describe the festival days mentioned by Al-Beruni (chap. LXXVI). "The second of Chaitra is a great festival day in Kashmir in honour of victory of its king over the Turks." This probably refers to the victory of Lalitāditya the conqueror of Hindustan over the Turks described in Vol. I (p. 211) as a memorable one "since this was a singular exploit of Lalitāditya deserving a prominent record in this history of Mediæval India." "The 11th of Chaitra was the Hindola festival of Vāsudeva and 15th of Chaitra was festival for women called Vasanta festival. Both these are not known to us. The 3rd of Vaiśākha was Gaurī Tritiyā. "On the 10th of Vaisakha Brahmins go out at the king's command and sacrifice for four days." This is a thing unknown to us and it is a festival which we have not been able to trace in Hindu treatises. The vernal equinox festival is peculiar to the Panjab and still observed there, being called Vaiśākhi. "Jyeshtha Śuddha 15 is a festival day for women." "All Ashādhā days are festival days and on Śāvana 15 alms are given to Brahmins." "On Āśvina Mahānavamī sugarcane juice is poured for Bhavānī and kids are also killed." "The 15th of Āśvina is dedicated to animals and they wrestle with one another." The Bhādrapada Pitri-pakṣha is also mentioned, especially the day when the moon is in Maghā. " (This should have been called Āśvina Vadya according to Pūrṇimānta months). "The 3rd Bhādrapada is observed by women who grow seeds in baskets and worship Devī at night." "The 1st of Kārtika is Diwali day when Balirāja is liberated for one day by Lakshmī". "The 3rd of Mārgaśīrṣha is a festival day for women. The 3rd of Māgha is a sacred day to women and is a festival day for them; women bathe in cold water the whole month." "The full moon day of Fālgun is the Dolā feast for women; they make fires in villages." "The 16th of Fālgun they call Śivarātri day and worship Mahādeva and remain awake the whole night." This is a correct description of Śivarātri except for the number, which ought to be 14th. "In Multan there is a special festival of the sun and it is called Sāmba-pariyātrā." We recognise in the above many festivals which are still observed which therefore are certainly as old as Al-Beruni (1030 A. D.).

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL CONDITION.

As described in Vol. II (p. 228) at the end of the 10th century India was divided, from Kabul to Kamrup and from Kashmir to Kumāri, into several kingdoms, some large and some small which were ruled by despotic Hindu kings most of these being Rājputs. These kingdoms were so to speak, limited monarchies; for according to the modern theory of politics in the west, the sovereign has an unlimited power to legislate and a limited monarchy means a state where the monarch's power to promulgate laws is limited by the power of parliament or popular assembly to legislate. In India, as explained in Vol. II (p. 225), the kings or even the people had no right to promulgate new laws or to alter or abrogate existing ones, all the necessary laws having been in the beginning given by the creator to Manu the first king to guide him in the government of the people. This divine Smṛiti-made law was followed in the different kingdoms of India and this set a limit to the despotic power of kings by preventing despotic administration becoming doubly oppressive by the addition of despotic legislation. The several despotic kingdoms in India, thus, were really limited monarchies in this sub-period and were, therefore, generally well-governed and happy.

The difference again, as noted in Vol. II (p. 226), in soil climate, and nature of land and the language of the people and their provincial peculiarities made the existence of different kingdoms in the country, a normal and perhaps a necessary condition. And the kingdoms arising in this sub-period correspond almost exactly to the different divisions of India according to these circumstances. Thus Kashmir, U. P., Rājputana, Gujarat, Konkan, Malwa, Bundelkhand, C. P., Bengal, Telangana, Dravida, Kerala, Karnātak and Mahārāshtra were distinct kingdoms with territories naturally distinct throughout this sub-period. The only factor which was favourable for the evolving of an empire combining all these

kingdoms was the unity of race, religion and ancient tradition. But as in Mediæval Europe under the Holy Roman Empire, so in Mediæval Hindu India, the kingdoms did not coalesce into one empire for exactly the same reasons as in Europe. The idea of an Indian empire was, however, constantly before Indian kings, an idea which did not involve the destruction of subordinate kingdoms but only their subjugation or nominal acknowledgement of the imperial master, the Samrāt or Chakravartin as he was called. And all the wars among Hindu kings were usually waged with the object of establishing the imperial status. For imperial status was not considered as descending hereditarily from father to son but was considered to depend on actual power; and every ambitious and resourceful monarch in the different kingdoms might aspire to imperial honour and attain it by Digvijaya. Rājaśekhara makes a curious distinction between a Samrāt and a Chakravartin and states that he who conquers Bhāratavarsha from the southern sea is called a Samrāt while he who conquers the country from Kumārlpura to Bindusara, beyond the Himalayas, a distance of one thousand yojanas is called a Chakravartin. The obvious difference is that Kashmir and Nepal are to be further conquered by a Chakravartin in the north and the Chola-Pandyas in the south. We, however, find in this sub-period several kings of much smaller importance calling themselves Chakravartin. Thus a Śilāhāra king of the 12th century called himself Konkana-Chakravartin or emperor of Konkan only; and Lakshmanasena called himself कर्मरुपावनमिण्डवचकः (Pro. Ben. V p. 467). It is not unusual for high names coming down slowly in significance like the title Mahārājādhirāja taken in inscriptions by many minor kings. But the title Chakravartin was well deserved by Bhoja of Malwa (1000-1040) whose word was respected even in Kashmir. Aśoka and Samudragupta in ancient Indian history and Lalitāditya in mediæval history were indeed Chakravartins according to the definition of Rājaśekhara and in modern history Aurangzeb. However in this sub-period, Chola, Chālukya, Gāhadavāla and Pāla kingdoms were ordinary empires or Sāmrajyas, as there were many feudatory princes under subjection to each of them.

We have already commented (p. 325) on the baneful effects of this struggle of ambitious Hindu kings to attain imperial

honour. Empire did not in Hindu political philosophy mean the annexation of minor kingdoms like the Mogul or British empire. Bhoja or Karna were Chakravartins without destroying conquered kingdoms and thus increasing their own territory or resources. This rivalry for imperial honour thus weakened the contending powers without strengthening the conqueror. Vigraharāja of Ajmer, however, seems to have annexed the conquered kingdom of Delhi, probably because Anangapāla had no son and consequently his power became equal to that of the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj and the rivalry between the Chauhans and Rathods went on to the days of Prithvirāj and Jaichand whose deadly animosity weakened them both and consequently led to their destruction by a third power.

The different kingdoms subsisting at the end of the last sub-period continued to thrive during this sub-period also with some notable exceptions. Most notable of these was the Panjab which fell at the beginning of this sub-period, as we have already seen, before Mahmud of Ghazni and was lost to Hindu India. We have discussed the causes of the fall of the Panjab elsewhere; but we may note here again one important cause viz. the absence of a strong and sufficient standing army. This was a feature of almost all the mediæval Hindu kingdoms on which we have commented in Vol. II (p. 223). Hindu armies, as the Arab writer Sulaiman has testified, consisted chiefly of levies and auxiliary forces of the Sāmantas, paid by them from the revenues of the districts assigned to them. The Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj in the last sub-period maintained a strong standing army but it appears that, like the Peshwas in later Indian history, the Pratihāras of Kanauj latterly neglected to maintain an efficient Huzur force and Rājyapāla consequently was compelled to submit to the Turks. U. P. was saved, however, from being finally subjugated by Ghazni for two reasons, 1st, the incompetence of the successors of Mahmud and secondly, the conquest of the Kanauj kingdom by Gāhadavālas. Their kings down to Govindachandra appear to have maintained a strong standing army consisting of foot, horse and elephant and as stated in an inscription already noted (p. 212), Govindachandra compelled the Hammira to consent to a treaty recognising the

inviolability of his frontier. The Pratihāras hereafter disappeared as a ruling independent clan.

The other ruling clans which disappeared at the beginning of this sub-period were the Rāshtrakūtas of the Deccan and the Chāvadas of Gujarat. In both countries, new strong ruling clans were substituted which re-established the power of Mahārāshtra and Gujarat. In Bengal, the Pāla power declined in this sub-period and a new power arose viz. that of the Senas and divided rule in Bengal with the Pālas, while in Dravida, the Chola power became ascendant and attempted a Digvijaya extending as far as the Ganges and even the Himalayas. Soon however, the Eastern Gangas established again a separate kingdom in Kalinga or Telangana and confined the Cholas to the Tamil or Dravida land. Thus practically the several divisions of India marked by distinct peculiarities of language, climate and soil were under distinct ruling families in this sub-period also and formed distinct kingdoms. Why these kingdoms, large enough as they were compared with the small kingdoms of Mediæval or even modern Europe, did not develop into strong countries or nations is the problem which a historian of Mediæval Hindu India has to solve. Small Christian kingdoms of Europe could withstand the onslaught of Arabs and Turks and preserve their independence while Hindu kingdoms in India, large though they were, finally fell before the Turks and Afghans at the end of this sub-period.

The reason appears to be, as shown elsewhere, that these different Hindu kingdoms did not develop the sentiment of nationality under the influence of which even small states in Europe like Holland or Belgium, Hungary or Poland, have preserved their independence against the onslaught of Germany or Turkey for hundreds of years. There was a modicum of the sentiment of nationality no doubt in the Hindu states in the last sub-period, but even that disappeared in this sub-period "for reasons which we have to elucidate in this volume" (See Vol. II p. 227). The chief cause lies in our view in the solidification of caste which took place in this sub-period as already described.

Various causes such as the growing ideas of purity of race and the adoption of vegetarian food by many communities under the revived influence of the doctrine of Ahimsā in this sub-period led each caste and sub-section of caste to isolate itself in food and marriage. The Hindu society consequently split up into hundreds of self-contained communities and thus lost its solidarity. The feeling of self-interest in the independence of the country as a whole was gone. Intermixture of blood by marriage in the previous sub-section kept up the idea of unity and interdining added its unifying quota of influence. Under the revived religious fervour of orthodox Hinduism again, it came to be considered that it was the duty and the privilege of the Kshatriya alone to rule. Indeed it is remarkable that all the different ruling families in India in this sub-period were Kshatriyas or claimed to be Kshatriyas. These ruling families, especially the Rajputs, formed themselves into a closed group under the same influence of caste solidification; and lost touch not only with the other varnas but also with the agricultural Kshatriyas. The political apathy of the people became, therefore, phenomenal. It was believed that the kingdoms belonged to the kings as their private property and if the Rajput kings lost their property, the people had only to transfer their allegiance to the next owner, whoever that may be. The rights of kings were to be defended by the ruling clan whose privilege it was to rule. The peoples' duty was to obey any king whom God chose by giving him success in battle. The feeling of nationality thus completely died; and even among Rajputs, neither patriotism nor nationality remained but only the sentiment of loyalty. The Rajputs forgot that it was their duty to preserve the independence of the people of the kingdom. The only sentiment that remained or was appealed to in the Rajput soldier, was that of loyalty or service of the master who paid him; and as shown elsewhere, the Rajput soldiers were ready to die even for their Mahomedan king and master when the rule of the Ghaznavide Mahomedan kings was substituted for that of the Shahi Hindu kings of Kabul. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Hindu kingdoms of this sub-period were weak and that no national resistance was offered when the Rajput armies of

Prithvirāj and Jaichand were defeated in single battles and these two heroic kings were killed in the contest.

It is a pity that the keen intellect of the Hindus did not find out the true essentials of a state and did not evolve its true theory. But this is not to be wondered, as even in the west, the paternal theory of kingship was in the ascendancy so late as the eighteenth century. In India the same theory is propounded in its law treatises. It must be said, however, to the credit of Hindu kings, generally as of this period, that they always carried this parental idea into real practice and rarely oppressed their subjects by acts of wanton cruelty. The legend of the herb of longevity given by Ufi in his *Jamiyat-ul-Hikayat* (E. II. p. 174) is interesting in this connection and shows how Indian kings, in comparison with Mahomedan kings, were less oppressive and believed that tyrannical kings had their lives shortened by the curses of their oppressed subjects. Whatever the value of this story, it may be believed that the inspiring example of Rāma, the Ideal king of Ancient India was always before the Hindu kings and we rarely meet with mention of tyrannical kings in mediæval records except perhaps in the history of Kashmir. The expenses again of Hindu states were very limited. The absence of standing armies and of foreign bureaucracies explains the inexpensiveness of mediæval Hindu kingdoms and the generally less cruel Hindu temperament made even despotic kingdoms of mediæval Hindu India well-governed and happy. They in fact secured internal and external peace with the minimum of taxation. It may seem paradoxical but it is nevertheless true that a despotic Hindu king in mediæval times was less expensive than a modern foreign bureaucracy. As we shall presently see, civil and military rule in mediæval Hindu kingdoms was much less costly than modern British or Mogul rule. Lastly, the Hindu kings had no legislative power and could not enact new laws or amend old ones or impose new taxes. Their zulum where it did exist was always personal. The common people were content to live under such limited monarchies and never consequently worked to obtain political power through popular assemblies as in the west. Moreover, popular assemblies also, according to the religious belief of the Hindus, had no power to enact new

laws or to alter or abrogate old ones. Even civil law and the law of offences and punishments together with even the nature and amount of taxation was laid down by the Smritis. Hence the need of peoples' assemblies was never felt in Hindu kingdoms. The absence, however, of such institutions, coupled with the wrong theory of state wherein the king was looked upon as the owner of the kingdom and not the people, led to one baneful result viz. weakness of the sentiment of nationality which, completely dying in this sub-period, the Hindu kingdoms of India were easily destroyed.

The king was thus not assisted in the administration of the country, by any popular assembly or constitutional ministers, but by ministers appointed by him and holding office during his pleasure. How many these were and what were their functions, it would be interesting to find out, not from Niti-sāstras (books on polity) whose dates of compositions are yet unsettled, but from inscriptions recorded in this sub-period. And curiously, inscriptions usually recording grants of inam villages do contain the names of all the ministers as well as local and provincial officers. This list is generally most detailed in Bengal inscriptions and we find the following ministers mentioned therein : 1 Rājāmātya 2 Purohita 3 Mahādharmā-dhyaksha, 4 Mahāsāndhivigrahika 5 Mahāsenāpati 6 Mahāmudrādhikrita (Great Keeper of the Seal) 7 Mahākshapatalika, 8 Mahāpratihāra 9 Mahābhogika and 10 Mahāpilupati (E. I. XIV p. 159).^{*} The word Mahā attached to these names showed that there were officers subordinate to them while they personally waited upon the king and were the head of their departments. (This word Mahā was first added to these names by a Kashmir king Vol. I p. 209). Besides these there were the chief queen, the chief prince (heir apparent) and subordinate kings who are also mentioned in inscriptions ; but these were probably not always consulted though the land grants required to be brought to their notice also. In Gāhadavāla grants we have mention of the following officers : 1 Mantri 2 Purohita 3 Pratihāra 4 Senādhipati

^{*} In Madanapāla's grant (J. B. LXIX p. 71) we have besides 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, Mahāsamanā, and Mahākumārāmātya i. e. the great sardar and the great minister for princes.

5 Bhāndāgārika and 6 Akshapaṭalika, besides 7 the Physician, 8 the Astrologer and 9 the Master of the Household (Antahpurika). The Dūta is mentioned also and the queen and the Yuvarāja or heir apparent (Govindachandra's inscriptions I. A. XVIII p. 15 and E. I. IV p. 101). In a Chedi inscription of Karna are mentioned: 1 The great queen 2 The great prince 3 Mahāmantri 4 Mahā-Sāndhivigrahika 5 Mahāmātya 6 Mahā-Dharmādhikaraṇika 7 Mahāpratihārī 8 Mahākshapaṭalika 9 Mahābhāndāgārika 10 Mahāsāmanta 11 Mahāpramattakarī and 12 Mahāśvasāadhanika (E. I. XI p. 41). Unfortunately we have no mention of court officers in grants of the Paramāra, Chandella and southern Chālukya kings. But as already stated (p. 247) Thana Śilāhāra grants not only contain the mention, but also the consent-signatures, of 1 Mahāmātya, 2 Mahāsāndhivigrahika, 3 Śrikarāṇa and two Bhāndhāgārikas. The Bhadan plates (E. I. XII p. 251) in addition to these, mention 1 Rājaputra 2 Mantri 3 Purohita and 4 Amātya. The chief minister is further described as 'bearing the burden of the care of the whole state.' From these descriptions not differing much from one another in the several states, we will try to find out what and how many ministers assisted the kings in this sub-period of mediæval Hindu history.

The chief queen and the chief prince as also the physician, the astrologer and the Purohita or religious preceptor were persons of importance in every kingdom; but they were not ministers. The prime minister there was, but he was called Mantrin in some and Mahāmātya in others. The word Mantrin means counsellor and Amātya means a constant attendant. The foreign minister or Mahāsāndhivigrika is there, as also the chief revenue minister called Mahākshapaṭalika, a word substituted in Thana by Śrikarāṇa or master of land register. The finances and treasury were under the Bhāndāgārika. The commander-in-chief was also there. In Bengal there was in addition the chief officer for elephants, the elephant arm in Bengal being maintained at great strength (in fact the kings of Bengal were called Gajapatis) and in other states there was the chief cavalry officer. It is curious to find no mention of the Chief Justice or chief judicial officer. Probably the king himself decided such cases as came to the highest court with

the help of all these officers and assessors, as we will show later. The king was not bound to consult his ministers though he usually did so. In Thana, however, it seems that not only was he bound to consult them but that the signatures of consent of his five ministers were necessary for the validity of land grants and presumably of other state orders. This was a practice peculiar to the Śilāhāra kingdom of Thana. It shows the advanced nature of its administration, involving the doctrine of the responsibility of ministers. Or perhaps it may be that Thana being originally subordinate to the Rāshtrakūtas, important ministers were appointed from the imperial court and their consent was considered necessary to every important act and the practice continued even after the Śilāhāras became independent. This system, however, of mediæval ministry together with ministers' names entirely disappeared in Mahomedan times, so much so that when Hindu rule was revived under Śhivaji, we have different names and functions assigned to ministers as we proceed to show in a note.

NOTE—SHIVAJI'S ASHTAPRADHĀNA.

One would expect to find the names of ministers in Hindu kingdoms of the 12th century used in the constitution of ministry created by Shivaji when he resuscitated Hindu kingship in the 17th century. But it seems that the Mahomedans of both Northern and Southern India had so completely changed the whole system of administration that nothing remained of the mediæval system or nomenclature. This speaks highly of the independence and originality of the Mahomedan administrators. For even the British administration retains some names and features of the preceding Mahomedan or Maratha administration. How the names and functions of Shivaji's ministers differ from those of ministers in mediæval Hindu India will appear from the following. Shivaji's Ashtapradhāna or eight ministers were: 1 the Peshwa or prime minister, head of both civil and military administration 2 Senāpati 3 Amātya 4 Sachiva 5 Mantri 6 Sumanta 7 Panditarao and 8 Nyāyādhīśa. Amātya was revenue minister and Sumanta was foreign minister while Sachiva was privy seal or record keeper and Mantri was Private Secretary (Rānade's Rise of Maratha Power p. 126). The name of the chief minister Peshwa was taken from the Mahomedans as people had been so completely accustomed to it that even Shivaji could not change the name and thought it fit to retain it. But the Mahomedans who succeeded Mediæval Hindu kings never thought it necessary to retain any old names. Perhaps Shivaji considered it necessary to show to the people that he was as independent and power-

ful as the Bijapur Sultan and had his own Peshwa. The other names of ministers introduced by the Mahomedans such as Mujumdar, Surnis, Sabnis, Dabir &c. were changed and new Sanskrit names were assigned and associated with some different functions. Mr. Shejvalkar in his paper published in the Quarterly of Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona (July-Oct. 1923) has the credit of pointing out that the names of the eight ministers were taken by Shivaji from Śukranītisāra with one or two exceptions,* viz. 1 Sumantra, 2 Pandita 3 Mantrī 4 Pradhāna 5 Sachiva 6 Amātya 7 Prādvivāka and 8 Pratinidhi. The Senāpati was properly put in place of Pratinidhi; but the functions of others were changed from those given by Śukranītisāra. Thus "Sumantra was finance minister, but with Shivaji he became foreign minister. Amātya was land minister but with Shivaji he became finance minister. Mantrī was foreign minister, but he became household officer. Sachiva was war minister but he became Privy Seal." (Shejvalkar). These details are perhaps not quite correct. It is clear that these names and offices are quite distinct from the names and offices mentioned in mediæval inscriptions. Even the Śukranītisāra does not give the names and functions which were in vogue in the 12th century A. D. and we are led to surmise that the Nītisāra is a work written in Mahomedan times. Pandita is a new name entirely though the function was the same as that of the old Darmādhyaksha of mediæval times. Prādvivāka is a name not retained by Shivaji but it was changed into Nyāyādhīśa a name not found in mediæval times or even in Smṛitis. The Akshapaṭalika, the Sāndhivigrahaika and the Bhāndāgārika are names forgotten in the days of the Nītisāra. Amātya has a new meaning and function assigned, while Sachiva is entirely a new name and is assigned a function for which strangely enough there was no distinct provision in mediæval times. Thus the whole system of court administration was forgotten in later times. How local administration also underwent change of nomenclature will be seen from the next chapter.

* सुमंत्रः पण्डितो मंत्री प्रधानः सचिवस्तथा ।

अमात्यः प्राद्विवाकश्च तथा प्रतिनिधिः स्मृतः ॥ (p. 75)

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION.

The nature of civil and military administration in all countries was practically the same, though slight variations existed. Its system has been well described in the Smritis as also in the different Nitiśāstras and since the discovery of the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, we have got now a complete idea of how administration was carried on in so ancient a time as the days of Chandragupta Maurya (300 B. C.). The same system of administration with important changes continued through the mediæval Hindu period treated of in these volumes. We have already described the system in our first volume as it existed in the first sub-period (600-800 A. D.) and in the second volume as it obtained in the second sub-period (800-1000). We will here describe the system of administration which obtained in this sub-period (1000-1200 A. D.) and which, though practically the same as before, discovers several variations. Unfortunately Al-Beruni does not assist us on this subject as his treatise on India does not speak of the nature of civil and military administration in the Hindu kingdoms of his time. But the detailed deeds of grant of inam villages issued in this sub-period supply us as before with interesting information on the subject and we proceed to give the details of administration as they appear from these grants. It is strange to find, as we shall show later on, that this system of administration of mediæval Hindu kingdoms entirely disappeared in Mahomedan times; and we find no trace of it in the revival of Hindu rule under the Marathas.

THE EXECUTIVE.

India remained divided, as stated before, into several kingdoms large and small, their number being given as fifty-nine in the Yewur inscription of the Chālukyas of the Deccan (I. A. VIII p. 18); probably this number is preserved in the number fifty-six of the Marathi poets of later days. The larger kingdoms such as those of Gāhadavālas, Pālas, Chālukyas and Cholas included several minor kingdoms which were feudatory;

but these practically wielded independent power and must have been counted in the traditional number 59. The head of the executive in each kingdom was of course the king who was always a Kshatriya or Rajput and kingship descended hereditarily. The most important branch of administration in a modern state viz:—legislature, was absent in mediæval Hindu kingdoms and the king was thus only the highest executive and judicial authority in the country as also the source of all honour and greatness.

The chief queen or *Pattamahishi** and the chief prince or *Yuvarāja* were important personages next to the king and appear to have had some executive powers in the state. They of course acted for the king in his absence or during his illness as has been seen in some *Gāhadavāla* grants issued by them in *Madanapāla*'s name (p. 214). From ancient times (vide *Rāmāyaṇa*) the *Yuvarāja* was appointed with great ceremony and a *Gāhadavāla* inscription mentions the appointment of *Jaichand* as *Yuvarāja* (E. I. IV p. 123). In some southern inscriptions, the name of the *Yuvarāja*, usually a brother, is joined in inscriptions. What the exact limit of his authority was cannot be determined. We have in the last chapter described the king's ministers with their duties and designations.

Proceeding to describe first the revenue administration of the Hindu kingdoms, we find each kingdom divided into what are now called Districts and Tahsils or Talukas. The Sanskrit words for these are sometimes different. In the north a district was called *Bhukti* while in Malwa and Deccan it was called *Mandala* and *Rāshṭra* respectively. But in the South we find no names used but the number of villages mentioned signified the district as well as the taluka. Even the Konkan kingdom is described as *Puri-Konkan* fourteen hundred. The districts or divisions were often very large and their limits sometimes changed. Thus the *Karahātaka* 12000 in *Chālukya* days included even *Poona* which is a very old town as a grant recently edited (E. I. XII) by *Stein* *Konow* shows. The mode of describing a portion of a taluka by the number of villages it contained is to be seen even in the north as shown later on. The

* So called from *Patta* or golden band bound round the head of the queen who participated in the ceremony of coronation of the king.

Tahsil or Taluka was usually called Vishaya and its boundaries rarely varied. The word Pattalā a new word used in this period is, however, constantly found in U. P. (Gāhadavāla) grants. Its meaning or modern equivalent cannot be ascertained. These Gāhadavāla grants do not often mention the district but simply mention the Pattalā which was really quite sufficient. In Sena grants in Bengal we have both Bhukti and Mandala mentioned, and in Pāla grants we have Bhukti, Vishaya and Mandala mentioned, Mandala being subordinate to Vishaya. In a Malwa record we have Mandala and Prati-Jāgarāṇaka (a new word) while within it a smaller division is mentioned as the 48 of Vodaśira (see Appendix). The town and the village was the last unit, except in Bengal, and there is no mention of a smaller division than these.

The authorities entrusted with the administration of these several denominations were the Rājasthāniya (viceroy) for the Bhukti or province, the Rāshtrapati for the district mentioned only in southern India grants, the Vishayapati or Tahsildar mentioned in almost all provinces and the village officer called Pattakila in Malwa only. In grants from northern India the inhabitants generally of the village granted as also of the adjoining villages are addressed and they are always described as consisting of Brahmins and others, the latter described further in detail as Kuṭumbi (from which the Marathi word Kulambi is derived, meaning the settled family-man agriculturist), Kāyastha, Dūta, Vaidya and Mahattara (Patel probably) down to the "Meda and Chāndāla" vide an inscription of Paramardin (Appendix); often they are described simply as Jānapada. These named persons seem to have some duty, with some income assigned to them, in the village. There are besides many district officers mentioned such as Śaulkika, Gaulmika and Tarika i. e. officer for customs duty, officer of gulma which very probably was a Police Thana and officer for navigation. In U. P. and Bengal much traffic, both passenger and goods, was carried on by rivers and this was under a special officer. In Southern India, in places where rivers were crossed, there was a small tax to be paid to the state as also a fee to the nāvikas or boatmen; these were also under an officer. There were separate Adhyakshas or superintendents

as they were called for state forests, as also for royal gośālās or cattle-breeding operations. Finally operatives or servants in employ under all these civil officers were called Chāṭas, the employees in the army being called Bhaṭas. All these persons or public servants required to know of inam grants of villages as they had their duties to perform in connection with them. For instance inam villages are in all grants declared as free of the entry of Chāṭras and Bhaṭas. No civil or military servant could enter them to purchase provisions or exact labour.

The head of the village was called Pattakila as stated above in Malwa records and Grāmapati in Gāhadavāla records and Grāmakūṭa or chief of the village in Gujarat and southern India records, the word Grāmakūṭa still surviving in the form of Gamot in Gujarat, Malwa, and Konkan. The village was self-contained. It had its guard, its messenger, its doctor and its astronomer, also its scavenger and executioner or Meda and Chāndāla.

The details of the rights given to donees in the villages are explicit and are very interesting, showing that in non-inam villages such rights belonged to the state or the villagers themselves. In U. P. grants under the Gāhadavālas, the right to the iron and salt found in the village was very important. Iron and steel were necessary for carpenters and soldiers while the sea being distant and means of conveyance difficult, salt was a precious thing in U. P. and the inamdar was entitled to all the salt that could be produced from saltish wells in the village. Very probably as stated in Vol. I, salt was taxed by the state and there was a special officer who superintended the income from salt-tax. The ditches and the unculturable land, garta and ushara, were also valuable and belonged to the donee in khalsa villages; such land belonged to the state or the villagers conjointly. The details of things granted in inam villages are interesting and discover the nature of revenue administration in these mediæval kingdoms. Thus in Gāhadavāla grants the detailed list of items granted are water, land, waste-land, stones, hills, river, forest patches, mango and madhūka (Mahua) trees, iron, salt sources, "whatever is above and below" The mango and Mahua trees were important trees in U. P. and unless specially owned, they belonged to the state in

khalsa villages. So also were stone quarries and iron mines and salt wells, hills and forest patches.* But with regard to the last we have further to remember that there were certain portions of state forests which were open to the villagers for cutting firewood (see Vol. I p. 135) The further description in almost all grant deeds that the village is granted upto (including) *Triṇayūti* and *Gochara* which may be translated as grass meadow and cow-grazing-land, shows that every village had its pasture and cow-grazing-land and hence the supply of cow's milk and of bullocks for ploughs was always assured. Grass meadows and cow-grazing-lands to which the cattle of the village had free access, are apparently not now reserved in villages. A grant of *Paramardin* dated 1166 (Appendix) mentions even sugarcane, cotton and *saṇa* (jute) plants along with mango and *Madhūka* trees. Apparently these were important products in Bundelkhand and are, therefore, specially mentioned. It does not, however, mean that in khalsa villages government had any rights in them.

Turning now to the taxes levied in villages we find these mentioned in detail also as they were to be paid to the inamdar of the village. It is curious to note that the word *Udranga* which was in common use in the first period (Vol. I p. 132) is nowhere used now (except in a grant in *Thana E. I. III* p. 267). The expression generally used is *Bhāga-Bhoga-Kara-Hiranya* which to our view refers to the usual portion of land produce in kind ($\frac{1}{6}$ of the land produce)[†] and to the tax in money on profits of trade and manufacture ($\frac{1}{50}$ of profits) mentioned from ancient times in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Smṛitis*. It, however, appears that in the kingdom of Kanauj under the later *Pratihāras* several minor taxes were imposed in addition, many of which it is difficult to make out. The list is as follows: 1 *Kūtaka* 2 *Daśabandha* 3 *Vinśatyaprastha* 4 *Akshapatalikaprastha*, 5 *Pratihāraprastha* 6 *Ākara* 7 *Turushkadanda* and 8 *Varavajjhe* (*Basahi* grant I. A. XIV p. 103). There are other taxes mentioned in other *Gāhadavāla* inam grants such as *Kumara-*

* In plain Bengal there was not much forest and the small brushwood trees thus were important. These are specially mentioned in the word '*Zhāta* and *Vitapa* included' The word *Zhāta* is *Zhāda* of modern vernaculars.

† This included on doubt other products besides corn such as flower, vegetable etc detailed in Vol. I p. 132.

gadiyānaka (I. A. XVIII p. 15) and Pravanikara (E. I. IV p. 109, 123). E. I. IX (p. 102) also adds the word "the permanent and temporary taxes such as Kumaragadiyānaka". This indicates that the revenue administration under the declining Pratihāras became somewhat oppressive and the system continued even under the Gāhadavālas. Turushkadanda, of course, as already explained, was imposed for paying tribute to the Turks; but perhaps this was taken as a precedent for imposing other minor taxes, a prastha or handful for the Akshapatalika or revenue minister, another for Pratihāra or chamberlain, and so on. The tenth and the twentieth imposed, for what persons or purposes is not clear, remind one of the chowth and the tenth part (Sardeshmukhi) of the Marathas levied from Mogul dominions. All these were paid in kind.

The money tax on sale and purchase and on profits on manufactured goods was taken at the Mandapikā or toll house in every town and probably the bazar in every village. And here also besides the government tax of 1/50, minor taxes were imposed for charitable purposes, and possibly for the benefit of certain persons. An interesting description of these taxes is found in an inscription in Kathiawar (Bhav. In. p. 157): "In the Mangalapura (Mangrol) Mandapikā, on every cart loaded with corn 4 Kārshāpanas and on every ass-load 1/2, on every camel-load of betel leaves 1, on a cartload of such leaves 1 &c.* Some contribution was also made from the state daily income in the Mandapikā. Many of these details are not well understood now, but it is certain that the money tax was called Śulka and was levied at the toll house.

Passing on to describe the revenue officers, we have the old name Vishayapati for the Tahsil officer in almost all grants. The Rāshtrapati is mentioned as the District officer in Deccan grants while in Bengal grants he may be indicated by the Rājasthāniya. The Gāhadavāla grants strangely enough do not mention these officers though for the Pattalā there must have been a chief officer. In Malwa we have the name Mandaloi still surviving which is the Prākṛit form of Mandalapati. Thus generally there was a revenues officer with name ending

* There is 1 K. to be paid on every Dyūta or gambling.

in pati. He was probably not hereditary but removable at the will of the king or the chief revenue minister. It is worthy of notice that the names Deshmukh and Deshpande which were in use in the Deccan even in Mahomedan times and are still in use there, are not found in inscriptions of this period. Though they are Sanskrit and not Mahomedan names, they from this appear to have come into use in Mahomedan times. Further there is no officer corresponding to Deshpande who kept the record of the District in the mediæval inscriptions. Record certainly was kept in the village as the village record keeper named Karanika is often mentioned in inscriptions. We have already shown in Vol. I (p. 130) that Akshapātala, according to Kautiliya's Arthaśāstra was revenue record house and Akshapātālīka was the head of the office in the village; a word which probably was shortened and changed into Pattakila of Malwa inscriptions. It is the origin of the modern word Patel or Pātil. The head of the village is called in inscriptions of other kingdoms, grāmapati (J. B. LXIX p. 71) or grāmakūta or simply Mahattara (the modern form of which is Mhātre in Konkan). The Patel was assisted in the village administration by the Karanika (keeper of register of tenants), a word which survives to this day as Karnika of Konkan, Kulakarnī of the Deccan and Karanam of South India and called Kāyastha in Northern India, see Parmardideva's inscription (E. I. IV p.). The other village servants mentioned in it are 1 Dūta or messenger, 2 physician and 3 Mahattara (Patel) down to 4 Meda and 5 Chāndāla. Among villagers there were Brahmīns also who are usually particularly mentioned as in Paramāra insc. (I. A. XVI p. 204) which simply addresses itself to 'Vaishayika or Tahsil officers, the Pattakila and the country people (Jānapada) Brahmīns and other than Brahmīns.' For towns or Paṭṭaṇa there were special officers (E. I. IV p. 101). These village and town officers must have been hereditary as at present.

Land was measured (Vol. I p. 133) and Nivartana (acre) is a word usually used. But sometimes the extent of the land granted free is given as cultivable with so many ploughs (I. A. XVIII p. 15). The Naihatti grant of Ballālasena (E. I. XIV p. 159) gives not only in very great detail and

precision the boundaries of the village granted (which are unintelligible but which detail the nature of land record) but gives the whole area of the village in number of Unmāna or measures (not properly understandable), as also total produce (again not understandable) and the income in money. This is, strangely enough, very small being 500 old Kapardikas. If Kapardika means one fourth of an anna, this means an income of about eight rupees. But we must remember that money value then must have been much greater than now and again apparently this was only the cash income of the village, the greater income being in kind (1/6th of grain produced). The sale and purchase of land as also of inam villages appears to have been allowed, as we find the fact expressly stated in the Semra plates of Paramardideva (E. I. IV p. 153).^{*} These transactions were probably registered as they could be verified from official records (see Vol. II p. 239).

It must be noted that documents, especially state documents, must have been drawn up with care and ceremony; for we find the land-grants inscribed on copper signed and sealed. The grantor king usually signed the deed himself using the word Svahasta or 'my hand'. This signature must have been made originally on the Bhurja-leaf paper and then copied on the copper plate. Sometimes instead of signature, the grantor king wrote at the end the words 'Mangalam Mahāśrih' (auspicious and prosperous) and sometimes added his signature also as in I. A. XIV (p. 349). The land grant was proclaimed on the spot before inhabitants of the village granted and surrounding villages by special state officers; and their names are mentioned at the end in every copperplate grant. Some grants are terse as in Malwa while others are very detailed and write a great deal of the family history of the grantor as in Bengal, (there are instructions in Smṛitis as to giving this history).

Among other revenue departments, the Śulka or tax on merchandise and manufacture was the most important and there was a Śaulkika (modern Sayer officer) in every Vishaya. There was also a Tarika (officer for river crossings), also an officer for mines Ākara, for breeding operations of cows, buffaloes

^{*} दानाधानविक्रयं कुर्वतां बाधा न केनचित् कर्तव्या ।

and sheep (J. B. LXIX p. 71). Bengal inscriptions usually contain a detailed list of officers which include a Kshetrapāla (officer for fields), Prāntapāla (protector of state boundaries), Kottapāla (officer for forts) besides the above (ditto). The list shows that the revenue administration in Bengal (and presumably in other states) was as detailed and organised as in modern times.

It would be interesting to see what coin was in use and of what value. The Damma and the Dīnāra are constantly mentioned, the former usually of silver and the latter of gold. Damma is Dām of Mahomedan times now only remembered.* Its value was probably equal to four Rupees (Vol. II. p. 242). Rupee is a word which appears in an inscription in Kathiawar of the last period (ditto). In Thana we have mention of Drammas. In Konkan there is a mention of Malavara Nishka (Bombay J.R.A.S. IX p. 241). Malavara is Malabar and it appears that the Nishka varied in weight and value in different countries as rupee did in Mahomedan and Maratha times. Nishka is a golden coin mentioned even in the Mahābhārata. Of lesser coins we have the mention of Kārshāpaṇa which is probably the equivalent of the modern anna, the very word anna being probably its abbreviation; and next of Kapardika which was $\frac{1}{4}$ of it probably. It would have been most instructing if we had anywhere the mention of the total revenue of any particular state in money value; so that not only the value of mediæval money but also the income of mediæval kingdoms could have been determined by comparison with present figures; but unfortunately we have not come across any such statements.

JUDICIAL.

The next, and according to Hindu ideas the most important, function of the state is the Judicial. The Hindu king from the most ancient times personally dispensed justice to his people and sat in court every morning to hear suits (Manu). In his absence the Prādvivāka (judge) acted for him. In mediæval times the same practice obtained as may be seen from the Rājataranginī (Vol. I. p. 206). There is no mention

* The Mogul Dām was a copper coin and not a silver one and 40 Dāms made one rupee.

of the Prādvivāka, however, among officers of the court in inscriptions and as stated before the king probably always himself dispensed justice with the aid of his ministers and sabhyas or assessors, according to Smṛiti rules. The officer named Dandanāyaka mentioned in almost all inscriptions was the magistrate in the district. He awarded punishments when the accused was tried in his court before; himself and a jury. According to Smṛitis there is no difference between civil and criminal proceedings. All civil and criminal cases came under certain heads and in each the losing party was punished with fine and in cases of heinous offences imprisonment, mutilation or death. The police and the jail were probably under the Dandanāyaka and there were co-ordinate officers with him, named Dāndika and Dandapāśika (Bengal. J. R. LXIX p. 71). There was also a special officer in each district for catching thieves and robbers called Chauroddharapika. Hindu law and Hindu states attached great importance to the ferretting out of thieves and robbers and these were mercilessly punished when caught red-handed, having always their left hands cut off.

Minor criminal cases were always disposed of by village Panchayats or village officers. The expression 'sadaśāparādha' used in every inam grant-deed shows, according to our view, that ten offences of a minor character were finally disposable by the village officers and hence in inam villages the inamdar had the right to try them and to have the fines levied in connection with them. With regard to other offences and higher civil disputes, the practice must have been for the complainant or suitor to appear either before the king or before his district representative the Rājasthānīya or Dandanāyaka who probably had the same power as the king to try cases with the help of assessors. And further Hindu judicial system knew no appeals; a person losing his case in the district court might take it before the king and the case was tried *de novo* if the king thought fit. Apparently this was the practice even down to the days of the Peshwas.

Finally, we may quote here what Al-Beruni records in this connection (chap. LXV p. 158): "The plaintiff has to file a statement and his document. If there is no written document witnesses are produced, at least four being required.

Cross examination of witnesses is not allowed. Brahmins and Kshatriyas are not punished for murder; but they are expelled the kingdom after confiscation of property. For theft a Brahmin is blinded and his left hand and right foot are cut off. A Kshatriya, however, is not blinded. Other castemen are killed." This evidence shows the severity of punishment inflicted even on a Brahmin for theft in this sub-period. There is no rule in Smritis as to the number of witnesses. As the parties were never represented by pleaders (entirely a British institution in India) cross-examination was perhaps never thought of. But the great formality in swearing of witnesses and the dread of punishment in the next world probably made witnesses more truthful than now. The august presence of the king must also have added its influence in compelling witnesses to tell the truth. This must also have reduced the number of cases, especially civil, to the minimum.

Al-Beruni describes the various kinds of ordeals which were resorted to in cases of extreme doubt. Perhaps he speaks from law books and not from observation. For it has always been a mystery as to how any party could consent to perform such ordeals as are described, since the man performing the ordeal is always sure to be defeated, as nature must have her course whether the party performing the ordeal was right or wrong, unless some trick was resorted to. Whatever the explanation, ordeals are prescribed in Hindu law books; and apparently they were resorted to in this sub-period also, as evidenced by Al-Beruni.

POPULAR ASSEMBLIES IN SOUTH INDIA.

In the peculiar condition of South India i. e. in Kerala and Tamil countries, unlike in the rest of India, popular assemblies existed and enjoyed executive and judicial powers. In these countries, the anciant Dravidian population was not only preponderant but probably more advanced than in the rest of India; while the superimposed Aryan people were in a great minority and they considered themselves so pure that they lived in almost repellant aloofness. Yet there were village Panchayats everywhere and district popular assemblies and assemblies for the whole state as is evidenced by inscriptions. These inscriptions being in Tamil and Malyalam, we are precluded

from studying them in the original ; but we take the following extract from a note on K. P. Menon's History of Malabar, in the Journal of Indian History (April 1925). We have already referred to the body of Six Hundred which supervised the working of temples (p. 204) mentioned in Mr. Pillay's article in I. A. XXIV.

“ There were three kinds of assemblies or Kuttams, those for the tara (village), for the nādu (district) and for the whole of Kerala country. The first was the meeting of the villagers as represented by the Kāraṇavars of the families, to discuss matters of local interest, while the assembly of the nādu discussed matters of wider interest ; and was a representative body of immense power which set at naught, on occasions, the authority of the king ”.

“ From the ‘ Keralotpatti ’, we learn that after the Perumāl, began to rule the country, the Brahmins with a view to impose some check on royal authority organised the country into eighteen divisions and supplied the kings with assemblies which were always to be consulted on all important occasions. Assemblies known as ‘ the Five Hundred ’, the ‘ Six Hundred ’ and the ‘ Six Thousand ’ are mentioned in the Syrian copper-plate described in Logan's collection (No. III), belonging to the 9th century. The Jews and the Christians also had certain privileges in their assemblies”. (Christians and Mahomedans also early came to and settled in Malabar.)

“ Mr. P. Menon refers to various inscriptions which mention village assemblies. This is a feature which bears close similarity to the well-known growth of local representative bodies in Tamil country as proved by later Pallava, Chola and Pāndya records. The village assembly of Kerala met under the presidency of the āśān or headman, decided social disputes, settled petty cases and attended to the various requirements of temples. The early British administrators of Malabar ignored the tara organisation of the Nairs. The great assembly of the whole country was held once in twelve years. It was presided over by Valluvanad or Vallattiri Raja till the 13th century when the Zamorin assumed the presidency. The last assembly was held in 1743 ”.

"The local administration seems to have been in the hands of hereditary chiefs. The country was divided into Nāduś presided over by Nāduvālis and these into Deśams under Deśavālis. The Deśam was divided not into territorial groups but into caste or tribal groups such as the grāmams of the Namburis, the tara of the Nairs and the cheri of the low castes. The Nādu and Deśams of this coast differed from similar divisions elsewhere in that they consisted not of so many towns and villages but of so many Nairs etc." (pp. 115-117).

MILITARY.

Lastly we have to speak of the military administration of Hindu kingdoms in this sub-period. We have described at length the system as it was in vogue in the preceding sub-period (Vol. II. pp. 242-246) and the same system continued in this sub-period. There were very few standing armies in the states, the state army consisting usually of levies of the sardars. Govindachandra, from an inscription already noticed, must, however, have kept a large standing army. Moreover the elephant force must everywhere have belonged to the state which alone could provide the heavy expenditure required for it. In Bengal the army consisted of mercenary soldiers from other countries also as appears from Madanapāla's inscription (Bengal LXIX p. 71) of this period, the same foreign soldiers being mentioned as in the Bhagalpore inscription of the previous period; viz. Gauda, Mālava, Khasa, Hūṇa, Kulika, Karnāṭa and Lāṭa with one addition viz. Choda. We have seen that in this sub-period the Cholas (also written Chodas) became powerful and it is no wonder that the Chodas having established their reputation as soldiers were employed in Bengal. It may be added that the reputation of Karnāṭa soldiers is attested to even by Al-Beruni and Karnāṭa or 'Kannara' soldiers were employed as far north as the Panjab. For Al-Beruni describes Karnāṭaka as the country "whence those troops come which in the armies are known as Kannara" (Vol. I Sachau p. 173). This condition is now reversed, a fact which further strengthens our view expressed in Vol. II that peoples' nature is often changed; for the Kannad people, though still strong and martial, do not much seek military employment in distant lands.

The inscription of Madanapāla above noted mentions nearly the same military officers as the Bhāgalpore inscription of the preceding sub-period viz: 1 Mahāsenāpati 2 Dauhsādhyasādhanika 3 officers for elephants, horse, camels and naval forces, besides 4 Preshanika (messengers or spies) 5 Gamāgamika and 6 Abhitvaramāṇa two names which, we said in Vol. I, it was difficult to understand. The same officers existed in other states than Bengal also, except perhaps the naval officer. Sometimes there was a special chief for cavalry as in Bundelkhand. The ordinary soldier was called Bhaṭa mentioned along with Chāṭa or policeman in inscriptions, as "inam villages were not to be entered by Chāṭas and Bhaṭas". The police department was apparently kept separate from the army which was intended mainly for external enemies. The police had their thanas or gulmas which were under officers named Gaulmikas; and these were probably under the Dāndika of the district and he and others were under the Rājasthāniya. We make these surmises from the order in which these officers are mentioned in inscriptions (See Appendix).

We have no indication in records of this sub-period also as to how the soldiers and officers were paid. They probably got, as stated in Vol. II, cash payment as well as grain from the state granary. The civil officers, however, may have been paid by assignments of lands and villages and in the case of highest officers, both civil and military, of towns.

The army on the battlefield was usually led by the king who always was in the van, riding an elephant. We have described, as far as we could, the fights between the Hindus and the Mahomedans who used the same weapons but different tactics. Both Hindu and Mahomedan armies, however, gave way when the king who led them was killed or lost sight of. As explained in Vol. II. (p. 246) the cause of this behaviour was the absence of the feeling of self-interest in the Hindu or Mahomedan soldiers. They fought for the king and master and not for the nation.

SOURCE OF HONOUR.

The king granted titles. Even the title Śreshṭhin was granted to merchants by the king (E. I. II p. 237).

CHAPTER VI.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

We showed in Vol. II (p. 3) how the second sub-period of Hindu Mediæval History (800-1000 A. D.) was characterised by the rise of the modern vernaculars of India under the combined influence of political and religious causes. Buddhism being supplanted and Hinduism coming to be reconstructed, the study of Sanskrit was resorted to with greater energy and the new philosophy of Śankara especially had to be explained to the people in their own language. The Apabhraṃśa languages, therefore, throughout Aryan India underwent change by the use of Sanskrit loan-words in their original or Tatsama form and Sanskrit and new conjugational and inflexional forms also were introduced from Sanskrit. Even the Non-Aryan languages assumed new forms by the use of pure Sanskrit words and acquired new grace (Vol. II p. 168). Thus the modern Sanskrit-born vernaculars were evolved in the preceding sub-period, viz. Bengali, Hindi Eastern and Western (Rajastānī), Panjabi, Gujarathi, and Marati; as also the modern Non-Aryan vernaculars Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil and Malyalam. In the present sub-period we find all these languages so far developed as to give rise to literature as classical as that in Sanskrit. And it is curious to note that in each of the provinces of these languages different forms of the alphabet also grew out of the same old Sanskrit Devanāgarī alphabet as evidenced by Al-Beruni. He enumerates the different alphabets of India as follows (Vol. I p. 173): "The most generally known alphabet is called Siddha Mātrikā used in Kashmir and Vārāṇasī. These are the high schools of Hindu sciences. The same writing is used in Madhyadeśa, the country round Kanauj also called Āryāvarta". This is the Eastern Hindi script. "In Mālwa there is another alphabet called Nāgar which differs from the above only in shape. Then comes the alphabet known as Ardhanāgarā as it is compounded of the above two. It is used in Bhatia and some parts of Sind. (This is a verification of our view in the geographical chapter that Bhatia town and province (p. 173), was to the north of Sind, a part of the Panjab to the

west of the Jhelum). This is probably the modern Panjabi script. Other alphabets are Malaivari used in Southern India on the seacoast; the Saindhava used in Almeansūra; the Karnāta used in Karnātadeśa 'whence those troops come which in the armies are known as Kannara', the Āndhri used in Āndhradeśa the Dirwari (Drāvidī) used in Dirwardeśa; the Lāri used in Lāradeśa; the Gaurī used in Pūrvadeśa by the Buddhists."

Now this is a complete survey of India so far as alphabet is concerned, and we may take it that it also represents the state of the country as regards language, a state which is practically the same as [now. In Eastern Panjab and Kashmir, down to Benares we have the Eastern Hindi with its peculiar script, in Malwa and Rājputana western Hindi, in northern Sind and Western Panjab we have a language distinct from others; and Sindhi in Sind. On the sea-coast a still more distinct language and writing which is called Malawāri. Perhaps this was imported from Malabar by sea and the Saindhava at Almansura must be a mixed jargon of Arabic and Hindi. Both apparently do not survive now. Gujarati (alphabet and language) apparently had not a distinct existence in 1030 A. D. as even the name Gujarat for the province had not come into existence at that time. It will be seen that Al-Beruni does not mention the Marathi alphabet; probably the Lāri or the language of Lāta as spoken in North Konkan is another name for old Marathi which became uniform when the Yādavas became supreme in the 13th century even in Konkan. Marco Polo (1280) mentions that there were different languages in Gujarat and in Thana. Marathi is now a general language which has suppressed its different dialects viz. the Lādi of North Konkan, the Konkani in south Konkan as far as Goa, and the speech of Mahārastra proper, Vidarbha and Khandesh, owing to the supremacy of the Yādavas and the prevalence of the Bhāgavata worship of Vithoba of Pandharpur both of which things happened about the end of this sub-period viz. from 1170 to about 1200 A. D. That Marathi as a distinct language with minor dialectic differences had not only come into existence but had developed about the 12th century is clear from the literature now found of the Mahānubhāvas and even Dnyāneśvari of 1290 A. D. in its finished excellence presupposes

the development of the language at least a century before, it. We find a Marathi sentence in an inscription from Konkan recorded by the Śilāhāras of Thana. In Bengal also it may be taken that the modern vernacular of that province had come into literary existence at this time. Its different script, the Gaudi, is mentioned by Al-Beruni.

In South India already its different vernaculars, the Kanarese, the Telugu, the Tamil also called Drāvidī and Malyālam had come into literary existence. We have given in Vol. II. (pp. 173-4) extracts from Dr. Sir Grierson's Survey of Indian Languages showing how far Kanarese, Telugu, and Marathi literatures go back.

Besides we have many inscriptions in this sub-period written in Kanarese, Tamil, and Telugu. A Sanskrit inscription of the Eastern Gangas of 1075 A. D. gives its subsequent portion in Telugu (E. I. IV p. 314). We may, therefore, be certain that all the modern vernaculars of India, both Sanskrit-born and Tamil-born, were fully developed at this time as spoken and written languages with graceful literature in each. Mahānubhāva writings in Marathi with Dnyāneśvarī coming a hundred years later, Pampa's Ādipurāṇa in Kanarese, Nannaya's Maṇābhārata in Telugu are works which still survive. Some works in Eastern Hindi and in Rājastānī (Dingal) still exist though they have not yet been studied. And Prithvīrāj Rāsā, though in its present form it is an extensive amplification, in its nucleus goes back, according to our view, to the end of our sub-period.

This vernacular literature is chiefly in verse and is generally a translation or imitation of Sanskrit poems or Purāṇas. But original works in Sanskrit on a vast range of subjects were written in this sub-period to which it would not be out of place to direct the attention of the reader. The great seats of learning were Kashmir and Benares, as even Al-Beruni records and Nadia in Bengal, Tanjore in South India and Kalyan in Mahārāshtra. Kanauj and Ujjain perhaps were also as famous as before; the learned men of the Madhyadeśa who were great Mīmāṃsakas in the time of Bāṇa and Kumārila were still famous, studied Vedas and performed Vedic sacrifices as zealously as before.* The list of subjects includes poetics

* अथान्तर्गतकुण्डमण्डलचन्द्रमावलिश्यामलव्योमाशावल्यं विलोम्य विलसनीलाम्बुदालिभ्रमात् । विप्रास्येरितवेदराशिचित्तोद्धोषोद्धेयद्रुहे सत्यक्षत्रसरा रटन्ति पटवो दृष्टा मुहुः केकिनः ॥ (E. I. I p. 41).

(Alankāra), philosophy, law (Dharmaśāstra), Logic (Nyāya), grammar, astronomy, medicine and music. Mr. P. V. Kane has given a detailed history of the development of Alankāraśāstra and shown how Mammata (1100) and others evolved the theory of Dhvani in this period. Philosophy also had its contribution from Rāmānuja and others which swelled the already vast philosophical literature of India including, as it did, Sāṅkhya and Yoga (common to all), Jain and Bauddha (unorthodox), and Kumārila and Śankara (orthodox) philosophies.* We have already noted how law was studied in all Hindu kingdoms at this period and how solid works like the Mitāksharā were written. In Logic again a new departure was made by Hindu logicians at Nadia. Hemachandra's grammar Siddha Hema has already been mentioned. In astronomy Someśvara son of Vikramānka of Kalyan was a royal author in this period and Bhāskara's Siddhānta-siromaṇi (1150) the greatest Hindu work on the subject belongs to this time. In medicine Dalhana of Bhadāvara near Mathura and Chakrapāṇi, court-physician of Naya-pāla of Bengal, wrote detailed commentaries on Charaka about 1050 A. D. The great learning of king Bhoja of Malwa and his authoritative works on many subjects have already been noticed. The land of Kerala was famous for learned astrologers and physicians (Marco Polo p. 376). On the west coast and the east coast, under the Kadambas and the Cholas, music was greatly studied and dancing was specially developed. And in Kashmir Harsha acquired fame by his musical compositions and also his patronage of music. Thus Hindu intellect maintained its reputation for acuteness and brilliancy in this sub-period by the production of such works as Kāya-Prakāsha and Siddhānta-Siromaṇi, Naishadha Mahākāvya and Gitagovinda the most charming lyric in the world. Indeed this galaxy of eminent authors Bhoja and Mammata, Bhāskara and Rāmānuja, Jayadeva and Śriharsha and many others illumines to some extent this sombre period of Mediæval Hindu history of India.

* All these were zealously studied by learned men of this period as will appear from the following description a great Pandit in E. I. I. p. 41. मीमांसाद्वयपारगो गुरुरसौ-
यःकाश्यपीये नये सांख्ये चाप्रतिमहता निधिचक्षोःक्षपादोक्तिदृक् । यश्चार्वाकविशालमानमलनो दुर्वार-
बौद्धाम्बुधेः पानानन्दितकुम्भसम्भवमुनिर्दिग्वाससामन्तकः ॥

APPENDIX

I. SOME CRITICISMS ANSWERED.

(1) DR. KRISHNASWAMY AIYANGAR ON AGNIKULAS.

Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar in his *Journal of Indian history* (April 1925 pp. 123-124) endorses our view about the Gotra and Pravara of Rajputs and agrees "that our position is sound." He, however, expresses his dissent from our view that the Agnikula tradition is a myth and says that it goes back to centuries earlier than even the Rāsā. We have maintained in Vol. II that the myth arose after the Rāsā, from a wrong construction of its story. The doctor refers to a mention, in a Tamil poem of Sangam date, of a chieftain born in Agnikula. But we have shown that the Paramāra tradition always was that their first hero was born from the sacrificial fire of Vasishtha. But even the Paramāra was known as a solar-race Kshatriya being born from Vasishtha's fire and inscriptions of this sub-period (1000-1200 A. D.) nowhere mention three Rajput vamśas solar, lunar and fire-born. We have already shown the importance of an inscription of the Gāhadavālas wherein Chandra is said to have resuscitated Rajput vamśas which are said to be solar and lunar only (p. 221). And Chandra probably enumerated the 36 Rajput royal families. It is, therefore, certain that in the Mediæval Hindu period only two vamśas of Rajputs solar and lunar were known.

Secondly, Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar refers to the tradition of Pratihāras being born from Lakshmaṇa as known in the south and mentions that the Pallavas were also said to be born from Viṣṇu's brother. But the Doctor forgets that he is arguing here against himself. If he believes that the tradition of Pratihāras being descended from Lakshmaṇa is well founded, then there is no *jumping to the conclusion* that the Agnikula tradition is a myth as the conclusion becomes irresistible and itself jumps on us; for the Pratihāras being really Sūryavamśi can not be looked upon as Agnivamśi. Indeed the Agnikula tradition has no basis in history, being unknown to inscriptions of this period, all the four Agnikula families Chauhan, Paramāra, Pratihāra, and Chālukya being described in inscriptions as solar or lunar. The Marathas in the Deccan have no Agnikuli among them, though they have Chauhan Paramāra, Pallava and Chālukya among them.

(2) P. GAURISHANKAR ON GOTRAS OF RAJPUTS.

Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha of Ajmer, on the other hand, believes the Agnikula tradition to be baseless but holds that the gotras of the Rajputs are not indicative of their descent, but of their discipleship. In short he follows the dictum of Vijnāneśvara laid down in his *Mitāksharā* (c. 1100 A. D.) that Kshatriyas have no gotras of their own but have to take the gotras of their purohitas. In his paper in *Nāgarī Prachārīnī*

Jour. al Vol. V, No. 4 (p. 435-443) he holds that the gotras of the Rajputs were always taken from the purohitas upto the period they observed Vedic ritual; but "now even that is given up and now the gotra of the Rajput and his purohita are different". This itself is wrong for the Rajput still performs Vedic ritual and there is no reason why the gotra of the purohita should be different from that of the Rajput. We have given the arguments which show that Rajputs had always gotras of their own and that Vijnāneśvara's dictum is wrong, in Chapter V, Vol. II. The arguments advanced by P. Gaurishankar against our view are: 1st, that in the Saundarānanda Kāvya of Aśvaghoṣa, Kṛishṇa and Balarāma are shown as taking different gotras from their different gurus and the Śākyas similarly took Gautama gotra; 2ndly, that in inscriptions we have instances of Rajput families having changed their gotras. How both these arguments are ineffectual we proceed to show.

The fact that Kshatriyas have gotras of their own appears from the ancient Vedic Sūtras dating from before 200 B. C. as shown by us in Vol. II and this is our strongest argument. To quote against this Vedic authority a story given in a Buddhist poem of about 200 A. D. has not much value. Indeed this is a question of Dharmaśāstra and must be decided on Dharmaśāstra and particularly Vedic authority. As will appear from the Śāstric opinion obtained recently by us and attache^d hereto, the Vedic Sūtras distinctly hold that Kshatriyas have gotras of their own.

The Buddhist tradition that Kṛishṇa and Balarāma had different gotras because they had different purohitas is absurd and is not known to Hindu Purāṇas. The guru of both was Sāndīpini of Ujjain as stated in Harivamśa and Bhāgavata. Secondly, it is not true that Śrīkṛishṇa's gotra was Gautama as stated in Saundarānanda (Patrikā p. 439) and that of Balarāma was Gārgya. Śrīkṛishṇa's gotra must be Atri as his descendants the Chūdāsamas and others have that gotra still. The statements in the Saundarānanda are on their face absurd and may even be interpolations. We know that the Buddhists made many misrepresentations of Hindu traditions (e. g. they stated that Sītā was wife and sister of Rāma); and one cannot attach any value to this Buddhist poem in this connection.

Nor is the historical argument of Pandit Gaurishankar sound. The instances of change of gotra are all found in inscriptions later than the 12th century and were all influenced by Vijnāneśvara's dictum. Vijnāneśvara's authority being generally respected is still wrongly influencing the Rajput community. But we have quoted in Vol. II inscriptions dating from before the Christian era wherein Kshatriyas mention their gotras. And the Chālukyas of the Deccan and the Pallavas of South India never fail to mention their gotras, Mānavya and Bhāradvāja, in inscriptions which date as early as the sixth century. If these gotras were not their own but were those of their purohitas, they can never be expected to have been mentioned in inscriptions. And indeed inscriptions of later times distinctly mention that the gotra-ṛishi is the progenitor of the Kshatriya clan as we go on to show in detail.

Let us take the four supposed Agnikula clans first : 1 The Parāmāras are distinctly said to belong to Vasishtha gotra because they were *born* from his fire and not because Vasishtha was their purohita. In the Udepur Prasasti we have वसिष्ठगोत्रोद्भव एष लोके ख्यातस्तदादौ परमारवंशः. And this gotra still continues in this clan even among the Marathas. 2 The Chāhamānas are Vatsagotri. In one inscription the first Chāhamāna is said to be *born* from Vatsa Rishi's tear; and in the Bijolia inscription the first Chāhamāna is said to be *born* from a Brahmin of Vatsa gotra (or in the gotra of Vatsa Brahmin or Rishi). Vatsa is not his purohita. 3 The Pratihāras are said to be *born* from a Pratihāra Brahmin and in another place from Lakshmaṇa brother of Rāma. (Their gotra has not been ascertained). 4 The Chālukyas are said to be *born* from Droṇa's chuluka and hence of the Bhāradvāja gotra as stated distinctly in a Kalachūri inscription. In fine, these four Rājput clans are born in the gotras they invariably claim upto now; and the inscriptions referred to above are all of a date anterior to Vijnāneśvara. His dictum was clearly then unknown.

Turning to Rajput clans which are lunar, we find that their gotra is usually Atri and Atri is no doubt their progenitor being the father of the moon according to the Purāṇas. This fact is distinctly stated in the inscriptions of the Kalachūri Haihayas and of the Senas. The Yādavas, the Chudāsamas and the Jādejas also give Atri as their gotra and this is true by the theory of descent and not discipleship.

The solar Rajputs no doubt present a difficulty. The Guhilots of Mewad, the Kachhwahas of Jaipur-Alwar and the Rathods of Jodhpur-Bikaner are solar race Rajputs and their gotras are respectively Baijavāpa, Mānava and Gautama. Now in the Vamśāvalis given from Manu the names of these Rishis do not come in. We have, however, shown in Vol. II that many Brahmin gotra Rishis are Kshatriyas such as Hārīta, Gārgya, Mudgala and others. We have, however, no tradition in the Purāṇas to hold that Baijavāpa, Mānava and Gautama were solar or lunar Rājarshis. For all that we know, they may be. But the most plausible explanation seems to be that these clans, when they became distinct in most ancient days, attached themselves to these Pakshas for ritual practice and were in effect adopted into these families, and therefore they have these gotras and Pravaras. The expression in the Purāṇas that Hārīta and Mudgala attached themselves to the Paksha of Angiras shows this clearly and in one place they are called even sons*. It was by adoption and not by discipleship that these gotras were taken in ancient times. For the theory as well as the fact is that if a different Purohita is taken, the gotra does not change but remains the same. Therefore, the theory of some is that the gotras of these Rājput clans were taken in very ancient times from their Purohitas; but these once taken cannot be changed at any subsequent time (see the opinion quoted below). This is in a sense adoption and this is the reason why the gotras of the Kshatriya clans have remained un-

* हरितो युवनाश्वस्य हरिताः शूरयः स्मृताः । एतेऽहङ्गिरसः पुत्राः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातमः ॥

change ' for centuries. Gotra and Pravara, like the Veda and Śākhā which the clan took up in ancient times for the performance of ritual in accordance with it, cannot change at any subsequent change of purohita.

Gotra and Pravara amongst Brahmins cannot change and they indicate descent and not discipleship ; why should they indicate a different thing among Kshatriyas ? This difficulty, as also the fact that even in ancient inscriptions, Kshatriyas mention their gotras with pride and hence they could not have been borrowed from purohitas led us first to our view and we discussed it with two learned Pandits in Jaipur, Madhusūdana Śāstri (Maithila) and Vireśvara Śāstri (Telanga), and on their agreement propounded it with confidence in our second Volume. As doubts have since been expressed in many quarters, we quote below their written opinion specially obtained for this volume.

१

श्री

जयपुर चै० शु० ५ रवौ सं. १९८२

सन्ति ब्राह्मणानामिव क्षत्रियस्य वैश्यस्य च प्रातिस्विकानि गोत्राणि नवेति प्रश्ने उत्तरम् । दर्शपूर्णमासादियाग प्रकरणस्थे आर्षेयं वृणीते इति विधौ कल्पसूत्रकाराणां सांप्रतिके ग्रन्थान्ते च प्रकरणे प्रवरानिर्णायकसूत्रेषु गोत्राणां वर्णनस्य क्षत्रियवैश्यसंबन्धेन बहुशो विद्यमानत्वेन सन्ति तयोरपि प्रातिस्विकगोत्राणि । याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति-व्याख्यायां मिताक्षरायां तदभावकथनं तु प्रबलहेत्वनिर्देशेन न विश्वासाहमन्येषामपि तथोपवर्णनं तदनुयायित्वेनेति त्यक्तव्यमेवेति मन्यते द्राविडो

वीरेश्वरशास्त्री

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श्री

क्षत्रियोंका उत्पत्तिदृष्ट्या गोत्र मनु है और वैश्योंका भलन्दन हैं. क्षत्रियोंके जो भारद्वाजवत्सादि गोत्र प्रसिद्ध हैं वे पूर्वकालमें उनके प्राचीन पुरोहितोंसे प्राप्त हुये हैं. वे अब बदल नहीं सकते. क्योंकि नया पुरोहित करना मना है. हालमें पुरोहितोंका गोत्र इसी सबबसे भिन्न हैं. यह पुराणे पीढ़ियोंसे चला हुआ गोत्र एकत-हेसे प्रातिस्विक गोत्र होगया हैं क्योंकि वह बदल नहीं सकता.

सम्मतोयमर्थो जयपुरस्थस्य राजपण्डितस्य मधुसूदनशर्मणो जयपुरस्थानम् ३०।३।२५

विद्यावाचस्पतेः

These two opinions proceed on different grounds but come to the same conclusion. Vireśvara Śāstri bases his opinion on the Sūtras and distinctly says that Vijnāneśvara's dictum is wrong. Madhusūdana Śāstri says that the gotras were taken from Purohitas in most ancient times and cannot now change and thus they may even be looked upon as Prātisvika (their own). He thus avoids the above mentioned difficulty, of explaining how the solar Kachwahas of Jaipur have Mānava gotra. The difference of gotra, therefore, indicates difference of clan. The Guhilas of Bhavanagar are different from the Gubilotas of Mewad and the Rathods of Jodhpur-Bikaner are different from the Rathods of the Deccan.

II IMPORTANT EXTRACIS FROM ORIGINAL INSCRIPTIONS.

(1) Bijolia inscription A. S. J. Bengal Vol. LV pp. 41-43

विप्रश्रीवत्सगोत्रेभूदहिचक्रपुरे पुरा । सामन्तोऽनन्त सामन्त पूर्णतल्लो नृप-
स्ततः ॥ १२ ॥ तस्माच्छ्रीजयराज विग्रहनृपो श्रीचन्द्रगोपेन्द्रको तस्मादुर्लभगूर्वको
शशिनृपो गूवाकसच्चन्दनौ । श्रीमद्वप्पयराजविंध्यनृपतिः श्रीसिंहराड्विग्रहौ श्रीमदुर्लभ-
गुन्दुवाक्पतिनृपाः श्रीवीर्यरामोनुजः ॥ १३ ॥ श्रीचण्डोवनिपेतिराणकधरश्रीसिंहलो दूस्-
लस्तद्भाताथ ततोपि वीसलनृपः श्रीराजदेवीप्रियः ॥ पृथ्वीराजनृपोथ तत्तनुभवो रासल्यदेवी-
विभुस्तत्पुत्रोऽजयदेव इत्यवनिपः सौमल्लदेवीपतिः ॥ १४ ॥ हत्वापाधिगमिंचलाभिधयशो
राजादिवीरत्रयं क्षिप्रं कूरुतान्तवक्रकुहरे श्रीमार्गदुर्गान्वितं । श्रीमत्सोल्लुणदण्डनायकवरः
संग्रामरंगांगणे जीवन्नेव नियन्त्रितः करभक्ते येनेष्टनि...सात् ॥ १५ ॥ अर्णोराजोऽस्य
सूनुर्धृतहृदयहरिः सत्त्ववाशिष्टसीमो गाम्भीर्योदार्यवर्यः समभवदपरालब्धमध्योनदीत्सः ॥
तच्चित्रं जंतुजायस्थितिरनृतमहापंकहेतुर्नमथ्यो न श्रीमुक्तां न दोषाकररचितरतिर्नद्विजि-
ह्वाधिसेव्यः ॥ १६ ॥...रुतान्तपथसज्जोभूत्सज्जनो सज्जनो भुवः । वैकुन्तं कुन्तपालो-
गायतो वैकुन्तपालकः ॥ २० ॥ जाबालिपुरं ज्वालापुरं रुता पल्लिका पली । वाततूलतुल्यं
गंगात्तद्वलं च सौर्येण ॥ २१ ॥ प्रतोल्यां च बलभ्यां च येन विश्रामितं यशः । ठिल्लि-
काग्रहणश्रान्तमाशिकालाभलम्भितः ॥ २२ ॥ तज्ज्येष्ठभ्रातृपुत्रोभूत्पृथ्वीराजः प्रभूपमः ॥
तस्मादर्जितशयेनागोहेमपर्वतदानतः ॥ २३ ॥ अतिधर्मरते—पि पार्वनाथस्वयम्भुवे । दत्तं
मोराकरीग्रामं भुक्तिमुक्तिश्चहेतुना ॥ २४ ॥ स्वर्णादिदाननिवहैर्दशभिर्महाद्रिस्तोलानरैर्नगरदा
नचयैश्च विप्राः । येनार्जिताश्चतुरभूपतिवस्तुपालमाक्रम्य चारुमनसिद्विकरी गृहीतः ॥ २५ ॥
सोमेश्वराल्लब्धराज्यस्ततः सोमेश्वरो नृपः । सोमेश्वरनतो यस्माज्जनसोमेश्वरोऽभवत् ॥ २६ ॥
प्रतापलंकेश्वर इत्यभिख्यां यः प्राप्तवान् प्रौढपृथुप्रतापः । यस्याभिमुख्ये वरैर्वीरमुख्याः
केचिन्मृताः केचिदभिद्रुताश्च ॥ २७ ॥ येन श्रीपार्वनाथाय रेवातीरेस्वयंभुवे । शासने
रेवणाग्रामो दत्तः स्वर्गायकाक्षिणा ॥ २८ ॥... (संवत् १२२६ फाल्गुनविद ३)...
षड्विंशे द्वादशगते गुरौतारे च हस्तके । वृद्धिनामनि योगे च करणे तैत्तिले तथा । गुहिलपुत्र
सदाम्बर महंघणसीहाभ्यां दत्त ... नैगमान्वयक्रायस्थछोतिगुसूनुकेशवेन लिखितं ।
नानिगगोविंदसूनपालहणपुत्रदेल्हणेनोत्कीर्णम् ॥

(2) Govindchandra's inscription (1109) I. A. XVIII p. 15.

ओम् परमात्मने नमः । अकुंठोत्कंठवैकुंठकंठपीठलुठत्करः । संरंभः सुरतारंभे स श्रियः
श्रेयसेस्तु वः । अभून्नृपो गाहडूवालवंशे महीतलो नाम जितारिचक्रः । शेते धराभारमशेष एष

शेषः सुखी यस्य भुजे निधाय ॥ प्रध्वस्ते सोमसूर्योद्भवविदितमहाक्षत्रवंशद्वयोस्मिन् ।
उत्सन्नप्रायवेदध्वनिजगदासिलं मन्यमानः स्वयंभूः ॥ कृत्वा देहग्रहाय प्रवणमिह मनः शुद्ध-
बुद्धिर्धारिण्याम् उद्धर्तुं धर्ममार्गान् प्रथितमिह तथा क्षत्रवंशद्वयं च ॥ वंशे तत्र ततः स एष
समभूत् भूपालचूडामणिः प्रध्वस्तोद्धतवैरिविरतिमिरः श्रीचंद्रदेवो नृपः ॥ येनोदारतरप्रतापश-
मिताशेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमद्गाधिपुराधिराज्यमसमं दोर्विक्रमेणार्जितम् ॥ तीर्थानि काशिकुक्षि-
कोत्तरकोशलेद्रस्थानयिकानि परिपालयिताभिगम्य ॥ हेमात्मतुल्यमनिशं ददता द्विजेभ्यो
येनांकिता वसुमती शतशस्तुलाभिः ॥ तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितींद्रश्चडामणिर्विजयते
निजगोत्रचंद्रः । यस्याभिषेककलशोल्लिखितैः पयोभिः प्रक्षालितः कलिरजः पटलं पृथिव्याम् ॥
ख्यातस्ततो रजनिजानिरिवांबुराशेः गोविंदचंद्र इति कान्तिभराभिरामः । राजा-
त्मजेन भवता समुपार्जितानि रामेण दाशरथिनेव यशांसि येन ॥ दुर्वारस्फारगौडद्विरदवरघटा-
कुम्भनिर्भेदभीमो हम्मीरं न्यस्तवैरं मुहुरसमरणक्रीडया यो विधत्ते ॥ शश्वत् संचारिवल्गत्
तुरगखुरपुटोल्लेखमुद्रासनाथ क्षोणीस्वीकारदक्षः स इह विजयते प्रार्थनाकल्पवृक्षः ॥...
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजोपार्जितकान्यकुब्जाधिपत्यश्रीचं-
द्रदेवपादानुद्ध्यात परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमन्मदनपालदेवविज-
यराज्ये ॥ अस्यैवात्मजो महाराजपुत्रगोविंदचंद्रदेवः ॥ सिंधुरोढपत्तलायां रामैठग्रामे समस्त-
महत्तमजनपदनिवासिलोकान् प्रतिवासिलोकांश्च ॥ राजराज्ञीमातृपुरोहितामर्त्याक्षपट-
लिकभांडागारिकभिषक्नैमित्तिकसेनापत्यन्तःपुरिकसमस्ताधिकारिपुरुषादीन् समंज्ञापयति
संबोधयति च यथा । अस्तु वो विदितं अनित्यायुर्गता युष्माभिः वातातपवशात् तृणा-
ग्रलम्भाशयायविंदुरिव न स्थिरपदम् बध्नाति जीवितम् मत्वा ॥...अस्मिन् ग्रामे हलानां चतु-
र्भिप्रमायुः । सजलस्यलः सोमरपाषाणगिरिन्दीवनवाटिकाम्रमधूकलोहलवणाकरऊर्ध्वाधः
सिद्धियुतः सदशापराधदण्डःतृणपर्णाद्याकरआदायसहितः संवत् ११६६ पौष वद्य १५ रवौ
अयेह आसटिकायां देवतामुरैठघटे यमुनायां यथाविधिना स्नात्वा देवमनुष्यपितृतर्पणायनंतरं
भगवंतं सूर्यमुपस्थाय तदनु चाभीष्टदेवतामहेश्वरं पंचभिरुपचारैः समभ्यर्च्य भगवते
जातवेदसे पूर्णाहुतिं दत्वा राहुग्रस्ते सवितरि मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये भट्टब्राह्म-
णाय गूगापौत्राय रिल्हेपुत्राय भट्टकवडग्रामविनिर्गताय सांख्यायनशास्त्रिणे गौतमऐतिथ्य
आंगिरसत्रिप्रवराय श्रुताध्ययनसंपन्नब्राह्मणगुणचंद्राय विशुद्धेन मनसा कुशपूतहस्तोदकेन
क्षित्यब्धिपवर्तांबरं यावत् । राणकश्रीलवणप्रवाहेन चासनत्वेव प्रदत्तो इति मत्वा यथा-
दीयमानं भागभोगकूटकविंशतिच्छवया तुरुष्कदंडं अक्षपटलादाय बलदकिमरगदियानक-
आकरहिरण्यबाह्याभ्यंतरसिद्धि एतत् सर्वं अन्यदपि भूम्यावारणउत्पत्स्यमानं मदाज्ञापालन-
प्रवणैर्भूत्वा एतत् सर्वं अस्मै उपनेतव्यम् । एतत् संतत्यैअपि ॥ न केनाप्यत्र बाधाकार्या
श्रुत्वा मुनीनां वचः लिखितोयं महत्तकश्रीगांगेयानुज्ञया त्रिभुवनपालेन
ठक्कुरश्रीदेवांगस्तुतेन सुनरकुडनेन सातेहरस्तुतेन

(3) Extract from another Gāhadvāla grant.

अकुण्ठोत्कण्ठ० ॥ १ ॥...चतुष्पंचाशदधिकशतैकादशसंवत्सरे माघे मासि शुक्लपक्षे तृतीयायां सोमदिने वाराणस्यामुत्तरायणसंक्रान्तौ अंकतः संवत् ११५४ माघशुदि ३ सोमे वाराणस्यां देवश्रीत्रिलोचनघटे गंगायां स्नात्वा श्रीमद्राजाधिराज श्रीचन्द्रदेवेन... प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा...कौशिकगोत्राय विश्वामित्रौदलदेवरातत्रिप्रवराय छंदोगशास्त्रिणे...गोकर्णकुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वमापद्यसदनो हूहूकान्तं यावत् शासनी-
कृत्य प्रदत्त इति ज्ञात्वाऽस्माभिः पितृदानशासनप्रकाशनार्थं निजनामाङ्कितमुद्रया ताम्र-
पट्टके निधाय प्रदत्तो...श्रीमन्मदनदेवेन पितृदानप्रकाशकः । शासनस्य निबन्धोऽयं कारितः
स्वीयमुद्रया ॥ १० ॥ लिखितं करणिक ठक्कुर श्रीसहदेवेन शिवमन्न मङ्गलं महाश्रीः
श्रीमदनपालदेवेन ॥

(4) Extracts from Gāhadavāla grants E, I, IV

(p.101.) हलदीयप्रत्तलायां महाशोणसौग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगतानपिच
राजराज्ञीयुवराजमंत्रीपुरोहितप्रतिहारसेनापतिभाण्डागारिकाक्षपटलिकभिषड्नेमितिकान्तः
पुरिकदूतकरितुरगपट्टनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषांश्चाज्ञापयति बोधयत्यादिशति च...
स ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सलोहलवणाकरः समत्स्याकरः सपर्णाकरः सगर्तोपरः समधूकचूत-
वनवाटिकाविटपट्टणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सोर्ध्वाधः श्वतुराघाटविशुद्धः ... श्रीवास्तव्यकुलो-
द्भूत कायस्थोल्हणसूनुना । लिखितस्तामापत्रोऽयं कीठनेन नृपाज्ञया ॥

(p. 109) ... यथा दीयमानभागभोगकरप्रवणिकरतुरुष्कदण्डकुमरगदियानक-
प्रभृति समस्तदायान् दास्यतेति ।

(p. 120) वैष्णवपूजाविधिगुरवे

(p. 121) प्रचुरपायसेन हविर्भुजं हुत्वा

(p. 123) प्रवणीकरहिरण्यनियतानियतान् दायान्

(5) Extract from Basahi grant Inscription of Govindchandra
I. A. xiv p. 103

नमो वासुदेवाय ।...संवत् ११६१...यमुनायां स्नात्वा यथाविधानं मन्त्रदेव-
ऋषिमनुष्यभूतपितृंश्च तर्पयित्वा सूर्यं भट्टारकं सर्वकर्तारं भगवन्तं शिवं विश्वाधारं वासुदेवं
समभ्यर्च्य हुतवहं हुत्वा जीवन्तीपत्तलायां वसभीग्रामे समस्तजमपदान् संबोधयति यथा ।
ग्रामोऽयं मया क्षेत्रवनमधूकाम्राकाशपातालसहितः सदशापराधदण्डः भागकूटकदशबन्ध-
विंशत्युक्त्यप्रस्थाक्षपटलप्रस्थप्रतिहारप्रस्थआकरतुरुष्कदण्डवरवक्षेहिरण्यसर्वादायसंयुक्त...
चतुराघाटविशुद्धः.....गौतमगोत्राय.....मेमे पौत्राय.....ज्योतिर्विद्ब्राह्मण अब्हेकाय
प्रदत्तः...लिखितंच पुरोहितजागूकमहत्तकश्रीवाल्हणप्रतिहारश्रीगौतम एषां सम्मत्या

(6) Naihatti grant of Ballālasena E. I. XIV p. 159

ॐ नमः शिवाय...स श्रीकंठशिरोमणिर्विजयते देवस्तमीवल्लभः ॥ वंशे तस्या-
भ्युदयिनि सदाचारचर्यानिरूढी प्रौढा राढामकलितचरैः भूषयन्तोनुभावैः । शश्वद्विश्वा-
भयवितरणस्थूललक्ष्यावलक्ष्यैः कीर्त्युल्लोलैः स्नपितवियतो जाज्ञिरे राजपुत्राः । तेषां वंशे
महोजाः प्रतिभटपृतनाम्भोधिकल्पान्तसूरः...सत्यशीलो...निरुपधिकरुणाधामसामन्तसेनः ।
तस्मादजानि वृषध्वजचरणाम्बुजषट्पदो गुणाभरणः । हेमन्तसेनदेवो वैरिसरःप्रलय हेमन्तः ।
...तस्माद्भूदक्षिल पार्थिवचक्रवर्ति निर्व्याजविक्रमातिरस्कृतसाहसाङ्कः । दिक्पालचक्र
पुटभेदनवीतकीर्तिः पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसेनपदप्रकाशः...अस्य प्रधानमहिषी जगदीश्वरस्य
शुद्धान्तमौलिमणिराम विलासदेवी । देवी सुतं सुतपसं सुकृतैरसूत बल्लाळसेनमतुलं गुणगौरवेन
...स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कंधावारात् । महाराजाधिराज श्रीविजयसेन
देवपादानुध्यात परमेश्वर-परममाहेश्वर-परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमद्बल्लाळसेनदेवः
कुशली समुपजातअशेषराजराजन्यराज्ञिराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यपुरोहितमहाधर्माध्यक्षमहा-
सांधिविग्रहिक महासेनापतिमहामुद्राधिकृतअंतरंगबृहदुपरिक महाक्षपटालिक महाप्रतीहारमहा-
भोगिकमहापीलुपति महागणस्थ दौस्ताधनिकचौरोद्धरणिकनौबलहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविका-
दिष्यापृतक गौत्स्मिकदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविषयपत्याढीन् अन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजी-
विनो अध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तांश्च इह अकीर्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणा-
न् ब्राह्मणात्तेरान् यथार्हं मानयाति बोधयाति समादिशति च । मतमस्तु भवतां यथाश्रविर्धमान
भुक्त्यन्तःपाति उत्तरराढामण्डले स्वल्पदाक्षिणवीथ्यां स्वाण्डयिल्लशासनशासनोत्तरस्थितः
संघाटियानद्युत्तरः नारीचाशासनोत्तरस्थशिंघाटियानदीपाश्रेमोत्तरः...एवं चतुःसीमावाच्छिन्न-
वाह्यहिट्टग्रामः श्रीवृषभशंकरनलेन सवास्तुनालखिलादिभिः तालत्रयाधिकचत्वारिंशत्उन्मा-
नसमेत आढकनवद्रोणोत्तरसप्तभूपाटकात्मकः प्रत्यब्दं कपर्दक पुराणपञ्चशतोत्पात्तिकः
सप्ताटविटपः सगर्तोषरः सजलस्थलः सगुवाकनिरिकेरः सह्यदशापराधः परिहृतसर्वपीडः
तृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः अचाटभटप्रवेशः अकिंचिद्प्रग्राह्यः समस्तराजभोगकराहिरण्यप्र-
धायसहितः । वराहदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय भट्टेश्वरदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय
लक्ष्मधिरदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय भारद्वाजसगोत्राय भारद्वाजाङ्गिरसगार्हस्पत्यप्रवराय
सामवेदकौधुमशास्त्राचरणाध्ययिने आचार्यश्रीओवासुदेवशर्मणे अस्मन्मातृश्रीविलास-
देवीभिः सुरसरिते सूर्योपरागे दत्तहेमाश्वमहादानदक्षिणात्वेन उत्सृष्टः मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च
पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये आचंद्रार्क क्षितिसमकालं यावद्भूमिछिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य
अदत्तोस्माभिः अतःभवद्भिः सर्वैरनुमन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात्
पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् । भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः.....
जितनिखिल क्षितिपालः श्रीमद् बल्लाळसेनभूपालः ओवासुशासने कृतदूतं हरिघोषसान्धि-
विग्रहिकं संवत् ११ वैशाखदिने १६ श्रीः

(7) Extract from Madanapāla's Insc. LXIX J. B. (p. 11).

...रमावतीनगरपरिसरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्दावारात् । परमसौगतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीरामपतिदेवपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः महाराजाधिराज श्रीमन्मदनपालदेवः कुशली ! श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्धनभुक्तौ कोटीश्वरविषये हलावर्तमण्डले काष्ठगिरिसविंशाया-
बाधिकोपेतसकैवदार्वचट्टरट्टके त्रिंशतिकायां भूमौ समुपागताशेषराजपुरुषान् राजराजन्यक-
राजपुत्रराजामात्यमहासान्धिविग्रहिकमहाक्षपटलिकमहासामन्तमहासेनापति महाप्रतिहार-
दौःसाध्यसाधनिकमहाकुमारामात्यराजस्थानीयोपरिक चौरौद्वारणिकदाण्डिकदण्डपाशिकशौ-
निकक्षेत्रपप्रान्तपालकोटपालाङ्गरक्षकतदायुक्तविनियुक्तक हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्रनौबिलव्यापृतक किशो-
रबडवागोमहिषाजाविकाध्यक्ष दूतप्रेषणिकगमागमिक अभित्वरमाण विषयपतिग्रामपातितरिक
शौलिककगौलिमकगौडमालवचोडससहूणकुलिककर्णाटलाटचाटभटसेवकादीन् । अन्यांश्चा-
कीर्तितान् राजपादोपजीविनः प्रतिवासिनो ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् महत्तमोत्तमकुटुंबिपुरोगचण्डाल-
पर्यन्तान् यथार्हं मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च । विदितमस्तु भवताम् । यथोपरि-
लिखितोयं ग्रामः स्वसीमातृणप्लुतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सतलः सोद्देशः साम्रमधूकः सजलस्थलः
सगर्तोपरः सज्ञाटविटपः सदरचापसारः सचौरौद्वारणिकः परिहृतसर्वपीडः अचाटभटप्रवेशः
अकिंचित्करग्राह्यः समस्तभागगोगहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायसमेतः रत्नत्रयराजसंभोगवर्जितः ।
भूमिछिद्रन्यायेन आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये कौत्ससगोत्राय
शांडिल्यासितदेवलप्रवराय पंडितश्रीभूषणसब्रह्मचारिणे सामवेदान्तगर्तकौधुमशाखाध्यायिने
चम्पाहिटीयाय चम्पाहिट्टिवास्तव्यायवत्सश्यामिप्रजापतिश्यामिपौत्राय शौनकश्यामिपुत्राय
पंडितथपुत्रश्रीवरेश्वरश्यामिशर्मणे पट्टमहादेवीश्रीचित्रमाटिकायाः वेदव्यासप्रोक्तप्रवाचित
महाभारतसमुत्सर्जितदक्षिणात्वेन भगवन्तं बुद्धभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोस्माभिः
श्रुतो भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यः भाविरपिभूमिपतिभिर्भूमेर्दानफलगौरवात् अपहरणमहानरक-
पातभयाच्च दानमिदमनुमोदानुमोघपालनीयम् । प्रतिवासीभिश्च क्षेत्रकरैराज्ञाश्रवणविधेयी-
भूय यथाकालं समुचितभागभोगकराहिरण्यादिप्रत्यादेयोपनयःकार्यःइति संवत् ८ चंद्र-
गत्याचैत्रकर्मदिने ५ । ...कृत सकलनीतिज्ञो...श्वैर्यमहोदधिः । सान्धिविग्रहिकःश्रीमान्
भीमदेवोत्र दूतकः ॥ राज्ये मदनपालस्य अष्टमे परिवत्सरे । ताम्रपट्टमिमं शिल्पीं
तथारीतसरोसनत् ॥

(8) Extract from Semra plates of Paramadideva (Chandella)
St 1223 (1166 A. D.) E. I. IV p. 153.

ओम् । स्वस्ति । जयत्याल्हादयन् विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रात्रेय नरेन्द्राणां
वर्षशश्वन्द्र इवोज्ज्वलः । तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्तिवीराविर्भा-
वभास्वरे परमभ. म० प० पृथ्वीदेवपानुध्यात...मदनवर्म...पर०परममाहेश्वरकालंजरा-
धिपति श्रीमत्परमर्दिदेवो विजयी ॥...विकौरविषये सट्टौडा द्वादशक तथा राष्ट्रसत्क टांद-

द्वादशक...ग्रामाणामुपगतान् ब्राह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यानधिकृतान् कुटुम्बिकायस्थदूत-
वैद्यमहत्तरान् मेदचण्डालपर्यन्तान् सर्वान् संबोधयति समाज्ञापयति चास्तु वः संविदितं
यथोपरिलिखिताः ग्रामाः सजलस्थलाः सस्थावरजङ्गमाः स्वसीमावच्छिन्नाः साधरुर्ध्वाः
भूतभविष्यद्वर्तमाननिःशेषादायसहिताः प्रतिपिद्वाद्यादिप्रवेशाः ... अजयसागरसंबद्धलटि-
आनां हलचतुष्टयावच्छिन्ना मदनपुरे भूमिः संवत् १२२३ वैशाखसुदि ७ गुरुवासरे...
विधिवत्स्नात्वा देवमनुष्यपितृन् संतर्प्य भास्करपूजापुरःसरचराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानपिति-
मभ्यर्च्य हुतभुजि हुत्वा कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन नानागोत्रेभ्यो नानाप्रवरभ्यो नाना-
शास्त्राध्यायिभ्यो नानानामभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो प्रदत्ताः...पराशरगोत्रजयशर्मपुत्रहरिशर्मा एषां
पदमेकं...इति मत्वा भवद्भिः भागभोगादिकं सर्वमेभ्यः समुपनेतव्यम् । अमीषां समन्दिरप्रा-
कारान् सनिर्गमप्रवेशान्ससर्वाशनेक्षुकर्पाससणाम्रमधूकादिभूरुहान् सवनश्वध्रिनिधानान्
सलोहायाकरान् सगोकुलान् अपरैरपि सीमान्तर्गतवस्तुभिः सहितान् सबाह्याभ्यन्तरदायान्
भुज्जानानां कर्षतां कर्षयतां दानाधानविक्रयं वा कुर्वतां न केनचित् काचिदूबाधा कर्तव्या
स्वहस्तोयं राजश्रीपरमर्दिदेवस्य मतं मम ॥ लिखितं वास्तव्यवंश्येन पृथ्वीधरेण ।
उत्कीर्णं च पित्तलहारपालहणेन । मंगल महाश्रीः ॥

(9) Bhopal plates of Udayavarman Paramāra I.A. XIV p 254-5

ॐ स्वस्ति जयोऽभ्युदयश्च । जयति व्योमकेशोऽसौ यः सर्गाय बिभर्ति तम् ।
ऐन्दवं शिरसा लेखं जगद्धीजाङ्कुराकृतिम् ॥ तन्वन्तु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः ।
कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिङ्गलाः ॥ परमभ० महारा० परमे० श्रीमद्यशोवर्मदेव-
पादानुध्यात प. भ. म० प० श्रीमज्जयवर्मदेवराज्ये व्यतीते निजकरकृतकरवालप्रसादा-
वाप्तनिजाधिपत्यसमस्तप्रशस्तोपेतसमधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दालङ्कार विराजमान महाकुमार
श्रीमल्लक्ष्मीवर्मदेवपादानुध्यात समस्तप्रशस्तोपेत समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दालङ्कार विराज
मान महाकुमार श्री हरिश्चन्द्रदेवसुत श्रीमत् उदयवर्मदेवो विजयोदयी ॥ विन्ध्यमण्डले
नर्मदापुर प्रतिजागरणक वोढशिरासत्कअष्टाचत्वारिंशन्मध्ये गुणौराग्रामनिवासिनः प्रति-
ग्रामनिवासिनश्च समस्तराजपुरुष वैषयिक पट्टकिल जनपदादीन् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्नोधयत्यस्तु
वः संविदितम् यथा ॥ अस्माभिः श्रीविक्रमकालातीत पट्पञ्चाशदधिकद्वादशशत संव-
त्सरान्तः पाति अङ्के १२५६ वैशाख शुदि १५ पौर्णमास्यां तिथौ विशाखा नक्षत्रे
परिध्रयोगे रविदिने महावैशाख्यां पर्वणि गुवाडा घटे रेवायां स्नात्वा सिनपवित्रवाससी परि-
धाय देवक्रपिमनुष्यान्संतर्प्य चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य समित्कुशतिला-
भाष्टाभूतिभिः हिरण्यरेतसं हुत्वा भानवे अर्घ्यं विधाय कपिलां त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य उपस्पृश्य च
संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा नलिनीदलगत जललवतरलतरं यौवनं धनं जीवितं चावेक्ष्य
... गर्गगोत्राय गर्गशैल्याङ्गिरस इति त्रिप्रवराय वाजसनेयशासिने अमिहोत्रि
यज्ञधरसुत द्विवेद पुरोधास माल्हुशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय उपरिलिखित गुणोराग्रामो निधिनिक्षेप

कल्याण धनसहितः सवृक्षमालाकुलः । चतुष्कण्टकविशुद्धो वापीकूपतडागारामनदीश्रोत
वाडवाटिकाद्युपयुक्तः सर्वाभ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या सह यावच्चंद्रदिवाकरसमुद्रसरिच्छासनीकृत्य
प्रदत्तः तदत्र ग्रामनिवासि पट्टकिलादि लोकैः तथा कर्षकैश्च यथोत्पद्यमानभागभोग-
कराहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा अत्र ग्रामीयं सर्वं अस्मैः प्रदातव्यम् सामान्यैतद्
पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्वा अस्मदवंशैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत् प्रदत्तधर्मादायोयमनुमन्तव्यः
पालनीयश्च ... स्वहस्तोयं महाकुमार श्री उदयवर्मदेवस्य दूतकः श्रीमण्डलिक क्षेमवराजःश्रीः

(10) Extract from Goharwa plates of Karṇadeva E. I. XI p.141

(शिवस्तुतिः... चन्द्रवंशः... भरतः... हैहय...) स एष परम वामदेवपादानुध्यात
प०--परममाहेश्वरात्रिकलिंगाधिपतिश्रीमत्कर्णदेवः निजभुजोषार्जिताश्वपतिगजपतिनरपति-
राजत्रयाधिपतिः कुशली । ... महादेवी महाराजपुत्रो महामंत्री महासान्धिविग्राहिको महामात्यो
महाधर्माधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो महाक्षपटलिको महाभाण्डगारिको महासामन्तो महाप्रम-
त्तवारो महाश्वसाधनिको एतानन्धांश्चाकीर्तितान् यथास्थाननियुक्तराजपुरुषान् कोशाम्बपत्त
लायां चन्द्रपहाग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथांर्ह मानयति बोधयति समाज्ञापयति
विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा ग्रामोयं सजलस्थलः साम्रमधूकः सगर्तोषरः सलोहलवणाकरः
स्वस्तीमार्यतः सवनतृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः । विदभीकोण्डिनगोत्रायाङ्गिरसाम्बरपियोव-
नाश्वत्रिप्रवराय वाजसनेयशासिने उपाध्याय सीलुपौत्राय अवसयिक मालुपुत्राय
पाण्डितश्रीशान्तिशर्मणे ... गंगायां स्नात्वा भगवन्तं शिवभट्टरकं समभ्यर्च्य—
प्रदत्तः इति मत्वा यथादीयमानभोगभागहिरण्यादिसमस्तराजप्रत्यादायाः एतस्याज्ञाश्र-
वणविधेयैर्दातव्या... लिखितं करणिकश्योसर्वानन्देन । उत्कीर्णं च विद्यानन्देन । मंगलं

(11) Extract from Miraj plates of Jayasinha Western Chlālukya of Kalyan A. D. 1024 (I. A. VIII, p. 18).

...स तु श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकसत्याश्रयकुलतिलक-
समस्तभुवनाश्रयचालुक्याभरणश्रीमिज्जगदेकमल्लदेवः श्रीमद्वल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली । सर्वानेव
यथासंबध्यमानकान् राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटकआयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्
समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितम् यथा अस्माभिः शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु नवसु
षट्चत्वारिंशदधिकेषु अंकतः संवत् ९४६ राक्षसी संवत्सरान्तर्गतवैशाखपौर्णमास्यामादि-
त्यवारे यं च द्रमिलाधिपतिं बलवन्तं चोलं निर्घाट्य सप्तकोंकणाधीश्वराणां सर्वस्वं गृहीत्वा
उत्तरादिग्विजयार्थं कोल्हापुरसमीपसमावासितनिजविजयस्कन्धावारात् ... विषयान्तःपाति
मुहुनीरग्रामजाताय कौशिकगोत्राय बह्वृचशासिने बह्वृचारिणे श्रीधरभट्टपौत्राय रेवणार्य-
भट्टपुत्राय वासुदेवार्यशर्मणे यजनयाजनादिषट्कर्मनिरताय वेदवेदांगपारगाय पडदोरेद्वि
सहस्रान्तःपातिकरटिकन्नचिशतमध्ये मडभूरुग्रामः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः निधिनिधान-

समेतः राजकीयानामनङ्गुलिप्रक्षेपणीयः सशुल्कः सर्वकरबाधापहृतः सर्वनमस्योऽ
महारो दत्तः...शासनाधिकारिमहाप्रचण्डदण्डनायकश्रीमत्प्रोणार्यप्रतिबद्धलेखक माइयेण
लिखितम् । मंगलं महाश्रीः श्रीः श्रीः ॥

(12) Extract from Bhadan grant of Aparājita Śilāhāra
E. I. III, p. 267.

ओं ... (समग्रराष्ट्रकूटवंशो वर्णितः) ... श्रीमत्ककुलदेवसंजातव्यपायनष्टभृष्ट-
रट्टराज्ये स्वतेजोनुभावात्समाधिगतपंचमहाशट्ठो तगरपुरे...मलगलगण्ड...नन्निमुद्रप्रताप-
मार्तेड शनिवारविजयादिसमस्तराजावलिसमलंकृत...अपराजितदेवराजः सर्वानेव यथासं-
बध्यमानकान् आगामिग्रामप्रभोक्तृसामन्तराजपुत्रपुरपतित्रिवर्गस्थानप्रभृतिप्रधानाप्रधाना-
न्जनान् प्रणतिपूजासमादेशैः समनुबोधयति...संवत् ९१९ आषाढवदि श्रीस्थानके समव-
स्थितस्य राज्ञो दक्षिणायनकर्कसंक्रान्ति...चतुर्दशग्रामशतोपलक्षितकौंकणान्तःपातिमहि-
रिहारविषयान्तर्गतभादानग्रामो...आधारपडिगह...(दोषसमान्वित !) सोद्वंगसपरिकरःअ-
चाटमटप्रवेशः...श्रीलोणादित्यदेवाय...आम्बूश्रेष्ठिवापैयाश्रेष्ठिमणिकेचलापैयभोजकविप्रगो-
वर्णैयादिगुणपौरनगराधिष्ठितहस्तोदकं विधाय हरिहरहिरण्यगर्भदहनादिदेवान् श्रद्धया
संपूज्य पुत्रपौत्रायुपभोगवृत्तित्वेन ग्रामः प्रदत्तः । भुंजतो भोजयतो वा रुषतः
कर्षयतो वा न केनचित् परिपन्या कर्तव्या । ... महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीमदपराजितदेवो
लेखकहस्तेनारोपयति स्वमतम् मतं मम श्रीमदपराजितदेवस्य विरुदंकराजनियमान्
महामात्य श्रीसंगलैयेमहासान्धिविग्रहिकसीहपैयेच सति जसंगवैयसूनुना सजाताभ्यनुज्ञेन
प्रतिहस्तकअन्नपैयेन शासनमिदं लिखितं तच्च स्थानके ध्रुवमा...तथा भूयोपि व्यवस्था
चात्र नन्वव्यावशप्रतिवीर्षनगरेण राजकुलस्य अर्हणाभाव्यार्थं दरमणौ २६० अंकतः
दातव्यम्।मङ्गलं महाश्रीः

(13) Extract from Bhandup plates of Chhittarāja E. I. XII,
Śilāhāra seal has a raised Garuda and a golden Garuda banner.

...तथैतद्राज्यचिन्ताभारसमुद्बृहत्सु सर्वाधिकारिश्रीनारायणैय्य सांधिविग्रहिकश्रीसीहपैय्य-
कर्णाटसांधिविग्रहिकश्रीकपर्दि श्रीकरणादिर्पचप्रधानेषु सत्सु समागामिराजपुत्रमंत्रिपुरोहित
अमात्यप्रधानाप्रधाननैयोगिकांस्तथाराष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिनगरपतिग्रामपातिनियुक्तानियुक्तराज-
पुरुषजनपदांस्तथा हैयमननगर पौरत्रिवर्गप्रभृतश्च प्रणतिपूजासत्कार समादेशैः
समादिशति शक नृप ९४८ कार्तिकशुद्ध १५ आदित्यग्रहणपर्वाणि स्नात्वा
सवित्रे अर्घ्यं दत्त्वा ... उमापतिमभ्यर्च्य...पाराशरगोत्राय छन्दोगशास्त्रिणे आमदेवाय
...बलिचरुवैश्वदेवामिहोत्रक्रतुक्रियास्त्रपरिग्रहपोषणार्थं १ स्थानकान्तर्गतषट्षष्टिविषयान्तः
पातिगौराग्रामान्तर्वर्तिक्षेत्रं ।.....

(14) Extract from Bhavnagar Insc. p. 157.

ॐ... राज्येऽमुष्यमहीभुजोभवदिहश्रीगूहिलारुयान्वये श्रीसीहार इति प्रभूतगरि-
माधारो धरामडनम् । चौलुक्कांगनिगूहकः सहाजिगः ख्यातस्तनूजस्ततस्तत्पुत्रा बलिनो-
बभुवुरवर्नौ सौराष्ट्ररक्षाक्षमाः ॥...ओ०श्रीसहाजिगपुत्रठ०श्रीमुलुकेनश्रीसहाजिगेश्वरदेवस्या-
नवरतपञ्चोपचारपुजाहेतोःश्रीमन्मंगलपुरमंडपिकायां का० १दिनंप्रति । तथा बलीवर्दछाटमा-
णकाभव्ये छाटं प्रतिका० १कणभृतगडकं प्र०का० ५तथारासभछाटाप्र० ॥ ०तथा
समस्तलोकेन निःशेषवाहिकारैः पञ्चहराबेरीवाटयाप्र० ॥ तथापत्रभरकउंटभरंप्रतिका० २तथा-
पत्रंभरगंत्री प्रतिद्र० १ क्षेत्रं प्रतिउच्चारामाव्येका० १ आगरमध्ये खुंटितखरालिहासाका ।
... तथालाटिवद्रापथकेबहन्तशुल्कमंडपिकायामध्याव दिनंप्रतिठ०श्रीमुलुकेन रूपकैकः
प्रदत्तः ॥ ... १ द्यूतमध्येदिनंप्रतिका१...तथावीडहराकैरीप्रभृतीनां प्रत्येक पत्र ५०...
मडावापूग १...विक्रमसं १२०२ सिंहसं० ३२ अश्विनवदि १३ ॥ कृतिरियं परम
पाशुपताचार्यामहापांडितश्रसिर्वज्ञस्य

III निर्णयसिन्धौ कलिवर्ज्यानि

बृहन्नारदीये-समुद्रयातुः स्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम् । द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्या-
सूपयमस्तथा ॥ देवराच्चसुतोत्पत्तिर्मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः । मांसदानं तथा श्राद्धे वानप्रस्थाश्रम-
स्तथा ॥ दत्ताक्षतायाः कन्यायाः पुनर्दानं परस्य च ॥ दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ ॥
महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधश्च तथा मत्तः । इमान्धर्मान्कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥

हेमा. आदित्यपु.-विधवायां प्रजोत्पत्तौ देवरस्य नियोजनम् । बालिकाक्षतयोन्याश्च वरेणा-
न्येन संस्कृतिः ॥ कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः ॥ आततायिद्विजाग्र्याणां धर्मयुद्धेन
हिंसनम् । द्विजस्याब्धौ तु नौयातुः शोधितस्यापि संग्रहः ॥ सत्रदीक्षाच सर्वेषां कमण्डलुविधा-
रणम् । महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोसंज्ञाप्तिश्च गोसवे । सौत्रामण्यामपि सुराग्रहणस्य च संग्रहः ॥ अग्नि-
होत्रहवन्याश्च लेहो लीढापरिग्रहः । वृत्तस्वाध्यायसापेक्षमघसंकोचनं तथा । प्रायश्चित्तविधानं
च विप्राणां मरणान्तिकम् । संसर्गदोषस्तेयान्यमहापातकनिष्कृतिः ॥ वरातिथिपितृभ्यश्च
पशूपाकरणक्रिया । दत्तौरसेतराणां च पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः ॥ सवर्णान्याङ्गनादुष्टैः संसर्गः
शोधितैरपि । अयोनौ संग्रहे वृत्ते परित्यागो गुरुस्त्रियः ॥ परोद्देशात्मसंत्याग उद्दिष्टस्यापि
वर्जनम् । प्रतिमाभ्यर्चनाथार्थ्य संकल्पश्च सधर्मकः ॥ अस्थिसंचयनादूर्ध्वमङ्गस्पर्शनमेव च ।
शामित्रं चैव विप्राणां सोमविक्रयणं तथा ॥ षड्भक्तानशने चान्नहरणं हीनकर्मणः ॥

माधवीये पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदयेच—शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्राद्द्वितीयासीरिणाम् । भोज्यान्नता
गृहस्थस्य तीर्थसेवातिदूरतः ॥ शिष्यस्य गुरुदारेषु गुरुवद्वृत्तिशीलता ॥ आपद्वृत्तिर्द्विजा-
ग्र्याणामश्वस्तनिकता तथा । प्रजार्थे तु द्विजाग्र्याणां प्रजारणिपरिग्रहः ॥ ब्राह्मणानां
प्रवासित्वं मुस्त्रामिधमनक्रिया । बलात्कारादिदुष्टस्त्रीसंग्रहो विधिचोदितः ॥ यतेश्च सर्ववर्णेषु
भिक्षाचर्या विधानतः । नवोदके दशाहं च दक्षिणा गुरुचोदिता ॥ ब्राह्मणादिषु शूद्रस्य
पचनादिक्रियापि च । भृग्वभिपतनैश्चैव वृद्धादिमरणं तथा ॥ गोतृप्तिशिष्टे पयसि शिष्टैराचमन-
क्रिया । पितापुत्रविरोधे तु साक्षिणां दण्डकल्पनम् ॥ यतेः सायंगृहत्वं च सूरिभिस्तत्त्व-
दार्शीभिः । एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ॥ निवर्तितानि विद्वद्भिर्व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ।

निगमः—अग्निहोत्रं गवालम्भं संन्यासं पलपैत्रिकम् । देवराच्चसुतोत्पत्तिं कलौ पञ्च
विवर्जयेत् ॥ एतत्सर्वाधानपरम् । स्मृतिचन्द्रिकायाम् । चत्वार्यब्दसहस्राणि चत्वार्यब्द-
शतानि च । कलेर्यदा गमिष्यन्ति तदा त्रेतापरिग्रहः ॥ संन्यासश्च न कर्तव्यो ब्राह्मणेन
विजानतेति व्यासवचनं व्याख्यातम् ॥ सर्वाधानेपि विशेषमाह देवलः । यावद्वर्णविभागोस्ति
यावद्देदः प्रवर्तते । संन्यासं चाग्निहोत्रं च तावत्कुर्यात्कलौ युगे ॥

INDEX.

- Abdul Futah 47
 Abdulla bin Maimun 39
 Abdul Malik 11
 Abdul Rashid 140
 Abdulla Tai 46, 60
 Abu Ali 29
 Abu-Baker 81
 Abu-Inscription 154
 Abul-Fath Bosti 35
 Abul Fazal 304
 Ādivrman 312
 Adhi-Rajendra 312
 Adhyakshas 489
 Administration 457
 Āgamas 439, ff
 Agnikulas 475
 Agriculture in Mediæval India 393-4
 Ahalyabai 166,
 Ahimsā (in the north) 371, 400,
 411, 413, 424, 457
 Ahmadshah Abdali 10, 45, 48, 49
 Aiyangar, Dr. Krishna Swamy 475
 Ajmer 4, 44, 339, fall of 341
 Akbar 98, 101, 185, 205, 213
 Al-Baihaki 98
 Āl-Beruni 3, 4, 6, 7, 17, 21, 27, 28, 36,
 37, 41, 42, 57, 61, 62, 64, 67, 69, 80,
 84, 87, 99, 101, 138n. 179, 188, 195,
 277, 302, 304, 373, 384, 431, 435,
 Alexander, cavalry 27, 28, 116, 127, 128
 Alexandria 94
 Alha 183
 Al-Idrisi 20
 Allauddin Khilji 224, 280, 281, 282, 302
 Al-Mas'audi 18, 19, 20
 Alphabets of India 471, 472
 Alptagin 11, 13, 28, Similarity with
 Maloji 13
 Al-Rukhaj (Arachosia) 23
 Altamash 348, 357, 335, 357 H.
 Altontash 51
 Al-Utbi (Historian) 23
 Ānandapāla 18, 22, 33, 36, 40, 41, 42
 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 56, 57, 69, 128
 Anantadeva of Thanā 243
 Anantārāja (king of Kashmir) 310
 Anantavarman Chodaganga 267-9
 Anhilwad 89, &c. fall of 349-50
 Animal food, 375, 413, Sacrifices
 Aniyanka Ehima 269
 Ansuri 98
 Antarvedi 2, 13
 Aparāditya II 245
 Aparājita 242
 Appar, Śaiva saint 276
 Army, of foreigners 11, of Hindu
 kingdoms 370
 Arslan 141
 Asad 10
 Ā śādśhara, Jain writer 175
 Asjudi 28
 Astapradhan of Shivaji 455
 Aśoka 63, 265, 270
 Assemblies, of people in S. India 467
 Astronomy 474
 Āśvapati 126
 Ātpurā Inscription 153
 Aurangzeb 31, 114
 Authors in Mediæval India 474
 Babar 102
 Baihaki 13, 132-134, 136-137, 189
 Bajirao 57, 59
 Bakerganj (inscription) 354
 Balaji Vishwanath 22
 Balkh 29, 48
 Ballāla Sena 233
 Bāṇa 72
 Bāṇagangā 52
 Bāṇapura (inscription) 154
 Bannerji R. D. 232-233, 226
 Bannu 37

- Bappā Rāwal 150
 Baran 73
 Barbaraka 199
 Bāri 3
 Basava 420 -his teachnigs 421
 Bāthinda 16, 17
 Battle-of Chhachh 45, of Tarain 333
 Rāsā account of 337, 338
 Bazan 4, 36
 Beef and the Hindus, 400
 Behram 141
 Bektuzun 30
 Benaras 55, 134, 384
 Bengal - Conquest of 352 ff,
 Bhadrabāhu 406
 Bhāgavata 293
 Bhagavanta-Bhāskara 299
 Bhagvadgita 28, 404, 42
 Bhandarkar, D. R. 231, 235, 236
 Bhandā, R. G. 261, 293, 294, 425, 426
 Bhandup (inscription) 243
 Bhāskarācharya 282
 Bhatia 34, 37-38, 40, 471
 Bhatinda 41
 Bhāva-Brihaspati 203
 Bhavanagar 301, inscriptions of 487
 Bhelsa 358 or Bhāilsān 4
 Bhera 36, 41
 Bhima I. 60, 61, 89-20, 197 II 206-9
 Bhimadeva 21
 Bhīm-nagar 51
 Bhinmal 4
 Bhoja 4, 27, 44, 149, 187, 189, 211, 213
 255, 270, 474, Patron of learning
 156, - his systew of Government
 157, - his works 156, - defeats
 Turks 158 - his death 161-163,-his
 generosity 166-167
 Bijairai 34, 135, 36
 Bijolia (inscription) 145, 146, 149 150
 Bilhana 160, 169n, 175, 257-59, 278,
 Bokhara 10, 29, 30, 33
 Brahmakshatra 235
 Brahmin-caste subdivided 375 ff.
 subdivisions according to country
 of residece, 378 to philosophy 379
 Brahmins, their food 381, - and law
 of marriage 380. 381, - migrating
 380 - as soldiers 111
 Brāhmaṇapāla 18
 British Empire 58, 67
 Buddha 120-241
 Buddhism — spread of 405, dis-
 appearance 406,-teachings of 405,
 Buddhist mathas 439
 Bühler 199
 Bundikota 302
 Bust 23,
 Caste, Ramification of 373 ff—Al-
 Beruni's description of, 373-374,
 444,-difference between Persia
 and India 374ff, racial and occupa-
 tional 393,-its manifold sub-divi-
 sions 375,-and marriage 378,-rigi-
 dification of 363-64, 366.
 Cavalry 27-28
 Ceremonies, multiplied 440-441
 Chāhamānas 145 ff
 Chakrapāni 474
 Chakravartin definition 448
 Chālukyas (of Anhilwad) 159
 Chālukyas (Kalyan) 159 Later 253 ff
 Chambā—history of 312-313
 Chāmunda 197
 Chandanwah—battle of 343
 Chandellas 4,16,85, 86, 179ff 306, 351
 Chandrarai 65, 77, 79
 Chandradeva 163, 189, 210 ff
 Changiskhan 70, 96, 100
 Chauhans 4, 27,-of Nadul 301, 340 ff
 Chāvadas 450
 Chedi 4, 187 ff
 Chhachh 45, 47, 49
 Chhittrāja 243
 Child-marriages-origin 395 prevail-
 ing custom 396 and Buddhism 396
 Child-widows 397
 Chitorgadh (inscription) 154
 Chitpavans 22, 380
 Cholas of Tanjore 273 ff
 Chudāsamas 300

- Colebrooke 135
 Complexion of various peoples 9
 Coins 143, 165, of Shahi kings 65
 Conversion—28, 32, 36, 402
 Cows—slaughter of 400
 Cunnigham, General, 304
 Dalhana 474
 Dāmaras 311
 Dānasāgara 233, 440
 Dara Shikoh 12
 Delhi 7, 27, 44, — fall of 339, 340 —
 302; of Prithvirāja. 326-327
 Deshmukh 463
 Deshpande 463
 Devapāla 305
 Dhanapāla 168
 Dhanga, 26, 44, 113
 Dhāravarsha 301
 Dharamohand 54
 Dharmaśāstra, — study of — 440
 Disposal of the dead 400
 Divatia Mr. 195
 Divorce, absence in Hindus 397
 Documents 464
 Drinking 400
 Duff, Miss 16
 Durlabha 145, 147, 197
 Dvyāśraya Kāvya 200
 Eastern Gangas of TriKalinga 265
 Elephanta caves 252
 Elephants 29, 116, 372
 Elliot 15, 16, 23, 25, 28, 32, 34, 36, 37,
 40-41, 43, 45, 52, 56, 60, 436 etc, etc
 Elphinstone 23
 Empire — idea of 449
 Epicurianism in Hindu religion—416,
 Executive 457
 Expenses of kingdoms 452
 Fast days, Al-Beruni on 441, 445
 Farukhi 98
 Farukhjad 141
 Festivals, Al-Beruni on 441, 446
 Firdusi 101
 Firishta 15, 23, 27, 43-45, 49, 56, 62
 68, 69, 78-83, ff.
 Firozshah 53
 Firoj Tughlaq 272
 Fleet Dr. 261, 288, 290, 293-94
 Food 399
 Foreigners 396
 Gāhadavālas 80, 342, 344
 Gakkhars 43, 45, 46, 46n. 50, 345
 Gauda 44, 46
 Gāndhāra 28
 Gangas—See Eastern
 Gāngeya 4, 187 ff.
 Ganimi Kāvā 58
 Garbhādhāns 400
 Garjistan 59
 Garuda, seal and banner 446
 Gauda-Sarasvatas 379
 Gaurishankar 148, 152, 206, 207,
 213, 232, 256, 257, 281-284, 300, 301
 304, etc. etc.
 Gautamas-of U. P. 298
 Gayakarna 190
 Genealogical Tables of :—
 Chānamānas of Sambhar 146, Gubi-
 lots 153, Paramās 177, Chandellas
 of Mahoba 185, Haihayas of Tri-
 pura 192, Chālukyas of Anhilwad
 209, Gāhadavālas 216, Pāla kings
 of Bengai 230, Sena kings 238,
 Śilaharas of Thana 250, dater
 Chalukyas of Kalyan 262, Eastern
 Ganges 272, Cholas of Tanjore 280,
 Kadambas of Goa 295, Kadambas
 of Hangal 296, Rattas of Saun-
 datti 296, Śilaharas of Karad 296.
 Ghaisas Brahmins 295
 Ghaznavide 29, 42, 48
 Ghazni 11, 19, 24, 45, 46, 51, 57, 70
 Ghiyasuddin Ghorī 141, 142
 Ghor-country 58,—royal line 329 ff.
 Gibbon 23, 75, 88 94, 97, 113
 Gilgit-Vedic civilization at 6
 Godāna 400
 Gotras of Rajputs 475 ff
 Govinda III 80
 Govindachandra 211 etc

- Govindasing 130
 Grammar 474
 Grierson, -Sir 6
 Guards—foreigners as 11
 Guhilot kings 150
 Guhilas of Bhavnagar 301
 Gunpowder, discovery etc. 115
 Gūvaka 145
 Gwalior 44, fall of 357, 358
 Haihayas 4, 154, 187 ff
 Hājib 11
 Hammira-charita 148, 150, 198, 321, 356
 Hammira, title of, 10
 Hamidulla 87
 Hangal 289
 Hanjamana, nagar 251
 Hansi 137, 340
 Harakeli drama 149
 Haraprasād Śāstri 231n, 307-8
 Harsha 23, 123, 204, 210, 213, 269
 Harsha-king of Kashmir 310-311
 Harivṛmśa 269, 280
 Harlotry 398
 Halāyadha 234
 Hazro 47, 49, 50
 Helmand 19
 Hemādri 440
 Hemachandra 194, 196, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 411, 474
 Himalayan kingdoms 309 ff
 Hinduism, changed aspect of 431 ff
 modern, 443, split in 427
 Hindu kings, neglect armies 123
 unity among 113, character 27
 Hindus, their army, 113, their horses 115, their humanity 116, their political ideas 117, their political apathy 125, their soldiers 29, 39, lack of stubbornness 90, superiority in arms 115, lack of religious zeal 124.
 Hsien Tsang 1, 4, 21, 76, 84, 93, 126
 Honour, source of 470
 Hornle 217, 226
 Hoyasalas of Halebid 283-284
 Huṇa, a Rajput clan 158
 Ibrahim 141
 Ibn Asir 87, 88
 Identification of Thanesar Expe. 68
 Idols, famous 437
 Idolatry of the Hindus 93, 96
 Idol, worship 434 ff. in Jainism and Buddhism 408
 Idols of Rāma 437
 Idols, of different metals 435
 Ilakkhan 30, 33, 39, 41, 48, 59, 70 116, 120
 India Al-Beruni's book on 1
 Indus 20, 28, 36, 37, 40, 40, 45, 49
 Inscriptions of Kabul kings 21, extracts from 478 ff
 Inscription writers 178
 Intelligence Department 50
 Iron-pillar at Delhi 303
 Ismail 10 son of Sabuktigin 23
 Istargin 51
 Jadejas 300
 Jagadeva Parmara 200
 Jagannath temple built 268
 Jagsom 67, 476
 Jahāndadkhan 46
 Jaichand 342 ff. 215
 Jails 466
 Jains in Hindu courts 407, and Sanskrit 407 and Schools 407 teachers 407
 Jainism 371, its rise and decline 403, 408 decline in Tamil, Karnatak and Andhra 410, progress in Gujarat 407 ff. comp. with Buddhism 403, influence of 400, Literary activities 406, in the north 412, Subdivided 406, 411
 Jaipal 22, 24, 27, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 40, 61, 66, 122, 123, abstains from wine 26, as a general 122, 123 prisoner of Mahmud 31, Death by cremation 33 Jayapāladeva 21
 Jajahuti 4
 Jajjamau 3

- Jalalabad 28
 Jalandhara 9
 Jandbal 77
 Janjuas 62
 Jayadeva 234-474
 Jayantasinha 207
 Jayasinha 160, 192, 199, of Kalyan 255, 6
 Jayaswal Mr, 188
 Jelalludin 96
 Jonaraja 309
 Judicial administration 465, Al-Beruni on 466 ff.
 Juma masjid of Ghazni 82
 Jvālāmukhī temple 50
 Kabul 3, 9, 10, 16, 19, 20
 Kachhapaghātas 305
 Kachhwahas 305, 306, 357, Haraprasād Shastri's view on 307, 308,
 Kadambas, of Goa 291, 292, of Hangal 289, 90
 Kadir Billa, Khalifa 40
 Kadir Khan 39
 Kākatīyas of Warangal 282, 382
 Kalachūris (of Kalyan) 263
 Kalachūri Haibayas of Chedi 187 ff.
 Kalanjar 44, 351 Expedition against by Mhmnd 81, fall of 351
 Kalāśa (Kashmir) 310, 312
 Kalhana 53, 72, 167, 218, 247, 359, 384
 Kalidāsa 8, 89, 176, 171, 284
 Kalingatupparani 279
 Kalivarjas 445, ff 488
 Kalyan 222
 Kamalaverman 21
 Kanauj 2, 3; 2, 28, 44, fall of 342, (fall of, before Mahmud) 76 ff
 Kandhar (Gāndhāra) 17
 Kangra Katoch (Rajputs) 317
 Kanishka 196
 Kanji (Kanchi) 3
 Kane P. V. 474
 Karhad 207, 293
 Karade Brahmins 295
 Karn Rai 350
 Karnika 463
 Karṇa (Chedi) 188 ff
 Karṇa (Chālukya) 198
 Karmatian sect 39, 41, 69
 Karpūra-Manjari 371
 Kasdar 23
 Kashmir 13, 49, Alberuni's description of 5, History of 309, 11
 Kashtawar History of, 317, 18
 Kāyasthas 391
 Keralas of Travancore 285-6
 Kerowli, Yadavas 299
 Khajuraho 4, 186
 Khilafat 41, 71
 Khokkars 46
 Khorasan 40
 Khutba 41
 Khusru Malik 330
 Kielhorn 148, 161, 2, 173, 174, 177, 182, 184, 188, 198, 201, 205, 208, 210, 213, 214, 215, 242, 245, 262, 265, 267, 283, 293, 304,
 Kingdoms (number) 447
 Kingship 458
 Kīrtistambha 346-7
 Kolhapura, Mahalakshmi of 293
 Kotkangra (History of) 50, 52, 56, 95 311, 10
 Krishna Miśra 181
 Kshatriyas 84, 380, the relative position of Families and Marriage 385, Three subsections 374 ff 387 Ruling and agricultural 388, of the south 388, Study Vedas 384 432 Exist in Kaliyuga 432
 Kubhā (a river) 9
 Kulachandra 73² 74
 Kumārapāla 201, Charita 219
 Kumārila 227, 444, 474
 Kunk (Konkan) 3
 Kutubminar 346 A.
 Kutubuddin 113, 184, 207, 208, 303 356 Life of 340 ff, 344, 348 ff.
 Lāda Brahmins 381 ff
 Lahore 19, 21, as written in Persian Lohavur,

- Lakhnauti** 315-16, 351, 353 ; Sena kings of 231
Lakshmanasena 232, 233 ff, era 232. 234
 his flight defended 355
Lakshmidhara 213, 282
Lalliya 10, 16, 19, 20
Lamghan 25, 28
Land (-measurement) 463
Lane Poole 23, 97 f. 102, 112
Language at Ghazni and Delhi 13
 of Bengal 233 ff, 254
Lele 157, 158, 139, 161n, 163, 168, 176
Legislature 458
Lingayata, 42n
Lingayat schism 418 ff
Literature 473-474
Local administration 469
Logic 474
Lohapura 20
Lohara dynasty 311
Luard 157, 158, 161, 161n, 163, 168, 270, 171, 174n, 172, 173, 175, 176
Madana (drama writer) 176
Madanapāla 229 ff of Badaun 136, 219
Madanavaman 182-3-5
Madhusudana Shastri on gotras 478
Mādhva-philosophy 425
Mahābhārata 22, 26, 43, 51, 52, 73, 74, 122, 127, 131, 229, 274, 284, 285, 427
Mahākāla temple destroyed 358 ff
Mahammad (Bhaktiyar) 352
Mahmūd (Ghazni), -invasions of 1, -birth of 15, expedition to Somnath 89, 92, -builds Jama mosque 96, -death and character 97 ff, -his sons 97, 132, -titles of 97 -patron of learning 98, -and religion 99 -charged with avarice 101, -his cruelty in war 116. See also 12, 23, 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 37, 39, 40-43, 48, 49, 139, 188, 198, 213, 319
Mahammad Ghorī 141, 187, 205, 330, ff. 336, 339, -death of 345
Mahammad Tughlaq takes Kangra-fort 53-54
Mahomedan tactics in battle 334, 336
Mahārāstra Preface, 7, etc.
Mahāvamsa 298
Mahāvira-comp with Gautama 405
Mahīpala 225, 226
Mahoba 186
Mahodaya city 3
Mahomedanism—Spread of 401
Malik Kafur, Preface, 280, 281, 283, 284
Māloji 13
Mammata 474
Mānasottash 260
Mandagir 5
Mandawar 356
Mandi, history of 315
Manglānā (inscription) 341 ff.
Mankha 244. 247
Mansur 11, 25, 30, 39
Mannūni 52
Marco Polo 245, on Lāda Brah. 381 ff.
Marathas 11, 46, 114 to 114
Marāthadeśa 5
Maratha Kshatriyas 385
Marathi 472, 473
Marriage—custom change in 395
Maṭhas 439
Margalla pass 60
Mas'and 132, 135, 138
Mathūrā 41 fall 70, 95
Māzi Amir 10
Medicine 474
Menon K. P.—on assemblies 468
Merceuary soldiers 469
Merutunga 161, 162, 194
Meruvarman 312
Mewad 359
Mihirkula 129
Military administration 469,
 „ officers 470
Minhaj-us-siraj 132
Ministers 453
Mitaksharā 440, 474
Mohyal Brahmins 22
Moksha, views on 428
Monarchies in India 447

- Moshanaśva 316
 Mubarak 246
 Mūlaraja 87 196 206
 Multan 1 34-39, 40, 42
 Munja 24
 Muntasir 12
 Nadiad 474
 Nāgda, fall of 359
 Nagpur Praśasti 170, 188
 Nagar Kot 50 ff.
 Nāharwala (Analhiwad) 56, 350
 Nandana (Ninduna) 60, 62, 63
 Napoleon 90, 98
 Narasinha worship 84
 Narsinha varman 191
 Narayandas 21
 Nardin 56, 60
 Nazin 98
 Nasir-ud.-doula 12
 Nasr II 10
 Nationality-want of feeling of in
 Hindus 368, 450,-causes 451
 Nayachandra Sūri 223
 Nemavar 5
 Nepal, history of 311-12
 Nialtagin 133, 134, 187
 Nirnaya Sindhu 488
 Nishapur 29
 Nizamuddin 29, 80, 83, 15, 86
 Nizamuddin Ahmad 60
 Northern India Principle causes of
 downfall 359 ff Subsidiary causes
 368 ff
 Nuh 11, 12, 28, 30
 Nurpur, -history of 313-15
 Officers of kings 454
 Ogatei 96
 Ordeals 467
 Orissa 270-2
 Ornaments 399,-on battle field, 32
 Padmagupta 167
 Padmasambhave 315
 Pāla kingdom 7
 Panchayats 466
 Pandyas of Madura 284
 Panipat 45, 46, ff
 Panjab 17, Downfall-Apparent causes
 111-7 Probable causes 118-131
 Paramāra 44 91 s.of Dhar Bhoja 156ff
 later kings 169 ff
 Pariharas 305, 351
 Parshawar 28
 Parvagupta 311
 Pāsupata Philosophy 419
 Patel (Patil) 463
 Pathak Prof. 289
 Pathankof 313, 314
 Pattala 19
 Pattakila 460
 Patta-mahishi 458
 Pattavardhana 376, 382
 Peshawar 1 19, 31, 43, 49. battle 32
 Peshwas 20
 Phallus worship 418, 421
 Pillai Mr. P. Sunder 285, 286
 Pippalla tree at Allahabad 3
 Pliny 247, 265, 284
 Police 466
 Political Geography of India 1-7
 Poona 111, 14, 20, 29
 Political condition 447 ff
 Probodha-Chandroda Drama 181
 Pratapavardhana 67
 Pratihāra Kings 2-28-126
 Pravara 377
 Prithvirāja, - birth of 321-326 defeat
 of 334, - death of 335, 146, 147, 256
 301, 331
 Prithviraja vijaya (poem) 150, 521, 525
 Pujyapāda 407
 Pujāris 438
 Purāṇasi-minor 443, amplified 442
 Puranic gods 441
 Puru Jaipal 60-89
 Radhā cult 415
 Raghunandana 157
 Rajamārtanda 156
 Rāja Mringāṅka Karna 156
 Rajastan, Tod's 145

- Rajaśekhara 115, 448, Geography of
 India as given by, 18
 Rājataranginī 19, 45, 61
 Rājaraja (Ganga) 267, 273 ff
 Rājawade V. K. 246
 Rājendra 277-8-Kulottunga 279
 Rajput families, 36, 384, 388 ff, Their
 status 383, Their fall 361-62
 Rajputs 19, 20, 25, and their learning
 394, from Western Himalayas 386
 Rājyapāla 70, 73, 76, 78, 80, 135
 Ramākarana (Pandit) 300
 Rāmānuja 284, 416, 474
 Rāmāyaṇa 43, 66, 234, 236
 Rambhā-Manjarī 219, 220, 222
 Rāmeshwar 6
 Raṇapurā (Inscription) 155
 Raṇthambhor 341 ff, 356
 Rāsā 145, 147, 152, 163, 194, 215, 221,
 256, 301, 303, 332, 337, 342, 384, 433
 Rashiduddin 87
 Rasikasanjīvanī 176
 Rāshtrakūtas, Badaun 300, 297, 450
 Rattas of Saundatti 288-9
 Rathayātrā 441
 Ratnasūri Jain Muni 172
 Raverty 11, 16, 17, 100
 Reconversion stopped 444
 Religious disunion 401 ff.
 Revenue administration 458 ff
 Revenue officers 462
 Rights of villagers 460
 Rigveda 67, 269
 Rathods 215, ff, 222, 300, 342
 Rūpasundarī 267

 Sabuktagin, 12, 13, 14, 19, 23, 27-29,
 40, 43, 44, 47, 66, 147, 154, 158
 Sachan 2, 27, 64, 112
 Sacrifices occasional 433, daily 432
 Sadāshiva Bhau 45
 Sadi 92
 Sahāni, R. B. Dayāram 21
 Sāhilavarman 27
 Śaivism, and flesh 419, 420, history
 of 418, new or vrīa 417, revival 410
 Śaivites 65, ascetics 439
 Śākhā, mention of 377
 Salar Mas'aud 136
 Salt-tax 460
 Samāni Empire 25, 59, 66,
 Sāmanta Chāhamāna 145, dynasty 30
 Samantabhadra 407
 Sāmanta (shāhi) 65
 Sāmanta 370
 Samarcand 54
 Sambhāji 133, 139
 Sāmbhar, Kingdom 4, 145 ff
 Samrāt definition of 448
 Samudra-gupta 213
 Samsārachand 54
 Sangrāmārāja 309-310
 Śankarāchārya 127, 285, 474
 Sankhya 474
 Sanyogitā 323-324
 Śaradā, idol 437
 Sarasvatikanthābharana 156
 Sarda Ma Harbilas 148
 Sardesai 112
 Sāsbahu temple of, Gwalior 305
 Śastras, studied 474
 Sati 188, 398
 Satyā śraya 255
 Saundatti 288
 Sāwandrai 135
 Science of war 371
 Seats of learning 473
 Senas of Lakhnauti 231 ff chrono-
 logy of 238-40 their caste 235
 Sengars of Jagamanpur 298-299
 Serendib 40
 Shahaji 13-29, 121
 Shahi, kings 19, 20 22
 Shar (king) 59
 Shihabuddin Ghorī 62, 146, 147, 150,
 152, 299, defeat of 332, 361
 Shivaji 13, 29, 31, 43-50, 52, 58, 98,
 102, was he a bandit? 106 ff, 121, 133,
 140, 248, 274, comp, with Mahmud
 Shriharsha 216
 Shrikanthābharana 244
 Shyāmaladasa Kavirāja 145

- Siddhānta-vijaya 247
 Sijistān 3
 Sind 2, 5, 111
 Sindas of Yelburg 287
 Sīstān 31, 34
 Śilāhara kingdom 5, of Thanā 241ff.
 of Karad 293, 295
 Silāditya 204
 Śiva and Vishnu idols 425
 Sirhind 331
 Skanda Purāṇa 8
 Slaughter of animals prohibited 204
 Slave dynasty 348 ff
 Smith, Sir Vincent 15, 16, 18, 23, 27,
 85, 123n. 114. 161, 162, 196, 180,
 181, 184, 186, 224, 225, 228, 230,
 232, 233, 236, 273, 275, 276, 279
 Solankhapāla 305 357
 Someśvara I, 256-7 II 258. III 260, 474
 Somnath, expedition 87, 89, 95, 203,
 437, note on 91, temple at 90
 Sphalapati 20
 Sprenger Aloys 20, 20n.
 Srīmāl 4
 Standing army 449
 State, science of 371
 Stein Konow 61, 227, 228
 Subcastes 397, origin 392
 Subrahmanya Aiyar 273, 274, 275, 282
 Sudāsa 21n
 Śuradas 392
 Suket-history of 315
 Śulanātha 157
 Śulka 462, 464
 Sun-idol of, Multan 436
 Superstition cause of downfall 369
 Surnames of Kshatriyas 385, from
 names of places 377, Origin of 376
 Tabakat 18, 333, ff, 348ff 349ff, accot.
 of fall of Bengal criticised 353
 Tailapa 254
 Tajul-masir 333ff, 339 ff, 343 ff, 349 ff
 Tantras 439 ff
 Tārāprāsād Shastri 226
 Tarain, battle of 333 ff
 Tarikh-i-Yamīni 12
 Tauśi (river) 61
 Taxes 461 ff
 Tejpāla 207
 Tekka kings 20
 Telang K. T. 243
 Thaneswar 67
 Theodosius 94
 Theory of state 452
 Thomas, Mr. 65, on coins of the
 Ghazanavi kings 143
 Timur 100, 113
 Togankan 70
 Toleration Religious, among Hindus
 429
 Tomara 362, 302-4
 Travancore 285
 Trigarta 9
 Trikalīnga 265
 Trilochanapāla 18, 42, 51, 57, 60-62,
 80, 85
 Tripura 193
 Triśashthi, Smṛiti 176
 Tugril 140
 Tunga 61
 Turks 20 etc.
 Turushkadanda 107-8, 136, 211
 Udabhānda 19
 Udalha 183
 Udayana (of Kauśāmbi) 318
 Udayāditya 191, 170, 188, 190
 Udepur Praśasti 157, 165, 166, 198
 Ujjain 4, 44, 55, 95, 95 fall 358
 Umāpatidhara 234
 Untouchables 392, subsections 393
 Utbi 10, 12, 14, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30-37
 39-47, 49-50, 51, 55-59, 60, 436
 Uvata 168
 Vadnagar Praśasti 173, 178, 197-8
 200, 202, 202n, 204
 Vaghela Kings 207
 Vaishṇava saints of Mahārāstra
 426, Tamil 416
 Vaishṇavism 65, 371, 412, 413, in the
 South 416, Comp. with Jainism 415
 in the North 414, of Rāmānuja 419

- Vaiśya—*their subdivisions* 391 ff
 Vajjada 243
 Vajradaman (Kachhapa) 30 ff
 Vajrahasta I & II 266
 Vajreshwari temple in Kangra 53
 Vallabha 197
 Vallapur, history of, 318-19
 Vastupāla 207
 Vasukra 432
 Vedas 431, committed to writing 432
 Vedic religion 404, and Ahimsā 413
 Vedic sacrifices 432
 Vernacular Literature 473
 Vernaculars, Rise of 471
 Vidiśā 5
 Vidyādhara 83
 Vijayachandra 215
 Vijayasena 231 ff
 Vijjona 263
 Vijnāneśvara 157, 194, 260,
 Vikramāditya 259
 Vikramānka-deva-charita 160
 Vira-Rājendra 278
 Virāśaivas 422, 423
 Vireśvarashastri on gotras 478
 Visala 131
 Vishṇu-gupta 21n
 Vithoba of Pandharpur 425, 426
 Vyavahāra-mayūkha 299
 Wabal bin abdabal 44, 45
 Wahind 10, 15, 16, 18, 20, 28, 31, 36, 45, 66
 Wamand 10, 45
 Warangal 282
 Widow-marriage 397
 Witnesses 467
 Wives-number of 397
 Worshipers of different idols 438
 Yādavās, of Devagiri 281-2-of Mahaban 299
 Yakub-i-lais 10, 11, 19
 Yamin-uddowlu 65, 69, 78
 Yājñavalkya 245
 Yasahkarṇa 190 ff
 Yasaskara 311
 Yāyāvara 3
 Yoga 474
 Yuvarāja 458
 Zabulistan 10, 112, 129
 Zangiskhan 113
 Zeal for religion among Hindus and Moslems 124.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. D.

766	Parsis come to Sanjan.
855	Beginning of Kollam Era.
885	„ „ Nepal Era.
903	Ismail Samani of Bokhara.
903-1015	Duration of Samani Empire.
912	Yakub-i-lais first invades India (Ghazni).
942	Nuh Samani, Turks enter service.
959	Mansur Samani.
961-996	Mūlarāja first king of Anhilwad.
967 Sept. 30 or 971 Oct. 2	{ Birth of Mahmud.
973-977	
977	Tailapa II founder of later Chālukya power.
997	Sabuktagin ascends Ghazni throne.
977	Śaktikumāra (Guhilot)
977	Vajradāman founds Kachhapaghāta power at Gwalior.
980	Sabuktagin advances against Jaipal of Kabul.
680-1038	Mahīpāla re-establishes Pāla power in Bengal.
984	Vajrahasta I founds Eastern Ganga power.
985-1012	Rājarāga I founds Chola power.
986-1000	Nuh II Samani. Fight with Turks of Kashgar and Mahmud's first lesson in fighting.
988	Govinda (Chāhamāna).
989	Sabuktagin's first fight with confederate Hindu kings.
990	Ambāprasāda (Guhilot).
990-1010	Aparājita (Śilāhāra, Thana)
997-1008	Satyāśraya, Later Chālukya king of Kalyan.
997-1010	Munja (Paramāra).
997	Chāmunda (Anhilwad)
1000-1022	Ganda (Chandella)
1001	Mahmud's first fight with Jaipal.
1003	Vākpati (Chāhamāna).
1003	Śuchivarman (Guhilot)
1003	Death of Queen Diddā (Kashmir),
1008-1029	Sangrāmarāja, king of Kashmir.
1004	Mahmud invades Bhatia.
1008	Mahmud's fight with combined Hindu forces.
1008	Mahmud's invasion of Nagarkot.
1009	Vikramāditya V of Kalyan.
1010-1055	Bhoja (Paramāra).
1010	Vajjada (Śilāhāra, Thana)
1010	Durlabha (Anhilwad)

1013-1038	Gāngeya (Chedi).
1011	Rājarāja (Chola); makes survey settlement of land.
1013	Mahmud's first fight with Trilochanapāla.
1014	Mahmud's expedition against Thanesar.
1014-1044	Rajendra (Chola).
1015	Arikesarin (Śilāhāra, Thana).
1016	Naravarman (Guhilot).
1017	Birth of Rāmānuja.
1017	Mahmud invades Mathura and Kanauj.
1018-1040	Jayasinha (Kalyan).
1019	Mahmud again invades Kanauj and imposes tribute
1019	Madhukāmārṇava, Eastern Ganga.
1021	Rājyapāla killed by Rajput confederacy
1021	Mahmud's invasion and fight on the Rāhib.
1021	Mahmud's second fight with Trilochanapāla.
1021-1063	Bhima I (Anhilwad)
1022	Mahmud conquers Swat
1023	Mahmud's expedition against Gwalior and Kalanjar.
1025	" " " Somnath.
1025-1045	Chhitta (Śilāhāra, Thana)
1027	Death of Bhima Shāhi. End of Shāhi dynasty.
1028	Vidyādhara (Chaudella).
1028-1063	Anantarāja (Lohara king of Kashmir).
1029	Death of Mahmud.
1030	Al-Beruni's treatise on India.
1030	Vijayapāla (Chandella)
1032	Nayāpāla (Pāla)
1033	Sriohandra (Chāhamāna)
1033	Nialtagin raids Benares.
1038-1068	Vajrahasta II Eastern Ganga.
1038-1080	Karna (Chedi).
1040	Bhoja defeats Jayasinha.
1040	Devavarman (Chandell).
1040-1068	Someśvara I (Later Chālukya of Kalyan).
1042	Yogarāja (Guhilot).
1044	Vijayapāla Kachhapaghāta.
1044	Rājādhirāja (Chola).
1045	Nāgārjuna (Śilāhāra of Thana)
1052	Anangapāla II founds Delhi and sets up Iron pillar.
1052	The battle of Koppam.
1052	Rājendra Chola.
1055	Vajraṭa (Guhilot).
1055	Death of Bhoja Paramāra.
1055	Jayasinha Paramāra.
1059-1080	Building of Udepur Śiva temple.
1059	Udayāditya Paramāra.
1059	Vigrahapāla III (Pāla).

1060	Kirtivarman (Chandella).
1062	Vira Rājendra (Chola).
1063	Vīsala III (Chāhamāna).
1064-1094	Karṇa (Anhilwād Chālukya).
1065	Acting of Prabodhachandra drama.
1065-1076	Rājarāja Eastern Ganga.
1069	Hansapāla (Guhilot).
1069-1076	Someśvara II (Later Chālukya of Kaiyan).
1070-1118	Rājendra Kulottunga Chola.
1073	Utkarsha (Kāshmir).
1076-1126	Vikramānka Later Chālukya.
1076-1142	Anantavarman Eastern Ganga.
1078	Prithvirāja I (Chāhamāna).
1080-1100	Chandra Gāhadavāla.
1080	Mahīpāla II (Pāla).
1080	Sāmantasena (Bengal).
1080-1124	Yaśahkarṇa (Chedi).
1081	Vairisinkka (Guhilot).
1081-1104	Lakshmadeva (Paramāra).
1082	Śurapāla (Pāla).
1084-1130	Rāmapāla (Pāla).
1084-1168	Hemachandra Jain Pandit.
1084-1115	Anantapāla (Śilāhāra, Thana)
1089	Harsha (Kashmir).
1093	Ajayadeva (Chāhamāna).
1093-1143	Jayasinha (Anhilwad).
1094	Vijayasinha (Guhilot).
1100	Hemantasena (Bengal).
1100	Probable date of founding of Mandi state
1100	Sallakshana (Chandella).
1101	Uchchala (Kashmir).
1104-1133	Naravarman (Paramāra).
1110	Javavarman (Chandella).
1110-1155	Gavindachandra (Gāhadavāla).
1111-1128	Sussala (Kashmir).
1113-1160	Prola (Āndhra).
1118	Arisinha (Guhilot).
1118	Vikrama (Chola).
1119-1199	Lakshmanasena (Bengal).
1120	Prithvirivarman (Chandella).
1125	Arṇarāja (Chāhamāna).
1125	Apāṇāditya (Śilāhāra, Thana).
1125	Gayakarṇa (Chedi).
1125-1165	Madanavarman (Chandella).
1126	Someśvara III (Later Chālukya).
1129	Chanda (Guhilot).

1129	Pārihāras take Gwalior fort from Kachhwahas.
1130	Kumārapāla (Pāla).
1133	Naravarman (Paramāra).
1133	Yaśovarman (Paramāra).
1135	Kulottunga (Chola).
1136	Gopāla (Pāla).
1138	Jagadekamalla (Later Chalukya).
1140	Vijayasinha (Guhilot)
1140	Madanapāla (Pāla).
1142	Jayavarman (Paramāra).
1142	Kāmārṇava Eastern Ganga
1143-1173	Kumārapāla (Anhilwad).
1144-1160	Ajayavarman (Paramāra).
1144-1155	Harapāla (Śilāhāra, Thana).
1146-1165	Rājarāja III (Chola).
1148	Rājataranginī finished
1149	Birth of Prithvirāj III
1150	Building of Jagannath temple by Chodaganga.
1150	Kumārapāla invades Ajmer.
1150-1182	Taila II (Later Chālukya).
1152	Viśala Chāhamāna takes Delhi.
1152	Narsinha Chedi.
1153	Harakeli drama composed by Viśala Chāhadhmāna.
1155	Raṇasinha (Guhilot).
1155-1170	Vijayapāla (Gāhadavāla).
1155	Mallikārjuna (Śilāhārā, Thana).
1157	Founding of Ajmer.
1160	Vindhyavarman (Paramāra).
1160	Jayasinha (Chedi).
1161	Govindapāla (Pāla).
1161-1191	Rudra (Āndhra).
1162	Bhimasinha (Guhilot).
1162	Rebellion of Vijjana (Kalachūri).
1165	Usurpation by Vijjana „
1167	Soyideva Kalachūri (Kalyan).
1167	Rājarāja II Eastern Ganga.
1168-1203	Paramardideva (Chandella).
1170	Jayachandra (Gāhadavālla).
1172	Rājādhirāja (Chola).
1172	Muezzuddin Ghori takes Ghazni.
1173	Sāmantasinha (Guhilot).
1173	Ajayapāla (Anhilwad).
1173-1220	Vira Ballāla (Hoyazala).
1174	Prithvirāja's fight with Kaimāsa.
1175	Mahammad Ghori seizes Multan.
1178	Hariśchandra (Pāramāra).
1178	Defeat of Ghori by Gujarat army.

1178	Kulottunga III (Chola).
1178-1231	Bhima II (Bhola) Anhilwad.
1179	First defeat of Ghori by Prithviraj.
1179	Ghori takes Peshāwar.
1180	Mahendrapāla (Pāla)
1180-1198	Vijayasinha (Chedi).
1180-1210	Subhatavarman (Paramāra).
1181	Mahammad Ghori invades Lāhore.
1182	Prithvirāja defeats Paramardin.
1182	End of Kalachūri usurpation in Kalyan.
1182-1189	Somesvara IV (Later Chalukya).
1184	Kumārasinha (Guhilot).
1184	Mahammad Ghori invades Lahore again.
1185	Prithviraj marries Sanyogita.
1187	Bhillama founds independent rule at Deogiri
1190	Rājarāja III (Chola).
1191	Prithvirāja defeats Ghori a second time.
1191	Mahādeva (Āndhra).
1192	Defeat and death of Prithvirāja.
1192	Aniyanka Bhima Eastern Ganga.
1193	Kutubuddin takes Merut and Delhi.
1193	Defeat and death of Jaichand.
1195	Mathanasinha (Guhilot).
1195	Kutubuddin suppresses rebellion of Harirāja at Ajmer
1196	Shihabuddin Ghori takes the fort of Gwalior.
1197	Kutubuddin invades Gujarat.
1198-1260	Ganapati (Āndhra).
1199	Kutubuddin takes Anhilwad.
1199	Mahammad Bakhtyar plunders Bihar (Vikramaśila).
1202	„ „ seizes Nadia (Bengal).
1202	Kutubuddin invades and takes Kālanjar.
1203-1245	Trailokyavarman (Chandella).
1205	Assassination of Shihabuddin Ghori.
1208	Kutubuddin takes Badaun.
1210	Arjunavarman (Paramāra).
1216	Turks invade Mewad and destroy Nāgdā.
1216	Devapāla (Paramāra).
1227	Altamash takes Ranathambhor.
„	„ „ Gwalior fort.
1234	Invades Malwa (Bhelsa and Ujjain).
1235	Destruction of Mahākāla temple.

ERRATA.

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct.
7	28	Kranāta	Karnāta
92	9	Bhahmin	Brahmin
142	17	evil	cruel
200	23	devoit	devout
249	17	poeples	people
324	26	tha	the
329	16	for long	for a long
342	20	commonly believed	commonly believed
344	16	halted	halted
346	4	sambha	stambha
346	29, 34	inscriptions	inscriptions
347	17	first	first
"	24	skirtistambha.	this Kirtistambha
354	1	254	354
365	12	there and preserved	there preserved
"	15	resistance	resistance
416	8	this	this
460	31	donee	donee;
"	32	villages;	villages
474	34	illuminates	illuminates

205	14	1179	1176
209	15, 17	1163, 1176	1173, 1178
230	11, 12, 17	1037, 1057, 1164	1038, 1059, 1161
257	20	1030	1054
272	17	15y. 1182	25y. 1192
"	19, 20	1182-1192, 1192-1202	1192-1202 1202-1219

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